

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CENTRAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 30990

CALL No. 312.0954/C.I. (01)

D.G.A. 79.











# CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.

## VOLUME VI.

The Lower Provinces of Bengal and their  
Feudatories.

30990

PART I.

THE REPORT.

BY

E. A. GAIT, F.S.S.

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

HONORARY ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECRETARY TO THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL AND  
SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, BENGAL.

312.0954

C.I. (01)



Calcutta:

BENGAL SECRETARIAT PRESS.

1902.



CENTRAL ZOOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 30990

Date. 10. 4. 57

Call No. 312. 0954

C-I (01)

Published at the BENGAL SECRETARIAT BOOK DEPÔT,  
Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

OFFICIAL AGENTS.

*In India—*

MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & Co., Calcutta and Simla.  
MESSRS. NEWMAN & Co., Calcutta.  
MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co., Madras.  
MESSRS. THACKER & Co., LD., Bombay.  
MESSRS. A. J. COMBRIDGE & Co., Bombay.  
MR. E. SEYMOUR HALE, 53 Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay, and Calcutta.  
THE SUPERINTENDENT, AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, Rangoon.  
MESSRS. S. K. LAHIRI & Co., Printers and Book-sellers, College Street, Calcutta.  
RAI SAHIB M. GULAB SINGH & SONS, Proprietors of the Muflid-i-am Press,  
Lahore, Punjab.  
MESSRS. V. KALYANARAMA IYER & Co., Book-sellers, &c., Madras.  
MESSRS. D. B. TARAPOREVALA, SONS & Co., Book-sellers, Bombay.

*In England—*

MR. E. A. ARNOLD, 37 Bedford Street, Strand, London.  
MESSRS. CONSTABLE & Co., 2 Whitehall Gardens, London.  
MESSRS. SAMPTON LOW, MARSTON & Co., St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane,  
London.  
MESSRS. LUZAC & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London.  
MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & Co., Charing Cross Road, London.  
MR. B. ALFRED QUARITCH, 15 Piccadilly, London.  
MESSRS. P. S. KING & SON, 2 & 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London.  
MESSRS. H. S. KING & Co., 65 Cornhill, London.  
MESSRS. WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, Oxford.  
MESSRS. DRIGHTON BELL & Co., Cambridge.

*On the Continent—*

MESSRS. R. FRIEDLÄNDER & SOHN, Berlin, N. W. Carlstrasse, 11.  
MR. OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, Leipzig.  
MR. KARL HIESSELMANN, Leipzig.  
MR. ERNEST LEROUX, 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris.  
MR. MARTINUS NIJHOFF, The Hague.



# GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE FOUR PARTS.

## PART I (VOLUME VI).

### THE REPORT.

	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION ...	i
CHAPTER I—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION ...	1
II—VARIATIONS IN THE POPULATION ...	39
III—MIGRATION ...	127
IV—RELIGION ...	151
V—AGE ...	209
VI—SEX ...	235
VII—MARRIAGE ...	247
VIII—INFIRMITIES ...	279
IX—EDUCATION ...	297
X—LANGUAGE ...	311
XI—CASTE ...	347
XII—OCCUPATIONS ...	461
APPENDICES ...	i

## PART II (VOLUME VIA).

### THE IMPERIAL TABLES.

TABLE I—AREA, HOUSES, AND POPULATION ...	1
II—VARIATION IN POPULATION SINCE 1872 ...	5
III—TOWNS AND VILLAGES CLASSIFIED BY POPULATION ...	9
IV—POPULATION OF TOWNS WITH VARIATION SINCE 1872 ...	13
V—TOWNS ARRANGED TERRITORIALLY WITH POPULATION BY RELIGION ...	19
VI—RELIGIONS ...	25
VII—AGE, SEX, AND CIVIL CONDITION ...	29
VIII—EDUCATION ...	59
IX—EDUCATION BY SELECTED CASTES, TRIBES, OR RACES ...	99
X—LANGUAGE ...	113
XI—BIRTHPLACE ...	139
XII—INFIRMITIES ...	187
XIII—CASTE ...	191
XIV—CIVIL CONDITION BY AGE FOR SELECTED CASTES ...	291
XV—OCCUPATION ...	309
XVI—OCCUPATION BY CASTE ...	475
XVII—CHRISTIANS BY SECT AND RACE ...	607
XVIII—CHRISTIANS BY RACE AND AGE ...	617

## PART III (VOLUME VIB).

### PROVINCIAL TABLES (THE THANA IS HERE THE UNIT).

TABLE I—AREA, HOUSES, AND POPULATION BY THANAS WITH VARIATION SINCE 1891 ...	1
II—RELIGION BY THANAS WITH VARIATION SINCE 1891 ...	17
III—SHOWING FOR EACH THANA THE CASTES, ETC., OF HINDUS, ANIMISTS, BUDDHISTS, AND MUHAMMADANS WHICH CONTRIBUTE 1,000 OR MORE PERSONS TO THE DISTRICT POPULATION ...	61

## PART IV (VOLUME VIC).

### THE ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT.

CHAPTER I—THE TAKING OF THE CENSUS ...	1
II—THE COMPILATION OF THE RESULTS ...	52
III—THE COST OF THE CENSUS ...	79
APPENDICES ...	i







## DETAILED TABLE OF CONTENTS OF PART I.

CHAPTER I—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.										PAGE.
General description of Bengal—Area, population and density—Houses and house-room—Towns and villages										1
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										36
CHAPTER II—VARIATIONS IN THE POPULATION.										
Preliminary discussion—West Bengal—Central Bengal—North Bengal—East Bengal—South Bihar—North Bihar—Orissa—Chota Nagpur Plateau										39
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										123
CHAPTER III—MIGRATION.										
Migration to and from Bengal—Migration within the Province—General conclusions										127
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										146
CHAPTER IV—RELIGION.										
Distribution and variation since 1891—Races and sects of Christians—The Muhammadans of Bengal—Hindu sects and godlings—Traces of Buddhism in Bengal										161
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										206
CHAPTER V—AGE.										
Inaccuracy of age return—Mean age by religion and caste—Decline in the birth-rate—Local variations in birth-rate—Monthly distribution of births—Birth-rate in towns										209
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										223
CHAPTER VI—SEX.										
General proportion of the sexes—Proportion in different religions and castes—Proportion at different ages—Decline in proportion of females—Causes influencing sex										236
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										242
CHAPTER VII—MARRIAGE.										
General features of statistics—Marriage amongst Hindus—Marriage amongst Muhammadans, Animists, Christians and Buddhists										247
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										264
CHAPTER VIII—INFIRMITIES.										
Insanity—Deaf-mutism—Blindness—Leprosy										279
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										294
CHAPTER IX—EDUCATION.										
Extent of literacy—Distribution by religion and locality—Comparison with 1891—English education—Comparison with other Provinces—Education by caste—Statistics of literacy as an index to social movements										297
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										306
CHAPTER X—LANGUAGE.										
Value of the return—Classification of languages—Aryan family—Munda family—Dravidian family—Tibeto-Burman family—General conclusions										311
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										340
CHAPTER XI—CASTE.										
Definition and origin of caste—Social precedence of castes—Distribution of main castes and variations since 1872—Brief Ethnographic notes—Muhammadan castes and tribes—Nepalese castes and tribes										347
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										459
CHAPTER XII—OCCUPATIONS.										
Introductory remarks—Comparison with 1891—General distribution of population by occupation—Occupations in towns—Workers and dependents—Occupations combined with agriculture—Occupation by religion and caste										461
<i>Subsidiary Tables</i>										488
APPENDICES										







## INTRODUCTION.

---

THE fourth regular Census of Bengal was taken with that of the whole of India on the 1st March 1901. A full account of the procedure adopted in connection with the taking of the Census and the compilation of the results has been given in a separate report, but it may be interesting to note briefly a few of the more important facts connected with the operations.

DATE OF CENSUS.

Owing to various circumstances, of which the dearth of literate persons is one of the chief, a Census is a matter of special difficulty in India, and especially so in Bengal, where the population far exceeds that dealt with by a single Census Superintendent in any other country in the world, while the absence of a regular detailed survey necessitates very elaborate preliminary arrangements, in order to obtain a complete list of villages, and to portion them out amongst the different grades of Census Officers in such a way that there may be no cases of omission or overlapping. Special care has to be taken to obtain a full enumeration of the boat population, on the network of rivers in East Bengal, and of the wild tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau and other remote tracts.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ENUMERATION.

Owing to the general illiteracy of the population, the European method of giving to the head of each family a form or schedule on which to record the desired particulars for his household is impracticable in India, and the Census was taken, as on previous occasions, by persons specially appointed for the purpose, called Enumerators, each of whom dealt with a specified number of houses, usually about 40. But even so, the men available were seldom well qualified for their duties. They were, of course, literate, but their general education was usually of a very low standard, and in order to obtain correct entries in the different columns of the Census schedules, it was necessary to drill them very carefully. With this object in view a regular scale of Census Officers was appointed. The persons who were entrusted with the training of the Enumerators and the examination of the work done by them were called Supervisors and, on the average, there was one Supervisor to every 12 Enumerators. The Supervisor was usually a non-official, and although he was selected with special reference to his educational fitness, and was of a much better stamp than the Enumerators, it was still necessary to supplement his written instructions by oral teaching, and to keep a careful watch over his work. For this purpose every district was parcelled out into charges, each under a Charge Superintendent, who was in almost all cases an official. The Charge Superintendents were, in their turn, subordinate to the District Magistrate and his Subdivisional Officers, who were assisted in the task of general supervision by such gazetted officers as had not been detailed to take immediate charge of the work in particular charges. Excluding Calcutta and the Native States, there were, in round numbers, 1,500 Charge Superintendents, 28,000 Supervisors and 384,000 Enumerators.



The first direct step towards the taking of the Census was the numbering of the houses. A house was defined as the residence of a commensal family, and each such house was given a separate number. When all had been numbered, a statement showing the number of houses and of each grade of Census Officers was compiled and sent to the Provincial Superintendent, who used it to correct the rough indent for forms which had been previously sent to the Press.

HOUSE NUMBERING.

The next step was the preparation of the preliminary record, i.e., the entry in the enumeration-schedules of the necessary particulars regarding all persons ordinarily resident in each house. The information to be recorded included:—name, religion, sex, age, civil condition, caste, occupation, parent-tongue, birthplace, literacy or illiteracy, language in which literate, and certain infirmities. In order to obtain an accurate return, it was necessary that the Enumerators should be very carefully trained beforehand. This training was carried out during November and December. The Charge Superintendents were first thoroughly taught, either at head-quarters or by officers of the higher grades deputed for the purpose; the Supervisors were next instructed by the Charge Superintendents, and the Enumerators by the Supervisors. Classes were held at which the rules were explained and schedules were filled in experimentally. The mistakes made in preparing these test schedules were corrected and explained on the spot.

Everything possible was done to give the Enumerators a thorough knowledge of their duties, but even so, experience on previous occasions had shown that numerous errors would still remain. The correction of these mistakes in the enumeration-schedules would have made them very unsightly. To avoid this, the original entries were made on plain paper, and the actual Census record was not prepared until the rough draft had been shown to, and corrected by, the Supervisors. The testing, however, was by no means confined to the Supervisors. Every single officer who could be spared was given a share in the operations, and for two days all Government offices were closed in order to set the whole staff free for the inspection of the work.

The preliminary record was prepared in the Mufassal between the 20th January and the 10th February. In towns it was begun and finished ten days later. The period remaining before the 1st March was utilised in checking the entries as described above.

THE ACTUAL CENSUS.

The actual Census was taken between 7 P.M. and midnight on the 1st March. Each Enumerator visited in turn every house in his beat, and brought the record up to date by striking out the entries relating to persons no longer present, and entering the necessary particulars for all new-comers. In a few remote tracts this final revision was commenced a few hours earlier, so that it might be completed by nightfall. In the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur and in the greater part of Sikkim there was no final revision; the preliminary record was there treated as the actual Census. Special arrangements, which need not be detailed here, were made for the enumeration of travellers by rail, road, steamer and boat, for wood-cutters in the Sundarbans and other forests, and for ports, large fairs, tea-gardens, &c.



On the morning after the Census, the Enumerators repaired to a place previously fixed by their Supervisors, and prepared an abstract showing the number of houses, and of persons, male and female, in their blocks. These abstracts, after being checked by a second Enumerator, were posted by the Supervisor in a summary for his Circle. The Circle summaries were checked and posted in a Charge summary, which was sent to head-quarters, where the provisional totals for the district were compiled. The first district to communicate its totals was Balasore (on the second day after the Census), which was followed closely by Puri, Darbhanga, and other districts. The figures for the whole Province had been received and reported to Government by the 10th March, or within nine days of the Census. The total population, as shown by these provisional figures, differed by only 2,982, or less than .004 per cent. from the result arrived at after detailed tabulation. The greatest degree of accuracy was attained in Puri, Backergunge and the 24-Parganas, where the preliminary totals differed from the final figures by only 2, 5 and 24, respectively.







At previous enumerations, the information contained in the schedules was extracted on "abstraction sheets" (one for each final Table), which were divided by rules into spaces corresponding to the headings of the Table concerned. A separate sheet was used for each Enumerator's book of schedules, and a tick was made in the appropriate column corresponding to each entry therein. When the whole book had been abstracted the ticks were counted. The figures thus obtained were added up for the Police Circle (this was called tabulation), and the figures for the latter were compiled into a total for the district.

On the present occasion this method was abandoned, under the orders of the Census Commissioner for India, in favour of what is known as the slip, or card, system. A separate slip containing all the prescribed details was prepared for each person enumerated, and these slips were then sorted for all the final Tables in turn. Each sorter was supplied with a set of pigeon-holes, which were labelled to indicate their contents. For instance, when sorting by caste, one pigeon-hole would be labelled "Bráhmaṇ," another "Káyasth," and so on; all the slips on which Bráhmaṇ was shown as the caste were placed in the pigeon-hole labelled "Bráhmaṇ," and all those for Káyasths into the hole labelled "Káyasth." When the sorting for a Table had been completed, the slips in each hole were counted, and the result was noted on a form called the "sorter's ticket." The figures in the sorter's tickets were then posted in "tabulation registers," and added up to form the district total. This method of working out the results of a Census was invented by Herr Von Mayr in connection with the Bavarian Census of 1872, and has since been adopted by almost all civilised countries, including many of the colonies. It has many obvious advantages. It is much less complicated than the old method; the work is more easily tested; and by putting together and sorting at one time the slips for a large number of persons, the operation previously known as tabulation was entirely dispensed with.

In order to reduce the amount of writing to be done, slips of different colours were used for the different religions, and symbols were printed on



them to indicate sex and civil condition. The symbols used in Bengal were as follows:—

		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
Male	...			
Female	...			

The selection of the right slip thus obviated the necessity of making any entry for religion, sex or civil condition. The labour of copying was still further reduced by the judicious use of abbreviations.

In 1881, when the Tables were far less elaborate, the results were compiled in three central offices, while in 1891 the work was carried out at the head-quarters of each district.

On the present occasion the slips were usually written up in the districts, and they were then sent for sorting to six central offices. A certain amount of slip-copying, as it was called, was also carried out in the central offices, partly in order to give the officers in charge time to organize their establishments before the more difficult part of the work—sorting—began, and partly because in some cases there were special reasons why the slips could not conveniently be copied locally. This arrangement worked admirably, and within ten weeks of the Census almost the whole of the 78 million slips had been prepared. When the work was in full swing the number of men employed in the slip-copying offices exceeded five thousand.

The sorting took longer. There were in all eighteen Tables to be prepared; and some of them, such as those connected with castes and occupations, were very complicated, and involved much correspondence with district officers and a great deal of local enquiry. The work, however, was practically finished by the end of September.

Then followed compilation and revision, which, for the more elaborate Tables, proved to be by far the most tedious part of the work. The Caste Tables in their original form were ready about the end of January 1902, and the Occupation Tables a month later. But the detailed examination of the statistics in the head-office and the checking of all entries which appeared doubtful, either because they differed widely from the results of the last Census, or because of discrepancies in the figures for males and females, which were purposely kept separate throughout the earlier stages of the work, or for any other reason, took up much time. The last of the Tables was thus not finally passed until after the end of May.

Until the revision of the Tables was well advanced it was impossible to devote much time to the writing of the report, and on the 1st of July more than half of it still remained to be written. The Census Commissioner for India was anxious that it should be completed at the earliest possible moment, and with great efforts the actual writing of the report was completed by the 7th September, and the printing three weeks later, or more than six months earlier than in 1891. It was impossible, however, in the stress of work to devote as much time as one



could have wished to the careful revision of the proofs, or to the improvement of the style and arrangement of what was unavoidably a very hurried draft.

The report has run to much greater length than I had intended, but in a great Province like Bengal it is impossible to deal fully with the statistics within the limits which are sufficient elsewhere. The population of Bengal is about a quarter of that of the whole of India, but the results of the Census of the other three-quarters are treated of in no less than twenty-two different Census Reports. In the Assam Report, for example, 20 pages are devoted to the variations in the population of that Province, which comprises about 6 million persons. At the same rate, about 250 pages would be required for the 78 millions of Bengal, but the actual length of the corresponding chapter of my report is only 88 pages. Nor is it merely a question of population. The local conditions in different parts of Bengal vary very greatly, and in respect of caste, language, religion, social customs and material condition, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur differ from each other as much as do any two adjoining Provinces in the Empire. In the Himalayan district of Darjeeling and the Sikkim State, again, the population is drawn mainly from Nepal and Tibet, and the report would not be complete if the tribes there met with and the languages which they speak were left unnoticed. In order to curtail the report as much as possible, a great deal of interesting descriptive material which had been collected has been omitted. Several of the general discussions not immediately connected with the statistics, such as those regarding the popular religious beliefs, the origin and nature of caste, and caste precedence, have been inserted in accordance with the request of the Census Commissioner for India. But even here I have tried not to be too diffuse, and I have not by any means made full use of my material. The subject of caste precedence alone, if the numerous memorials received from the representatives of the different castes had been at all fully discussed, would have taken up more space than the whole Caste Chapter now does; and, in the same way, the notes on Hindu Godlings might easily have occupied more pages than the whole of the Chapter on Religion as it now stands.

After all a Census Report is, in the main, a work of reference, and completeness is more important than brevity, especially in India, where there is no body of professional statisticians ready and eager to pounce on the raw material provided for them at the Census, and to make the required deductions. Unless the Census Superintendent himself analyses the figures and points to the conclusions to be drawn from them, they are in danger of being left unnoticed altogether.

The total expenditure of all kinds on the present Census of Bengal has been less than Rs. 3,90,000, or under Rs. 5 per 1,000 of the population, compared with Rs. 7,00,000, or rather more than Rs. 9.7 per 1,000 in 1891. This large reduction in cost is due, to a great extent, to the introduction of the slip system, but considerable savings have also been effected in other directions, by improved record-room arrangements, the employment of men on lower pay and strict economy at all points.

In conclusion I have to express my gratitude to the District Magistrates and other officers of the general Administration for their cordial co-operation at all stages of the operations. Fully occupied, as they already were, with their ordinary duties, the Census must have been a heavy additional burden, and cannot well have

#### COST OF THE CENSUS.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.



been regarded otherwise than as an unmitigated nuisance. But in spite of this, with scarcely an exception, they gave it their ungrudging attention, and it was owing to their efforts that a very high standard of accuracy in the actual enumeration was attained. Nor did their labours cease when the Census was taken. In most districts the slips were copied locally, and the arrangements for, and supervision of, this operation took up much of their time. In the course of sorting the slips and compiling the final tables, numerous local references, both official and demi-official, were unavoidably necessary, and the correspondence and enquiries in connection with these references must have formed an irksome addition to the ordinary office work, but in no case did a request for information fail to receive prompt and courteous attention. There were also innumerable special reports on religion, caste, marriage customs and the like, many of which involved a great deal of local enquiry and research. The general information contained in this volume is based mainly on the information thus obtained; and, as already stated, a great deal of most interesting material has been received which I have not yet been able to utilize.

I am under still greater obligations to the officers named in the margin, who were associated with me in the compilation of the results, and of whose industry and devotion it is impossible to speak too highly. Mr. Howard at Dacca dealt with a population of about 15½ millions, and managed his huge office with entire

Mr. Moberly.  
" Howard.  
Babu Jamini Mohan Das.  
" Monmohan Roy.  
Mr. Manmatha Nath Ghosh.

success. The work was done very quickly and methodically, and a high standard of accuracy was attained. The same may be said of the work done by Babus Monmohan Roy and Jamini Mohan Das, whose management of the offices at Berhampur and Cuttack was all that could be desired. Mr. Moberly, at Patna, had an office nearly as large as that at Dacca and a very indifferent class of clerks. In spite of this disadvantage he laboured unceasingly, and was making good progress when his health gave way and he was obliged to go on leave. His place was taken by Babu Monmohan Roy, who had closed his office at Berhampur, and, in spite of failing health, brought the operations at Patna to a successful conclusion. Babu Srinath Chakravarti, my Personal Assistant, has worked assiduously throughout, and has managed the head-office very satisfactorily. He has a good head for figures, and has been of very great assistance to me.

Lastly, I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Chalmers, Superintendent of Government Printing, Bengal, for the close personal attention which he has always given to Census matters, and for the great help which he has given me at all stages of the work. The form of slip used for working out the results, which has been described above, was devised by him, after many different devices had been tried and rejected, and it was found to answer our requirements in all respects. It was adopted, not only by me for use in Bengal, but also by the Census Superintendents of Assam and several other Provinces. The arrangement of the form in which the different Tables should be printed was another matter in respect of which I am under special obligations to Mr. Chalmers.



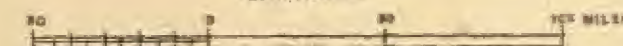




# MAP OF BENGAL

SHewing THE DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE OF EACH DISTRICT AND STATE ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1901.

Scale of Miles.



## REFERENCES.

Province or State Boundary	.....
District	.....
1. Angel Govt. Estate	114 persons per sq. mile.
2. Pal Laham, Native State	69
3. Talchar	151
4. Athmalik	56
5. Athgar	231
6. Narasingpur	199
7. Barman	225
8. Tygria	692
9. Hmdel	152
10. Nayagar	252
11. Khandipara	284
12. Bampur	227
13. Bilgiri	229
14. Goudkala	227
15. Kharawan	245
Native State	N. S.

## REFERENCES.

Under 240 persons per sq. mile	.....
240 persons per sq. mile and under 400	.....
400 .....	.....
500 .....	.....
600 .....	.....
772 .....	.....
900 .....	.....
and over	.....

NOTE.—The figures under each district name give the actual number of inhabitants per sq. mile.



# REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF BENGAL, 1901.

## Chapter I.

### *DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.*

#### GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF BENGAL.

THE territory ruled by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal covers an area of 190,000 square miles and has a population of more than 78 millions. Its extent is thus half as great again as that of the United Kingdom, and its population is nearly double. It includes Bengal Proper with a population of 41 millions, or about the same as that of the whole Madras Presidency including its feudatories; Bihar with 23 millions, or rather less than that of the Bombay Presidency with the Native States attached to it; Orissa with four millions, or rather more than the population of Upper Burma; Chota Nagpur with five millions, or rather less than that of Lower Burma; and, lastly, the Native States, viz., Kuch Bihar, Hill Tippera, Sikkim and the twenty-six Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. The aggregate population of these States approaches four millions, and is nearly half that of the Central India Agency. This great Province is bounded on the north by the Himalayas; on the east by Assam and the range which divides Assam from Burma; on the south by Madras and the Bay of Bengal; and on the west by the Central Provinces and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It contains tracts of greatly varying physical features, including the alluvial plains of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and the deltas of these great rivers, the crystalline plateaux of Chota Nagpur and the Tributary States and the hills stretching from their south-eastern extremity northwards to the Ganges at Rájmahál, the narrow strip of alluvium comprising the Orissa Commissionership, and, lastly, a small tract of the Sub-Himalaya, the Sikkim State and its ceded area, which forms the greater part of the modern district of Darjeeling. The most distinctive feature of the Province is its network of rivers—the Ganges and Brahmaputra with their affluents and distributaries. These rivers are of use in many ways. They furnish an admirable and cheap means of transport; they contain an inexhaustible supply of fish, and they bring down vast quantities of fertilising silt which they distribute over the surface of the delta.

2. In Chota Nagpur and Orissa there is no evidence of any change in late geological times, but the rest of the Province has undergone great vicissitudes. It is

CHANGES IN ELEVATION. supposed that there was formerly a continuous chain of hills connecting the Rájmahál range with the remains of the Peninsula system still in existence in Assam, and that the subsidence of this area was due to the same disturbances that resulted in the raising of the Himalayas. There are reasons for supposing that the Indus and Ganges were once connected, and it is thought that before these changes the waters of the Ganges and its tributaries found their way to the sea down the valley of the Indus. The Gangetic plain appears to have been formed from the silt of the great Himalayan rivers. There are no marine deposits on the southern face of the Himalayas, nor have any been brought to light by borings at Allahabad, Calcutta, and elsewhere. The Calcutta bore hole revealed ancient land surfaces at a depth of 30 and again at 382 feet, and it is



known that the soil of the Sundarbans has sunk considerably in quite recent times. It is thus probable that a great part of the Bay of Bengal was once dry land, and that the gradual raising of the surface of the country by the action of the rivers has been discounted by successive subsidences, which have been accompanied by upheavals elsewhere.\* It is believed that the formation of the depression along which the Padma now flows was connected with the elevation of the Tippera Hills, and that the raising of the Madhupur jungle was contemporaneous with the sinking of the country occupied by the Sylhet jhils.†

3. The above changes, though interesting in themselves, belong to prehistoric times. They are thus of less practical importance than the great alterations that have been taking place during the last three or four hundred years in the river system of the Province. From the dawn of history until probably some time in the 16th century the Bhágirathi formed the main channel of the Ganges. In the eyes of the Hindus this river, and not the Padma, is still the sacred stream, and on its banks were situated the great capitals of Gaur (Lakhnauti), Pandua, Rájmahál, Nabadvip, and Sátgaon. Its earliest bed, known as the Saraswati, left the modern Hooghly at Sátgaon and pursued a more westerly course to a point near the place where the Damodar now joins the Hooghly. Large vessels sailed up this river in the 16th century. Its silting up led to the establishment of the port and town of Hooghly by the Portuguese in 1637. The Damodar, it is said, formerly joined the Bhágirathi at Sátgaon, and it is only since the middle of the 18th century that it left this course and burst into the old channel of the Bhágirathi. Local traditions have preserved no record of the supplanting of the Bhágirathi by the Padma as main channel of the Ganges, and it is probable that it was effected very gradually.‡ The whole country below Rájmahál and Murshidabad was formerly part of the true Ganges delta, where the river was split up into various channels, all of which were busy depositing silt and so raising their beds and blocking up their mouths. The process doubtless proceeded most rapidly in the Bhágirathi, which was then the main channel, and in time the river was obliged to seek another course by which to discharge the bulk of its accumulated water. In this way the Ichámati,§ the Jalangi, the Mátábhángá, the Kumár or Nabagangá, and the Gorai probably each in turn became the main outlet of the Ganges. The river tended ever eastwards, cutting right across the old drainage channels of the country, until at last it was met and stopped by the Brahmaputra.||

4. The Brahmaputra flowed round the foot of the Garo Hills east of the Madhupur jungle, and after discharging its silt into the Sylhet jhils, united with the Megna. This is the course shown on the maps of Rennell's survey of 1785, and it was not till the beginning of this century that, having raised its bed and lost its velocity, it was no longer able to hold its own against the Megna, and being forced to seek another outlet for its banked-up waters, it suddenly broke westwards and joined the Ganges near Goalundo.¶ It now competes with the Ganges in depositing its detritus in the eastern part of the Delta; and as the

\* There is evidence to show that the elevation of the Himalayas, if not still in progress, has only recently ceased.

† Such alterations of level have occurred in historic times, e.g., the submergence of two thousand square miles in the Raan of Cutch in 1819. The Assam earthquake of 1897 also resulted in some small changes of elevation.

‡ The Padma is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Albári*. It is also shown as a wide river in the map published in 'Da Asis,' by De Barros, who died in 1570. This map, however, is not very reliable.

§ The Ichámati may be an older river which was cut in halves by the Padma, as there is a stream of the same name in Pabna on the north bank of the Padma. In Dhruvananda Misra's *Káyastha Kárika* which purports to contain Ballála Sena's rules for the *Káyastha*, the country of the *Bangaja Káyastha*, is said to be bounded on the east by the (old) Brahmaputra, on the west by the *Madhamati*, and on the north by the *Ichámati*. The name *Mátábhángá* also survives north of the Padma as the name of a thana in the Kuch Bihar State.

|| Mr. F. G. Shillingford has suggested that the Kosi formerly flowed into the Brahmaputra, and that on its junction with the Ganges the united mass of water opened up the passage now called the Padma, and the old channel of the Bhágirathi was then left comparatively dry.

¶ These and other changes in the great rivers of the Gangetic plain are well described and explained by Fergusson in his paper on "Some recent changes in the Delta of the Ganges"—*Journal of the Geological Society*, Vol. XVIII, page 321. Reasons are there given for thinking that at a still earlier period the Brahmaputra had flowed, as it now does, west of the Madhupur jungle, and that its diversion to the east was due to the elevation of that tract and the simultaneous subsidence of the land now covered by the Sylhet jhils.



quantity of silt brought down by it is estimated to be about twice as great as that borne by the Ganges, the coast line is thus being rapidly thrust forward.

5. Along the Northern Frontier of Bengal numerous rivers debouch from the Himalayas. These now discharge their waters by various channels into the Ganges or the Brahmaputra, but it appears that formerly, when these great rivers were still 150 miles apart, the Himalayan streams united to form a great independent river which found its own way to the sea. The elevated tract known as the Bâring formed an obstacle which could not be pierced so easily as the more recent alluvium around it, and the outlet of the Himalayan streams was thus diverted to one side or the other. Sometimes when the trend of the rivers was eastwards they flowed down the channel of the Karáttoyá, the memory of which is preserved in the *Purânas*, though in some parts the traces of its course have now well nigh disappeared. It bore a high character for sanctity, and its mermaid goddess, whose image has been found among the ruins of Mahâsthân, was widely worshipped. Even now the old course of the river at Mahâsthân is still a favourite place of pilgrimage. It is mentioned in the *Jogini Tantra* as the western boundary of the ancient kingdom of Kámarupa, and it was along its right bank that Bakhtyâr Khilji marched on his ill-fated invasion of Tibet. In the narrative of that expedition, it is described as being three times the width of the Ganges. It was no doubt the great river crossed by Hiuen Tsiang on his way to Kámarupa and by Husain Shâh on his invasion of the same country.\* It is shown in Van den Broucke's map (*cir* 1660) as flowing into the Ganges. Its most recent bed, which is still in existence, joins the Atrai some thirty miles east of Pabna, and the latter flows into the Jamuna,† as the present course of the Brahmaputra is called, about the same distance above the junction of that river and the Padma.‡ But in an alluvial country the course of the rivers, especially when they have a rapid current, is constantly changing, and it thus often happened that the Tista and its neighbours worked their way westwards and found an outlet on the other side of the Bâring down the channel of the Mahánandá.

Though less famous than its rival, the Karáttoyá, the Mahánandá appears to have had a greater influence on the recent ethnic distribution of the people. The Rájbangs are the main element in the population east of its course, while to the west they are scarcely found at all. East of this river Muhammadanism is the main religion, while to the west Hinduism is most prevalent. It is also a linguistic boundary, Hindi being spoken to the west of it and Bengali to the east. Prior to the Muhammadan occupation it was the dividing line between the Rárh and the Bârendra country. Unlike the Karáttoyá, the Mahánandá is still a considerable stream.

South of the Padma there is no trace of any river bearing the name either of the Karáttoyá or of the Mahánandá; but remembering that the former was called Bhángmâti by the historian of Bakhtyâr Khilji, it may perhaps be identified with the Mátâbhángá, which flows through Chuadanga almost due south of Pabna. The latter river had formerly an outlet towards the east of the Delta; but owing to the gradual silting up of this tract, it subsequently left its bed and turning west occupied in turn parts of the channels of the Kumâr, Ichámâti, and Churni rivers, and eventually rejoined the Bhágirathi not far from Chakdaha. It has been suggested that the Haringhátá was the original estuary of the Karáttoyá and its affluents, and it is possible that the Bhairab was the ancient channel of the Mahánandá. Its tortuous course can still be traced on both sides of the Jalangi and the Mátâbhángá, and it is only near the Padma, almost opposite the point where the Mahánandá flows into it, that all upward traces of this old river disappear.

\* Possibly the Sankosh and even the Manâs joined it. There are the remains of a river called Manâs in Rangpur and Bogra, and this may possibly indicate the former course of the river of that name which now flows into the Brahmaputra above Goalpara in Assam. The Paurânic name of the Kosi was Kausikî, and it is interesting to note that a Naiad of this name was worshipped on the bank of the Karáttoyá.

† The name probably indicates that the Brahmaputra has here occupied the bed of a river called the Jamuna. There is still an affluent of the Atrai of this name, and in this country of constant fluvial changes, its present insignificance is no argument against its having once been a large and important river.

‡ The Tista, which is really the modern Karáttoyá, though deprived of many of its affluents, flowed south-west instead of south-east, at the time of Rennell's survey, and joining the Atrai in Dinajpur fell into the Padma. It broke eastwards in the destructive floods of 1787.



6. The history of the changes in these rivers\* is of importance in connection with the ethnic distribution of the people. For a correct appreciation of the distribution of the population by race and religion and of the caste distinctions that now exist, it is also necessary to know something of the history of the Province. A brief outline of the more important points is therefore given below.

7. The Province of Bihar† is known to us from very early times. The ancient kingdom of Magadha comprised the country now included in the districts of Patna, Gaya, and Shahabad. Its capital was at Rájagriha, some thirty miles north-east of Gaya. North of the Ganges was Videha or Mithila, which included the modern districts of Darbhanga, Saran, Champaran, and North Muzaffarpur; the south of the latter district constituted the small kingdom of Vaisáli. To the east lay Anga, including Monghyr, Bhagalpur, and Purnea, as far as the Mahánandá river. There are constant references to these countries in the *Mahábhárata*. Magadha is even mentioned under the name of Kikota in the *Ríg Veda*. It was in Magadha that Buddha developed his religion and that Mahávirá founded the cognate creed of the Jains. Soon after Buddha's death a Sudra, named Nanda, wrested the throne from the Kshattriyas and founded a new dynasty. He made his capital at the confluence of the Sone and the Ganges near the modern Patna. Chandra Gupta, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, overthrew this family and founded the Maurya dynasty. He successfully resisted Seleucus, one of Alexander's generals, and it was at his court that Megasthenes compiled his great work on India. His grandson, Asoka, established a hegemony over the whole of Northern India, including a great part of Bengal and Orissa. He was the great protagonist of Buddhism and sent his missionaries to every known country. In the fourth century the Gupta dynasty rose to power. Their capital also was at Patna, and their supremacy was acknowledged by the kings of Bengal and Kámarupa. They were Hindus by religion. In Hiuen Tsiang's time North Bihar was divided into Vriti to the north and Vaisali to the south, both countries stretching westwards to the Mahánandá. South of the Ganges were Hiranya Parvana (Monghyr) and Champa (South Bhagalpur, the Sonthal Parganas, and Birbhum). The rulers of both these kingdoms were probably Khetauris of Mál origin. In the ninth century the Buddhist dynasty founded by Gopála included Magadha in its dominions, and eventually fixed its capital at Odantapuri. The last of this line was defeated in 1197 A.D. by Bakhtyár Khilji, whose soldiers destroyed Odantapuri and massacred the Buddhist monks assembled there.

9. Very little is known of Bengal Proper until the rise of the Pála dynasty. At the time of the *Mahábhárata*, Northern and Eastern Bengal formed with Assam the powerful kingdom of Prágjyotisha, or Kámarupa as it was subsequently called, and its ruler, Bhagadatta, was one of the great chiefs who fought in the battle of Kurukshetra. This kingdom stretched westwards as far as the Karátoyá river. It was ruled by a succession of princes of Mongoloid stock, and was still flourishing when visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century. South-east of Prágjyotisha, between the Karátoyá and the Mahánandá, lay Pundra or Paundravardhana, the country of the Pods, which, according to Cunningham, has given its name to the modern Pabna; its capital may have been at Mahásthán on the right bank of the old Karátoyá river. This kingdom was in existence in the third century (B.C.) and Asoka's brother found shelter there in the guise of a Buddhist monk. It was still flourishing when Hiuen Tsiang travelled in India, and it is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the 11th century.‡

\* As pointed out in the *Ain-i-Akbari* the distribution of the Muhammadan Sirkars in Bengal depended on the courses of the Padma, Bhágirathi and Megna. The boundaries of the older Hindu divisions of the country were also determined with references to these rivers.

† Excluding Malda and the Sonthal Parganas. Malda was always treated as a part of Bengal prior to the British occupation, while the Sonthal Parganas belongs more properly to Chota Nagpur.

‡ *Ballála Charitra*, by Ananda Bhaita. Ballála Sena's wife went there, accompanied by a Brahman priest, to worship a phallic emblem, but the priest who received the offerings seems to have been a Buddhist.



10. East of the Bhágirathi and south of Pundra lay Vanga (called Samatata by Hien Tsiang), which has given its name to the modern Province of Bengal. Its people are described in the *Raghuvansa* as living in boats, and they are clearly the ancestors of the Chandáls, who at the present day inhabit this part of the country. On the west of the Bhágirathi lay Karna Suvarna (Burdwan, Bankura, Murshidabad, and Hooghly), whose king, Sashánka or Narendra, the last of the Guptas, was a fanatical worshipper of Siva, and invaded Magadha and cut down the sacred *bodhi* tree early in the seventh century.\* Lastly, there was the kingdom of Támralipta or Suhma comprising what now constitutes the districts of Midnapore and Howrah. The rulers of this country seem to have been Kaibarttas.

11. During the ninth century the Pála dynasty rose to power in the

#### THE PÁLA AND SENA KINGS.

country formerly known as Pundra and Anga. Like the kings of Pundra, they were Buddhists, but they were tolerant towards Hinduism. They gradually extended their power westwards, and absorbed the greater part of Magadha. They were driven from Bengal Proper about the middle of the eleventh century by Sámanta Sena, who, starting from Navadvip, gradually established his sway over Eastern and Southern Bengal. By degrees the whole of Bengal Proper as far east as the Karátóyá and the Brahmaputra came under Sena rule.

12. The Senas were Hindus and during their rule Buddhism was actively discouraged. The best remembered king of this dynasty is Ballála Sena, who reorganised the caste system and introduced Kulinism amongst the Brahmans, Vaidyas, and Káyasths. To him is attributed the division of Bengal into four parts, viz., Rárh, west of the Bhágirathi, corresponding roughly to Karna Suvarna; Barendra† between the Mahánandá and the Karátóyá, corresponding to Pundra; Bágri (Bágdi) or South Bengal, and Banga or Eastern Bengal. The last King, Lakshmana Sena, was still ruling at Gaur at the time of Bakhtyár Khilji's invasion at the end of the 12th century. He fled to Bikrampur in the Dacca district, where his descendants exercised a precarious sovereignty for another 120 years.‡ Many Brahmans fled with him, and this explains how Bikrampur has become one of the great strongholds of Brahmanism in Bengal.

13. The earliest name for Orissa was Kalinga, a country stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Krishna. Its

#### ORISSA.

capital about half way down the coast was on the site of the modern city of Kalingapatam. Later the term Kalinga was applied only to the delta of the Godaverí: that of the Mahánadi became known as Utkala or Odra. In the caves at Khandagiri are to be seen the earliest memorials of Buddhist life, the latest of which date from about the first century of our era. The *Mádala Panjiká*, or palm-leaf records of the temple of Jagannath, speak of various invasions from the north and of a subsequent invasion, about 320 A.D., of Yavanas from over the sea. These invaders, who, whatever their race, were staunch Buddhists, ruled for 150 years. They were expelled from Orissa by Yayáti Kesari, the founder of the Lion dynasty, which ruled until 1132 A.D. These kings were worshippers of Siva, and their progenitor is reputed to have imported 10,000 Brahmans from Oudh. It was they who built the temples at Bhuvanesvar, and during their rule Buddhism gradually gave way to Sivaism. The Lion kings were succeeded by the Chola or Gangetic line, who ruled till the middle of the 16th century, when the Bráhman apostate, Kálá Páhár, conquered the country for the Pathan kings of Bengal. Under the Gangetic kings Vaishnavism became the State religion of Orissa. The chief monuments of their rule are the great Temple of Jagannath at Puri and the Sun Temple at Kanárak.

\* The capital of this country has been identified by Colonel Waddell with a suburb of Burdwan and by Mr. Beveridge with Rangamati in the Murshidabad district. The latter view is the one which seems most likely to receive general acceptance.

† The name survives in the Hárid or elevated tract of old alluvium which extends over a considerable part of the modern districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Malda, and Bogra.

‡ Ghiyasuddin, son of Firuz Shah, made conquests in Eastern Bengal and established himself at Sonargaon under the name of Bahadur Shah, where he struck coins in 1311. Thirty years previously Moghisuddin had been Governor at Sonargaon, but he became insubordinate and was overthrown by an imperial army assisted by the troops of the "Zamindar" Dhinwsj Rai, doubtless Dhinaj Madhab who is supposed to be a great grandson of Lakshmana Sena.



14. Bakhtyár Khilji, a Pathan General of Muhammad Ghori, conquered Bihar in 1197. Two years later he advanced to Bengal and took possession of Gaur and Nabadvip without a struggle. He unsuccessfully invaded Tibet, and in his retreat lost the greater part of his army at the hands of the Meches east of the Karátoyá. The greater part of Bengal gradually came under the control of the Muhammadan Governors who ruled at Gaur or Lakhnauti until 1338, when Muhammad Tughlak declared himself independent.

15. Eight years before this date South Bihar had been separated from Bengal and annexed to Delhi. North Bihar apparently belonged to Bengal for some time longer, as the Bengal King Háji Ilyás is reputed to be the founder of Hájipur. In 1397 the whole of Bihar became part of the kingdom of Jaunpur, but a century later it was again taken possession of by the Emperors of Delhi, who continued to hold it except for a short time when the Bengal king Husain Shah and his son, Nasrat Shah, obtained temporary possession of the country north of the Ganges. Under the Moghals the capital of the country was the town of Bihár in the south of the Patna district, and from this town the whole province took its name.

16. From 1338 till 1576 Bengal was ruled by various lines of independent kings, mostly of Pathan origin. In the latter year Akbar defeated Daud, who was then king, and Bengal was annexed to the Moghal Empire, to which it continued to belong until it passed into the possession of the East India Company. The capital was usually at Gaur or the neighbouring towns of Pandua and Rajmahal until 1608, when it was moved to Dacca. About a century later Murshid Kuli Khan made Murshidabad his head-quarters, and so it remained until the end of Moslem rule.

17. In North Bengal the Khen dynasty ruled until the end of the 15th century, when it was overthrown by Husain Shah, but the country was not permanently held. Biswa Singh, the progenitor of the Koch kings, founded a new dynasty, whose rule extended from the Karátoyá as far as Central Assam, and it was not until 1661 that the country as far as Goalpara was permanently acquired by Mir Jumla. Previous to the 17th century the Chittagong Division and Noakhali were usually in the hands of the Tiparas or of the Maghs, and it was only after the transfer of the capital to Dacca that this tract was gradually annexed.

18. Orissa (including Midnapore), which had been wrested from the Hindu kings by Kálá Páhár, the General of Suláiman, King of Bengal, in 1567, remained in the possession of the Afghans until 1592, when Mán Singh annexed it. It was placed under separate Governors, but Midnapore and Balasore were subsequently transferred to Bengal. In 1752 Alivardi Khan ceded the Province to the Mahrattas, in whose possession it remained until its conquest by the British in 1803.

19. Chota Nagpur,\* including the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur and Orissa, is called Jhárkand in the Akbarnamah. The country was ruled by chiefs of various aboriginal tribes, the Cheros being predominant in Palamau, the Mundas in Ranchi, and the Bhuiyás and Gonds in the Orissa States. The south of Chota Nagpur Proper was annexed by Akbar and Palamau by Sháh Jahán. The remoter chiefs appear to have remained independent until their subjugation by the Mahrattas towards the end of the 18th century.

20. During Muhammadan rule the authority of the Central Government varied with the character of the King or Governor for the time being. If he was energetic and masterful, the whole Province accepted his authority, but if he was weak and indolent, the local rulers became practically independent. Chief among these were the Bárah Bhuiyás of Eastern and Southern Bengal, of whom Rája Pratápáditya of Jessore and Isá Khán of Khizrpur, who is

\* Chota Nagpur is a corruption of Chutia Nagpur. The name is derived from Chutia, near Ranchi the residence of the old Munda Rájá.



mentioned by Ralph Fitch, are the best known. The Rájas of Vishnupur in Bankura, or Mallabhum as it was then called, and Burdwan were also practically independent so long as they paid the revenue assessed on their estates.\*

21. The soil of the Ganges plain, consists partly of the older alluvium or *bhángar*, a yellowish clay with frequent deposits of *kankar*, and partly of the newer alluvium, which varies from sand and sandy clay in the upper course of the rivers to a fine silt consolidating into clay in the delta. Before the delta is reached the newer alluvium forms the low land or strath (*khádar*) through which the rivers flow, which is flooded in the rains and which has evidently been cut out from the *bhángar* or older alluvium. In the delta, on the other hand, where the rivers have grown torpid, the silt is deposited in their beds and on their banks, which are thus gradually raised above the level of the surrounding country, until at last the river breaks through to the adjacent low land and repeats the process. In the delta therefore the newer alluvium is found above and not below the level of the surrounding country, and great marshes or *bils* are often found within the enclosures formed by the high banks of rivers. In some parts a black loam is met with. This is an accumulation of decayed vegetable matter deposited in the marshes just referred to.

East of the Bhágirathi the newer alluvium is everywhere prevalent except in the Báring in North Bengal and the Madhupur jungle in the south of Mymensingh. West of the Bhágirathi and in Bihar the *bhángar* or older alluvium predominates, except near the course of the great rivers. On the Chota Nagpur Plateau there are extensive areas of rock, laterite, and gravel which are unfit for cultivation and, except in the valleys, the patches of fertile ground are small and infrequent.

22. The climate of Bengal is distinctly tropical and the mean yearly temperature ranges from 80° at Cuttack to 74° in Chota Nagpur. The mean temperature during the cold weather months is about 64° and during the hot weather 83°. The highest temperature recorded in Calcutta in 1901 was 108·2° on the 12th June, and the lowest 50·1° on the 20th and 25th January. The atmosphere, especially in the east and south-east, is extraordinarily humid. The rainfall is heaviest in Eastern Bengal and in the Himalayan Terai, where it often exceeds 100", and lowest in the southern districts of Bihár, where the average is only about 41". The early part of the year is usually almost rainless, but about the beginning of February atmospheric disturbances begin to occur which are generally accompanied by heavy showers of rain and occasionally hail. The rainfall gradually increases until June, when the local sea breezes give way to the steadier winds of the south-west monsoon which supplies the province with the greater part of its annual rainfall.† The monsoon current fades away in September and its departure is signalized by showers which sometimes continue into November. There is often a little rain again about the end of December. This is the ordinary course of events, which is also most beneficial to the crops, but it frequently happens that the total rainfall is below the average, or that its distribution is abnormal. In such cases much harm may be caused to the crops, resulting in extreme cases in total failure. The *ághani* or cold weather rice requires copious showers in May and a punctual commencement of the monsoon, but the sufficiency of the rainfall in September is the chief factor in producing a good outturn. For the early rice, Indian corn and millets, *i.e.*, the *bhadoi* crops, the pre-monsoon showers are of most importance, while the *rabi* or spring rice, wheat, barley and pulses depend on the showers that follow the monsoon and the Christmas rain.

23. The inhabitants of Bengal are for the most part agriculturists. The choice of crop is determined chiefly by the elevation of the land and the climatic conditions. The character of the soil is of less importance, but, speaking generally, rice does

\* In the Ain the revenue of Bengal as it stood in 1582, excluding numerous *abwábs* or special imposts, was fixed at Rs. 1,00,86,944. This was levied from the raiyats in specie as the equivalent of the fourth share of the gross produce. In 1765, when the East India Company acquired the *dewáni*, the net amount of all revenue collected by authority in Bengal was Rs. 2,56,24,223.

† The bulk of the rain comes from the Bay of Bengal, but parts of Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur get a portion of their supply from westerly winds from Bombay.



best on clay, wheat on a rich loam, and barley on a more sandy soil, while maize will thrive on shallow rocky soils which would support very few other crops. Taking the Province as a whole, more than sixty per cent. of the entire cultivated area is under rice, and in 1891 the estimated outturn amounted to about sixteen and-a-half million tons of cleaned rice. The proportion of rice cultivation is greatest in the deltaic districts, where the humidity of the climate and the swampy condition of the country are peculiarly favourable to its growth. Jute is the only other important crop which will thrive under these conditions; the area on which it is grown has more than doubled during the last twenty years, and in 1900 it is estimated that the gross outturn aggregated 1,200,000 tons. Of this, about half was exported, the estimated value being rather more than 7 millions sterling; the rest was consumed in the Province, as will be explained further on. This rapid extension of jute cultivation is one of the great factors in the growing prosperity of Eastern Bengal.

24. During the cold weather oilseeds of various kinds are extensively cultivated in most districts, usually as a second crop on land that has already yielded a harvest of early rice. The average outturn of all kinds of oilseeds during the last seven years amounts to about six and a half million tons. Of this, about a third of a million tons, valued at two and a half millions sterling, was exported. In the dryer districts of Bihar, in addition to rice and oilseeds,

*Estimated Outturn in 1900.*

	Tons.
Wheat	... 672,600
Barley	... 440,200
Maize	... 673,300
Opium	... 3,220
Indigo	... 2,400

wheat, barley, and maize are largely cultivated, and also opium and indigo. The last-mentioned staple grows well in Bengal also, especially on the *chars*, but it is not a favourite crop with the cultivators and, owing to this and to falling prices, the area planted with it is declining rapidly. In Bihar, too, the reduction in price has caused a decrease of about a quarter in the area under indigo as compared with 1893, and has led the planters to seek for some other crop to replace or supplement it. The exports of indigo in 1900 were valued at a little more than a million sterling, or barely a third of the estimated value of the exports in 1844. The revenue from the cultivation of opium, which is a Government monopoly, amounted to 274 lakhs of rupees in 1899, against nearly 549 lakhs in 1881. The cultivation of the sugarcane is common throughout Bengal, but the amount grown (estimated at 9,000,000 tons in 1900) is not sufficient to meet the local demand, and large quantities of beet-root sugar are imported. In Eastern Bengal sugar is manufactured from the juice of the date-palm: no figures are available as to the quantity of sugar thus obtained, but it is believed that the total outturn, though still considerable, has fallen off a good deal during the last 20 years. Tobacco is grown for home consumption in every district and in Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Kuch Bihar and Darbhanga considerable quantities are produced for export. Much of it is taken to Nepal and some finds its way to Burma, where it is made up into cheroots.

25. The silkworm is reared in Western Bengal and in the districts where the Presidency and Rajshahi Commissionerships meet. The industry was threatened with extinction, owing to diseases amongst the worms, but the subject has been carefully investigated and there now seems a fair prospect of the further spread of these diseases being prevented. The exports of raw silk in 1899 were valued at nearly 68 lakhs of rupees as compared with nearly 49 lakhs in 1891.

26. Tea is grown chiefly in the Duars of Jalpaiguri and in the Darjeeling district, and also, though to a smaller extent, in Chittagong, Ranchi, and Hazaribagh. The tea-gardens of Jalpaiguri attract crowds of coolies from the barren uplands of Chota Nagpur and the Sonthal Parganas. In Darjeeling most of the labour force is recruited from Nepal. The estimated outturn of tea in Bengal in 1900 was 46½ million pounds, valued at £976,187, against 27¼ million pounds, valued at £800,000, in 1891. This rapid expansion of tea cultivation has now received a check, owing to a serious fall in prices, and the immediate future of the industry is far from reassuring.

27. The prices of food-grains have risen everywhere during the past decade. At the Patna mart in 1900 rice sold at 14·99, wheat at 14·13, and gram at 17·70 seers per rupee, as compared with 18·23, 17·30, and 23·33 seers respectively in 1891. At the Dacca mart only 13·15 seers of rice could be obtained for a rupee in 1900,

PRICES OF FOOD-GRAINS.



against 16·63 seers ten years earlier, of wheat only 10·46 against 13·92 seers, and of gram only 12·19 against 15·38 seers.

This general rise of prices has enriched the cultivating classes, but it has been the reverse of beneficial to the rest of the population. So far, however, as the labouring classes are concerned, the greater cost of living has, to a great extent, been met by a general rise in wages. In Bihar wages show an advance of barely 3 per cent. but in all other parts of the Province they have risen to the extent of at least 10 per cent. The increase is most marked in the case of skilled labourers. There has also been a movement of the labouring classes from Bihar where wages are low to Bengal Proper, where they are high.

28. Buffaloes are bred in Purnea and Rangpur, sheep in Bihar, and goats throughout the Province. In Mymensingh numerous herds of cattle and buffaloes are grazed in

#### PASTURE.

the *háors* or basins which are filled with water in the rains, but dry up in the cold weather. Large quantities of cheese (known in the market as Dacca cheese) are made and exported even as far as Turkey. But on the whole Bengal is not a pastoral country, and as a rule very little stock is bred except such as is required locally. The amount of grazing ground is generally very limited, and it is all that the raiyats can do to provide fodder for the cattle kept by them for ploughing and for milk.

29. Dacca and Santipur were formerly famous for their fine muslins, and early in the century the value of muslins exported to Europe, and especially to France, was

#### MANUFACTURES.

very great. From Dacca alone the exports in 1817 were valued at a hundred and fifty-two lakhs of rupees. Ordinary cotton goods were also exported in large quantities, and as early as 1755 efforts were being made to induce weavers to settle in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. The introduction of machinery in Europe, however, not only killed the Indian export trade, but has flooded the country with cheap piece-goods, and has so seriously crippled the indigenous manufacture that many persons belonging to the weaver castes have been driven to abandon the loom for the plough.

The manufacture of silk also is decadent, and the quantity exported in 1899 was valued at only ten lakhs of rupees, against twenty-five lakhs in 1882.

On the other hand, the number of jute mills is rapidly increasing, and in 1900 there were 38 mills with nearly 14,000 looms and employing more than 100,000 labourers compared with 21 mills with 5,000 looms in 1881. Nearly half the raw jute produced in Bengal is now consumed in these mills, and the value of gunny-bags, rope, and other goods exported in 1900 was over four millions sterling, against only one million twenty years previously. Other large industries are also springing up, such as paper mills, iron foundries and pottery and machinery works, and for miles above Calcutta the banks of the Hooghly present a scene of industrial activity which bids fair in time to rival that of the largest manufacturing towns in Europe. These mills are at present chiefly under European supervision and supported by European capital. It may be hoped that the natives of the country will follow the lead thus given them, and in the meantime a lucrative employment is opened out to the ever-growing class of landless labourers in Bihar.

30. The chief mining industry is coal. The principal coalfields at present known are those of Karharbári or Giridih,

#### MINES—COAL.

Raniganj, Jheria and Karanpura. They are estimated to contain 1,500,000,000 tons of coal. The Karharbári field lies in the valley of the Barákar and those of Raniganj and Jheria in that of the Damodar; these have been made accessible by rail and are rapidly being developed, but the extensive Karanpura coalfields at the head of the Damodar valley are not yet worked owing to their distance from the existing lines of railway. There are also smaller fields still practically unworked at Ramgarh, Daltonganj, and Talcher. All the above coals are somewhat bituminous with a rather high percentage of ash. In the Darjeeling district near the Nepal frontier there is a narrow field of anthracite coal, but it is doubtful if it could be successfully extracted on a large scale.

The first mine was opened in 1820, but it is only in recent years, since the establishment of through railway communication that the production of coal has



advanced by leaps and bounds. There were 46 mines in 1872 and 73 in 1881, while in 1900 the number had risen to 280. The total output in 1872 was less than a third of a million tons; in 1881 it was still less than a million; in 1891 it was less than a million and three quarters, but by 1900 it had risen to close on five million tons, valued at nearly 10 millions sterling. The exports of coal in the latter year amounted to more than half-a-million tons, or more than four times the quantity exported five years earlier.

31. A certain amount of iron ore is worked, chiefly at Barákar near Asansol, where there are iron works at which pig-iron pipes and various kinds of castings are turned

#### OTHER MINERALS.

out. The total quantity of iron ore extracted in 1900 was 57,000 tons, or nearly three times the quantity obtained ten years previously. This industry, however, is still in its infancy; its ultimate success depends in a great measure on the coking qualities of the Bengal coal. The coke hitherto made at Barákar is of inferior quality, but it has not yet been manufactured according to modern methods. The coal of Giridih and Jheria, on the other hand, is said to furnish an excellent, hard coke.

Mica is found in various parts of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, and there are numerous mines, chiefly in the Hazaribagh district. The total output in 1900 was 429 tons, valued at £28,000, or nearly five times the quantity obtained ten years previously. Soap-stone is found in Manbhum, and is made into cups, images, and the like, but the industry is small and decadent. The saltpetre of Indian commerce is obtained mainly from the Patna Division and Monghyr. It occurs as a natural efflorescence on the surface of the ground, and its manufacture affords employment to thousands of the caste (Nunia) to which it gives its name. The quantity recorded as having been produced in the Province in 1900 is estimated at 160,000 hundredweight, valued at £80,000, or rather less than the outturn in 1891. Fuller's earth is obtained in the Bhagalpur Division; granite in Gaya; lime-stone, sand-stone, and laterite in parts of Bihar, West Bengal, and Orissa; and slate in Monghyr, but the quantity of these minerals hitherto extracted is small, and accurate statistics are not available. Brick, fire and pottery clays are found in various parts, the finest being that of Raniganj, which is used in the pottery works of Messrs. Burn & Co. for the manufacture of stoneware, glazed drain-pipes, bricks, tiles, etc.

32. In 1872 there were less than 900 miles of railway in the whole of Bengal, viz., 176 miles on the Eastern Bengal

#### RAILWAYS.

State Railway (Eastern Section 149 miles and Southern Section 27 miles) and 731 miles on the East Indian Railway, including (1) the main line to Chausa 418 miles, (2) the loop line 250 miles, and (3) branches 53 miles. During the next nine years, 407 miles were constructed, the chief items being 230 miles on the northern section of the Eastern Bengal Railway and the first 70 miles of the Tirhut State Railway; the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway was also commenced. Between 1881 and 1891 progress was much more rapid. More than 350 miles were added to the Eastern Bengal Railway system, including 158 miles on the Bihar section and 86 miles on the Dacca section. An addition of 253 miles was made to the Tirhut State Railway, and the first 140 miles of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway were constructed. The Bengal Central Railway (125 miles) was commenced and finished, and also that portion of the Bengal and North-Western Railway (112 miles) which runs through this Province. The total length of the railway lines completed during the decade was 1,051 miles. In the decennium that has just passed no less than 1,614 miles of railway have been opened. The largest addition consists of 524 miles on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, which has brought Midnapore, Singhbhum, Manbhum, and the Orissa districts into direct railway communication with Calcutta. The East Indian Railway has added 320 miles to its length, chiefly on the Gaya-Mogulserai (107 miles) and South Bihar (79 miles) branches. The other important additions include the Tirhut State Railway (203 miles), the Assam-Bengal Railway (159 miles), and the Bengal-Duars Railway (102 miles). An interesting feature of the decade was the construction of light railways between Howrah and Amta, Howrah and Sheakhala, and Ranaghat and Krishnagar. It seems probable that these lines are the precursors of many others linking up important trade centres with the existing railway systems.



These improved communications not only open out new markets for produce, and thereby raise prices and increase the profits of the cultivators, but they also facilitate migration, and thus tend to relieve the pressure of population in the more thickly-populated tracts. Districts along the line of march to the great places of pilgrimage, such as Puri and Gaya, are no longer so liable as they were formerly to the importation of epidemic disease, but on the other hand disease can be carried to a much greater distance than was formerly the case.\*

33. The construction of canals as a means of irrigation dates from 1868, when the Sone, Orissa, and Midnapore canal schemes were commenced. The Sone Canals draw

#### CANALS.

their water from the Sone river and run through the west of Patna and Gaya and the northern and central part of Shahabad. The main canals were completed by 1881; three quarters of the branch canals and distributaries were ready by the same date, and the remainder by 1891. The Orissa Canals draw their water from the Mahánadi, Bráhmīni, and Baiturni rivers, and serve the deltaic country between the railway line and the coast. Three-fifths of the whole system had been completed by 1881. The Midnapore Canals are dependent on the Cossye river. There are canals in Saran and Champaran also, but these are on a comparatively small scale. These projects cost in all more than six crores of rupees. The Sone Canals were originally estimated to be capable of irrigating a million acres, the Orissa Canals about half a million, and the Midnapore Canals about one-eighth of a million acres. The area actually paying water-rate, however, has in no case reached even half these estimates, except in 1896, when the Sone Canals carried water to 555,126 acres. From the experience then gained it would seem that this is about the maximum area that they are capable of irrigating in a year of severe drought.

The benefit to the country resulting from the construction of these canals cannot be gauged by the direct financial results, which are disappointing, especially in Orissa, where the receipts seldom cover the actual working expenses.† They have, however, added greatly to the annual yield of the land watered by them; in some parts a great rise in rents has taken place, and cultivation has been extended to areas which were previously uncultivable waste; and in a famine year the direct saving to Government is enormous. It is estimated that in 1896 the Sone Canals added at least 230,000 tons to the stock of food-grains in Bihar and saved to Government at least a third of their capital outlay. It has recently been decided to construct a similar, but less costly system of canals for the protection of the cultivated area in the submontane tracts of North Bihar, where the numerous streams and the rapid fall of the country make irrigation comparatively easy.

34. Though primarily constructed with a view to irrigation, the larger canals are also of use as a means of transport, the total length available for navigation being nearly 500 miles. There are also several canals which were constructed solely for navigation purposes, and a considerable expenditure is incurred annually in keeping the Bhágirathi and other rivers in the Nadia district open for boat traffic. During the

	Miles.
Hijli Tidal Canal ...	39
Calcutta and Eastern Canals ...	47
Orissa Coast Canal ...	102½
Total ...	178½

\* It is impossible to illustrate the effect of railways on the population by any graphic method owing to their two-fold operation. There can be no doubt as to the great benefit that a tract derives from the construction of a railway through it, but it does not follow that this benefit will be reflected by an immediate growth of the population. Very frequently the tendency is the other way. The cultivator benefits by the rise in prices, but there is no wasteland available for new settlers, while on the other hand the landless labourer is enabled to move more easily and for shorter periods to places where there is a greater demand for his services. Thus the construction of the railway through Orissa has stimulated the emigration of Oriyas to Bengal, without attracting to Orissa any new cultivators, or in fact any one at all, except a few railway officials. Again, the variations in the population are not necessarily dependent on the railway. There has been a loss of population along the new line of railway from Patna to Gaya and through the south-east of Midnapore. On the other hand the Chandpur subdivision of Tippera which has been tapped by the Assam-Bengal Railway shows an increase of 30 per cent. since 1891. In none of these cases can the variation be attributed to improved communications. The growth of the Chandpur subdivision was equally rapid in the two previous decades when there was no railway, while the decrease in Gaya and the part of Midnapore through which the railway runs is due to fever and plague more than to emigration.

† In his recent report on the settlement of Orissa, Mr. Maddox reckoned that the increase of land revenue due to the canals was between a quarter and half a lakh. He estimated that a further sum of a third of a lakh is saved yearly on account of remissions which would be required from time to time if the canals and embankments were not in existence. On the other hand, he calculated, that the people of the Orissa Division benefit by the canals to the extent of 40 lakhs of rupees a year.



last few years operations have been in progress for improving the *bil* route between the Madhumati and Kumár rivers, with a view to providing a channel that will eventually be suitable for the passage of large steamers throughout the year.

In addition to canals for providing water artificially, numerous embankments are maintained by Government as a protection against floods. Of these, the best known are the Orissa embankments with a total length of nearly seven hundred miles, the embankments of the Bhágirathi and Damodar, and those on the seacoast of Midnapore.

35. There are nearly 40,000 miles of roads in Bengal. In the province as a whole, this gives about one mile of road to every four miles of area, but the circumstances of different localities vary a great deal. In the Patna Division there is on the average one mile of road for every two miles of area, and the ratio is also high in the Presidency, Bhagalpur, and Rajshahi Divisions. In the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, on the other hand, where the network of waterways dispenses to a great extent with the necessity for roads, and in the sparsely populated tracts of Chota Nagpur, the mileage is less than half the provincial average. Nearly 7,000 miles of road were constructed during the decade preceding the present census, chiefly as relief works during the famine of 1896. The total length of metalled roads is 4,606 miles, or nearly 10 per cent. more than in 1891.

36. The people of Bengal are mainly agricultural and the outturn of the crops grown by them is dependent on the amount and distribution of the rainfall. It follows that any serious failure in the latter must have a very disastrous effect on the community as a whole. In former times when railways did not exist and roads were few, the privations of the people in famine years were terrible. It was estimated at the time that in the famine of 1769 about a third of the inhabitants of Purnea died of starvation, and the loss of life in other districts also was appalling. As the efficiency of our administration increased and communications improved,\* the efforts of Government have been directed with constantly growing success to reduce to a minimum the sufferings of the people during famine by providing employment for the able-bodied and gratuitous relief for the infirm and afflicted. And, as already stated, canals have been

DIVISION.	Total area.	Area liable to famine.	Population of area liable to famine.	Maximum number of persons likely to require relief in severe famine.
Burdwan ... ..	13,949	7,449	8,130,634	164,597
Presidency ... ..	12,666	4,355	2,565,341	131,437
Rajshahi ... ..	17,356	6,853	5,148,794	287,097
Patna ... ..	23,636	16,795	11,091,373	716,383
Bhagalpur ... ..	20,511	13,029	5,702,266	339,630
Orissa ... ..	9,341	4,343	1,396,140	245,985
Chota Nagpur ... ..	20,963	26,963	4,000,469	267,476
Total ... ..	124,672	83,398	23,990,117	2,160,564

the nature of the neighbouring country. The classes that suffer most are the landless labourers and the petty artisans; the actual cultivators have usually a reserve of grain sufficient to save them from starvation.

37. During the decade preceding the census of 1901, relief operations on a considerable scale were necessary in 1891-92, in 1896-97 and again in 1899-1900. In the year 1891 the early close of the monsoon and the absence of the cold weather rains caused much damage to the winter rice and *rabi* crops, and relief operations were necessary in parts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Purnea and Dinajpur. The largest number on relief works on any one day was 83,016, and on gratuitous relief 4,699; the total cost of the relief operations was rather less than five lakhs of rupees. In 1899 the monsoon

\* The importance of good communications as a palliative of famine is best illustrated by the experience of the Orissa famine of 1866, when the south-west monsoon prevented the supply of food to the starving people until hundreds of thousands had died.



was very capricious in parts of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. There was excessive rain in July but exceptionally little in August and September. The crops were very short throughout the area affected, but actual famine supervened only in about half Ranchi and a small part of the Palamau district. The famine of 1896-97 was far more serious. The causes of the crop failure were a very unfavourable distribution of the rainfall early in the season and the entire absence of rain after the early part of September 1896. There had been a very poor crop of winter rice in 1895, and in 1896 it was again this crop that suffered most. The brunt of the famine fell upon the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Saran, and especially upon the tracts near the Nepal frontier, where the proportion of rice cultivation is greatest. The population is here dense, the tenantry are depressed, and the proportion of landless labourers is very high. West of Darbhanga the distress was less marked; it was severe only in parts of the Supaul and Madhipura subdivisions of Darbhanga and Purnea escaped altogether. In South Bihar the stress of famine was confined to parts of the Bhabua and Sasaram subdivisions of Shahabad. Elsewhere the protection afforded by the Sone Canal system, and the *ahars* or reservoirs constructed by the cultivators themselves, helped to avert a serious crop failure. In the Chota Nagpur plateau, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, and two tracts in the Sonthal Parganas were seriously affected. In West Bengal, Bankura alone suffered severely, while in Central Bengal the crop failure was most marked in a lowlying tract known as the Kalantar, situated partly in Murshidabad and partly in Nadia, and in the Satkhira subdivision of Khulna. The famine in Orissa was confined to some parts of Puri, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Chilka Lake.

38. Relief works were opened in November 1896, and by the close of the

MONTH.	NUMBERS ON—	
	Relief works.	Gratuitous relief.
March ... ..	302,780	235,745
April ... ..	365,512	312,055
May ... ..	402,346	425,369
June ... ..	364,352	457,782
July ... ..	166,420	305,915
August ... ..	51,097	253,780

year 44,901 persons were employed on them. In March 1897 the distress deepened rapidly and the numbers on relief rose steadily until the monsoon had fairly set in, when they again quickly diminished, and during September and October all famine operations were brought to a close. The net result of relief operations reduced to terms of one day shows that over 61 million persons attended the works, and over 71 millions received gratuitous relief. The total expenditure was nearly 110 lakhs of rupees, in addition to advances to cultivators aggregating nearly 3 lakhs, donations of nearly 20 lakhs from the charitable relief fund, the outcome of voluntary subscriptions in this country and England, and private relief by zamindars and others. Foremost amongst the latter was the late Mahārāja Bāhādūr of Darbhanga, who spent more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs on relief operations and distributed nearly 6 lakhs in advances. The effect of the famine on the population will be discussed when dealing with the variations that have occurred during the decade, but it may be stated here that everything tends to show that although much suffering was unavoidable, the number of actual deaths from starvation must have been very small indeed, and that, having regard to the wide-spread nature of the calamity, a far greater measure of success was attained than on any previous occasion.

39. For administrative purposes Bengal is divided into nine large tracts

#### POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF BENGAL.

officially called Divisions, each of which is superintended by a Commissioner. Of these, five are within the limits of Bengal Proper, and two are in Bihar, while Orissa and Chota Nagpur each forms a separate Commissionership. The average area of a Commissioner's Division is rather less than 17,000 square miles, and the average population a little more than 8 millions. These Divisions are again subdivided into districts, each under a Magistrate and Collector or Deputy Commissioner. Including Angul and the Chittagong Hill Tracts the total number of districts is 47. The largest districts are Hazaribagh and Ranchi each of which is about half as large again as Wales. The greatest number of people is found in Mymensingh whose population of nearly 4 millions does not fall far short of that of the whole of Upper Burma. The average area of a district exceeds 3,200 square miles, and the average population is more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions.



The number of districts in a Commissioner's Division varies from four in the case of Dacca, Chittagong and Orissa, to seven in the Rajshahi and Patna Divisions. The latter with its population of over 15 millions or about that of the Bombay Presidency excluding Sindh, is overgrown, and its partition is a reform that cannot be much longer delayed. The Feudatory States attached to Bengal comprise Kuch Bihar, Hill Tippera, Sikkim and two groups of Tributary States known respectively as the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. The former group includes seventeen, and the latter nine, States.

40. The political divisions of the present day are not always coterminous with those indicated by the physical features of the country or the ethnic distribution of the people. This is especially the case in respect of Commissioners' divisions. There is no natural dividing line between the Patna and Bhagalpur Commissionerships, while the latter includes Malda, the greater part of which is in all respects similar to the adjacent districts of the Rajshahi Division to which it formerly belonged, and the Sonthal Parganas, which appertains both physically and ethnically to Chota Nagpur. It is, again, impossible to distinguish between Noakhali in the Chittagong Division and the adjoining district of Backergunge in the Dacca Commissionership.

It often happens also that the districts of our administration contain divergent features. The Mahānandā is the true ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, but nearly a quarter of the Purnea district lies to the east of that river. The Himalayan district of Darjeeling includes a considerable tract in the plains, and the southern boundary of Gaya and Shahabad is well within the limits of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. In discussing the results of the census, it is for several reasons inadvisable to break up districts. The district is the unit of our administration, and it is desirable that the results of the census should be viewed for each such unit as a whole. Moreover, in the census returns of birthplace, only the district of birth is given, and it is thus impossible to distribute the population according to any smaller area. In the case of Commissioners' Divisions, however, the same objections do not apply. In the Imperial Tables the districts have been grouped according to Commissionerships, but in the subsidiary tables in the body of this report they will usually be arranged by the following natural Divisions, viz.—

- (1) *West Bengal*—The Burdwan Division.
- (2) *Central Bengal*—The Presidency Division, excluding Khulna.
- (3) *North Bengal*—The Rajshahi Division, Malda, Kuch Bihar, and Sikkim.
- (4) *East Bengal*—The Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, Khulna and Hill Tippera.
- (5) *North Bihar*—Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran, Saran, Bhagalpur, Purnea.
- (6) *South Bihar*—Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr.
- (7) *Orissa*—The Orissa Division, excluding Angul.
- (8) *Chota Nagpur Plateau*—The Chota Nagpur Division, the Sonthal Parganas, Angul, and the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur.

41. West Bengal thus corresponds to the ancient Rárh; it includes all the districts of Bengal Proper west of the Bhágirathi, the earliest known channel of the Ganges, and is peopled mainly by castes closely allied to the tribes of Chota Nagpur, such as the Bágdí, Báuri, Korá, Mál, Kaibartta, and Santál. It is also the home of several distinctive castes with claims to a higher rank in the hierarchy of Brahmanism, such as the Aguri, Sukli, Sadgop, Kástha, and Raju. The ethnic differences due to the old river barrier of the Bhágirathi are still recognised by Hindus, and to this day Bráhmans, Baidyas and Káyasths, and various lower castes, such as Nápits, Sutradhars, and Kámáras, who trace their origin to Rárh, will not intermarry with persons of the same castes who hail from Banga and Bárendra.



Though outside the Ganges delta, the eastern portion of this tract is low and of alluvial formation. Further west, laterite begins to predominate, and the surface rises and becomes more and more undulating and rocky until at last it merges in the uplands of Chota Nagpur.

42. Central Bengal, which is bounded on the west by the Bhágirathi, on the north by the Padma, and on the east by the Madhumati, was formerly the Ganges delta, but it

#### CENTRAL BENGAL.

has gradually been raised above flood level, and the great rivers which formerly flowed through it, depositing their fertilising silt, yielding an ample supply of wholesome drinking-water and draining it, have shrunk to insignificance. Their mouths have been silted up and their beds are often higher than the surrounding country, which they are no longer able to drain. The country has thus become less healthy, and is far less fertile than it was formerly. The district of Khulna, which lies within the boundaries of Central Bengal, as defined above, is an exception to these conditions and still forms part of the true delta. It has therefore been excluded and treated as a district of East Bengal. Ethnically Central Bengal possesses comparatively few distinctive features save that its southern portion is the main habitat of the Pods who are closely allied to the Chandáls, and who, with them, are probably the descendants of the first of the Mongolian invaders from the north-east. The Kaibarttas and Bágdís have overflowed from West Bengal and the Chandáls from the east.

43. North Bengal, or Bengal north of the Padma, corresponds very closely to the ancient Bárendra. The greater part

#### NORTH BENGAL.

is an alluvial formation, but it contains in its centre the Bárind, an elevated tract of *quasi-laterite* belonging to the same formation as the Madhupur jungle and the western part of Burdwan. The alluvial portion suffers, as does Central Bengal, from obstructed drainage due to the silting up of its rivers and the gradual raising of their beds above the general level of the country. In the north are the Himalayan State of Sikkim and the territory acquired from Sikkim, which now forms the greater part of the district of Darjeeling. These two tracts should, strictly speaking, be placed in a division of their own, but their population is so small (barely a quarter of a million) that it is not worth while to treat them separately. Malda now forms part of the Bhagalpur Division, but, as explained above, the greater part of it is in all respects an integral part of North Bengal. North Bengal is the home of the Mech and Koch tribes, the last of the invaders from the north-east, whose nominal strength is still nearly a million and-a-half, in spite of the fact that large numbers have embraced Muhammadanism.

44. East Bengal, or the districts of the delta and the country east of the Jamuna, with its numerous rivers, is the most fertile, healthy, and progressive portion of the Province.

#### EAST BENGAL.

It is mainly alluvial, but in the south-east the hill range that divides Assam from Burma projects into it, and Hill Tippera, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and parts of the districts of Tippera and Chittagong rest upon this formation. On the confines of Dacca and Mymensingh, the Madhupur jungle, a tract with a stiff clay soil resembling that of the Bárind, rises above the alluvium. The most marked characteristic of East Bengal is its extraordinarily large number of Muhammadans, nearly two-thirds of its population being followers of the Prophet. Its principal caste is the Namasudra or Chandál, whose home is in the swamps of the delta, and whose numbers, in spite of wholesale conversions to Muhammadanism, still exceed a million. To the north are found various Koch and Gáro tribes and to the south-east Tiparas, Kukis, and Maghs.

45. The division of Bihar into north and south with the Ganges as the boundary is based mainly on physical considerations.\* The country north of that river is

#### NORTH AND SOUTH BIHAR.

a flat alluvial formation, rising very gradually towards the foot of the Himalayas, and it enjoys in ordinary years a comparatively copious rainfall,

\* Bhagalpur lies on both banks of the Ganges, but the inconvenience of breaking up districts has led to the inclusion of the whole area in North Bihar. For the same reason the part of Monghyr north of the Ganges has been treated as part of South Bihar.



increasing towards the north. South Bihar contains a strip of alluvium on the bank of the Ganges, but further south the soil changes and the surface becomes more undulating, and gradually rises until the Chota Nagpur plateau is reached. North Bihar is the great centre of indigo cultivation, and possesses many tracts of great natural fertility. On the other hand, it is peculiarly liable to failure of crops in seasons of deficient rainfall. In South Bihar a large area is protected by the Sone Canal system, and elsewhere the undulating surface enables the raiyats to construct small reservoirs on their own account from which to water their fields. The country is thus comparatively secure from famine. Ethnically there is no great difference between North and South Bihar, so far as the tracts near the Ganges are concerned, but further away, the people of South Bihar show unmistakable signs of their connection with the Dravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur, while in the north of North Bihar there has evidently been an intermingling with the Himalayan tribes, and in the extreme east there is a strong admixture of the Koch element.

46. Orissa lies between West Bengal and Madras, the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the Bay of Bengal. The whole area is alluvial, and it possesses a language of its own and a system of castes differing alike from those of Bengal and of Madras. To the north and south there is no well-defined boundary separating Orissa from Bengal on the one side and from Madras on the other, and formerly the Province included part of the present district of Midnapore in Bengal and Ganjam in Madras. Even now Oriyá is spoken over a considerable area in the northern districts of Madras, and has largely modified the Bengali of South Midnapore, while the distinctive Oriyá castes are well represented for a considerable distance beyond the present political boundaries. To the west the change from alluvium to gneiss marks the boundary between Orissa and the Chota Nagpur Plateau, and the inhabitants of the latter tract, though doubtless very closely allied by origin, are distinguished from the inhabitants of the low country by their comparative want of civilisation and freedom from the trammels of the Bráhmanical hierarchy.

47. The Chota Nagpur Plateau comprises the districts of the Chota Nagpur Division, the Sonthal Parganas, Angul, and the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. The whole area belongs to the same geological formation, and consists of a rugged tract of hill and jungle and there are frequent changes in elevation, and deep river valleys often separate the hills. Speaking generally the level rises towards the north and west, but some of the highest peaks are in the south.\* It is the home of numerous non-Aryan tribes who were never properly subjugated either by the early Aryan invaders or by the Pathán and Moghal Emperors, or indeed by any outside power until the advent of the British. They have thus preserved in their mountain fastnesses an individuality in respect of tribal organisation, religion and language, which their congeners in the plains have long since lost.† They are gradually abandoning their tribal dialects in favour of the nearest Aryan form of speech—Hindi to the north and west, Oriyá to the south, and Bengali to the east, but a large number still speak their own languages. These are divided by philologists into two great families—the Munda and the Dravidian, but the distinction is merely an indication of some earlier political condition similar to that which is now leading to the adoption of Aryan languages, and does not represent any corresponding divergence in physical type, which has been proved by Mr. Risley's measurements to be fairly uniform throughout.

\* The word plateau is used for want of a better designation for this tract of elevated country, but it is not intended to imply that the area referred to forms an open tableland like that to the north of Cape Colony. There are three plateaux in stricter acceptance of the term, one in Ranchi and two in Hazaribagh. Elsewhere the country is often very broken and there are numerous ranges or groups of steep hills intersected by deep ravines and occasionally by open valleys.

† Some of the present inhabitants of the plateau have traditions of former rule in the plains. The Orissas, for instance, say they were driven from the south of Shahabad by the Muhammadans—some to the north-west of the Chota Nagpur plateau and some to the Rájmahál Hills, where they became known as Malé or Sauria. The Cheros too claim to have ruled in Shahabad. Among the castes of the plains of pure aboriginal descent may be mentioned the Musahars, who are identified by Mr. Risley with the Bhuiyás. Instead of seeking their independence in the hills, they remained and submitted to foreign rule, and were rewarded with the opprobrious epithet of Musahar, or rat-eater.



## AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY.

48. The general statistics of the area and population of each district will be found in Imperial Table I. Table I

### GENERAL REMARKS.

in the Provincial volume contains similar information for thanas, and at the end of this chapter there are three subsidiary tables, showing (I) the density of the population, (II) its distribution between towns and villages, and (III) the average number of persons per house. The discussion in this chapter will be confined to a consideration of the population as it stood on the 1st March 1901, the day when the census was taken. The variations that are disclosed by a comparison with the results of previous enumerations will be considered in the next chapter, and as this aspect of the question is the one which possesses the greatest practical importance such descriptive matter as may be necessary to elucidate the statistics will be held over for incorporation in that chapter.

The area and population of each natural division as described in paragraph 40 above are noted in the margin. The

LOCALITY.	Area.	Population.
<b>PROVINCE</b>	<b>189,537</b>	<b>78,495,410</b>
West Bengal	13,940	8,241,076
Central "	9,929	7,730,983
North "	23,586	10,065,177
East "	32,070	16,068,067
South Bihar	15,082	7,710,418
North "	21,744	12,831,120
Orissa "	8,160	4,161,250
Chota Nagpur Plateau.	64,555	2,861,309

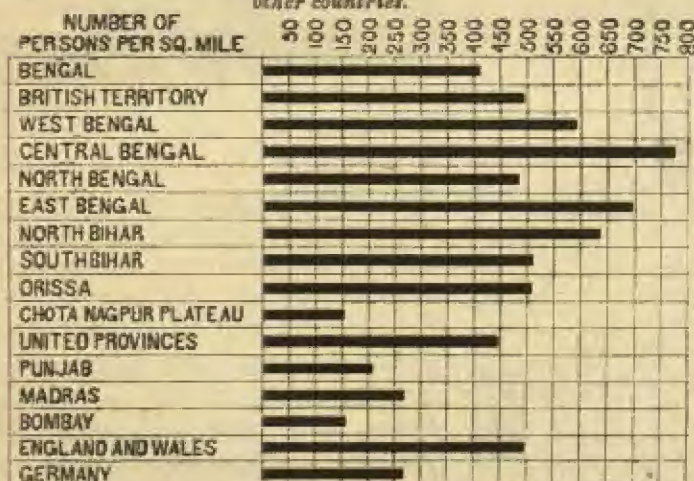
\* Exclusive of Sunderbans.

Chota Nagpur Plateau has by far the largest area but it is very sparsely inhabited and its population is exceeded not only by that of East Bengal, which stands first in this respect, but also by that of North Bihar and North Bengal.

The greatest density of population, viz., 775 persons to the square mile, is found in Central Bengal. Then follows North Bihar with 636, and then West Bengal with 591 and

East Bengal with 514. The low position of the last mentioned tract is owing to

Diagram showing the density of Population in Bengal and certain other countries.



NOTE.—For the purpose of this diagram, Hill Tippera and Chittagong Hill Tracts have been excluded from the calculation of density in East Bengal and Sikkim from that of North Bengal.

from the inclusion of Sikkim, Darjeeling, and the newly acquired part of Jalpaiguri. If these areas be left out of account its density rises to 551 per square mile. The Chota Nagpur Plateau with less than a third of the average density of North Bengal, stands at the bottom of the list. The relative density of various parts of Bengal and of certain other provinces and countries is shown in the marginal diagram.

49. The pressure of the population on the soil is far from uniform and a reference to the map\* of Bengal at the commencement of this chapter will show that there are great variations even between districts of the same natural division.

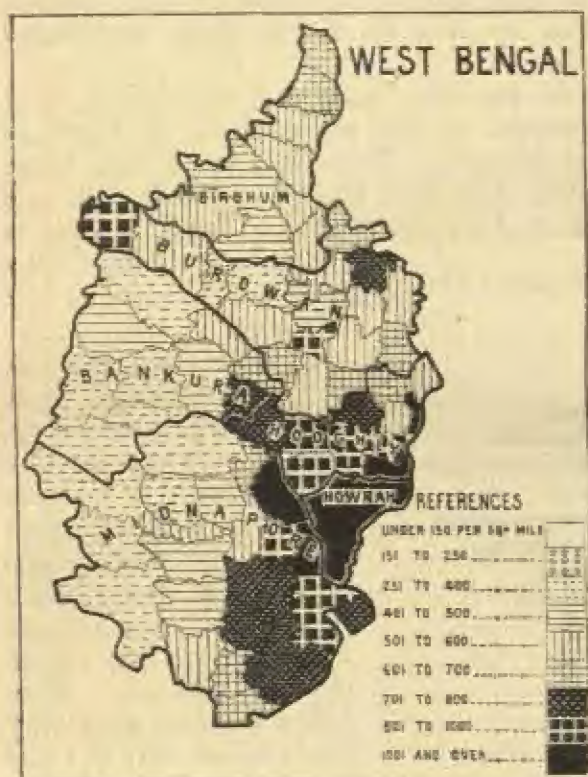
\* According to the map, the 24-Parganas with 986 persons to the square mile, is more thickly populated than any district in Bengal, except Howrah, but this is not really the case. The area on which the calculation was made is that shown in the records of the Jurisdiction Department of the Secretariat, and is exclusive of an extensive tract in the Sunderbans. The population of this tract, however, is included in the figures for the 24-Parganas, and if its area be similarly included, the density per square mile falls to 415.



The density of the population in Rangpur exceeds by more than 50 per cent. that of its neighbour Dinajpur and the disproportion in the case of Darbhanga and Bhagalpur is even greater. Nor are the conditions of each district uniform throughout, and the circumstances affecting density are frequently quite independent of district boundaries. It will, therefore, be desirable to consider the figures for each natural division in some detail, but before doing so we may glance briefly at the general results for districts taken as a whole.

The greatest density of population is found in Howrah, where there are 1,668 persons per square mile.\* Even if Howrah City and Bally be excluded the figure still stands at 1,351. Its nearest rival is Dacca with 952 persons to the square mile, and then follow Muzaffarpur and Saran with 917 and 907 respectively, Hooghly with 881, Darbhanga with 873 and Tippera with 848 and Faridpur with 849. The scantiest population is found on the outskirts of the Province in Changbhakar and Korea to the west, Sikkim to the north, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts to the east; in none of these does the density exceed 24 persons to the square mile.

50. In West Bengal the density is greatest in the metropolitan district of Howrah; then follows Hooghly, and then Burdwan, Midnapore, Birbhum, and Bankura. Howrah is a small district and the conditions throughout are very uniform.



Dumjor thana, which adjoins Howrah town, is the most thickly inhabited, but no police circle in the district has less than 1,219 persons to the square mile. The Hooghly district is alluvial and the soil is fertile. But it is also indebted to some extent to the neighbourhood of the metropolis. Excluding the Hooghly and Serampore thanas the density is greatest in the south and decreases gradually towards the north and west, where alone does it fall below the high ratio of 800 to the square mile. Speaking generally, the eastern part of Burdwan, which has an alluvial soil, is more thickly peopled than the western, which rests on the laterite, but the development of the coal mines in the extreme west has led to a rapid growth of the population there, and Asansol, with 839 persons to the square mile, is now the most densely peopled thana in

the district. The fewest inhabitants are to be found in Kaksa and Ausgram, which have a laterite soil but no coal-mining industry.

In Midnapore the pressure of the population is greatest along the bank of the Rupnarayan and the estuary of the Hooghly, the maximum density being found in Tamluk, where there are, 1,156 persons to the square mile. The town after which this thana is named was once a famous seaport; the sea has long since left it, but it is still a place of considerable importance as the centre of the boat traffic on the Rupnarayan. Further inland the soil is still fertile, but the climate is bad, and the population gradually decreases. The <sup>WC</sup>eastern half of the district has a laterite soil; the cultivable area is small, and the population steadily diminishes until, in the extreme west, on the confines of Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj, it is less than a quarter as dense as it is in Tamluk.

\* In subsidiary Table I, at the end of this chapter, the population of cities has been excluded, but in mentioning in the text the density of population in a district, the whole area, urban as well as rural, is taken. In the case of thanas, however, the figures refer only to the rural area, and towns lying within the boundaries of the thana are excluded.



In Birbhum the local variations are slight, but the north of the district, where the soil is alluvial, and the proportion of cultivable land is highest, is more closely inhabited than the rest. Bankura has a very sparse population in the south and west, where the land is undulating, rocky and barren; towards the east, in the Vishnupur Subdivision, where the soil is alluvial and the conditions resemble those of South Burdwan, its population is more than twice as dense as it is in the south of the district.

51. In the 24 Parganas, the pressure of the population is greatest in the riparian thanas, in most of which the density exceeds 1,000 to the square mile. In the other non-Sundarban thanas it ranges from 602 in Bhangar to 1,105 in Magra Hât.



In the Sundarbans, owing to the large tracts of waste to the south the number of persons to the square mile is very small.\* The Kushtia Subdivision is by far the most populous portion of Nadia, and in a great part of it, there are more than 900 persons to the square mile. The Ranaghat Subdivision and a great part of the Sadar, on the other hand, barely support half this population. The low density is here due, partly to the silting up of the rivers which has deprived the country of the silt it used to receive and of a means for carrying off the surplus water, partly to the bad system of land tenure, under which the cultivators are mere tenants-at-will, and partly to long-continued unhealthiness.

The population of Jessore is greatest in the east, where the soil is most fertile and still receives occasional deposits of silt, and least in the Bongaon Subdivision in the west, where the conditions are very similar to those in the south of Nadia to which it formerly belonged. The

part of Murshidabad lying to the east of the Bhágirathi is wholly alluvial and its density considerably exceeds that of the western part of the district. In the latter tract the average density is reduced by the figures for the central thanas, which though now growing rapidly, are still very sparsely inhabited.

52. Northern Bengal is an extensive area and its general conditions vary considerably. The density is greatest in the east and decreases towards the west and north.

The centre of this tract contains the sparsely populated Báring. Pabna which stands first in respect of density of population owes its position mainly to the rich jute fields of the Sirajganj Subdivision. It is also probable that the true area is greater than would appear from the figures based on the survey, and that in some parts the district has gained by alluvion. This would seem to be the case in the Shahzadpur thana where the nominal area gives a density of 1,235 to the square mile. Bogra is most thickly peopled in the east, between the Karátóyá and the Jamuna, where jute is the main staple. Towards the north-west the alluvium gives way to the quasi-laterite of the

\* The high density shown against the Sundarban thanas in the Provincial tables for 1891 is due to the same reason as that already given for the density attributed to the district as a whole in the map at the beginning of this chapter. The area on which it was calculated did not include extensive tracts in the Sundarbans which appertain to these thanas and are responsible for a large proportion of the population shown against them.



Báring and the population becomes more sparse. The unhealthy and jungly



thana of Sherpur in the south-west has also a relatively small number of inhabitants. Thanks to its very fertile soil, Rangpur, in spite of long-continued unhealthiness, has a far greater population than Dinajpur to the west, Kuch Bihar and Jalpaiguri to the north or Goalpara in Assam to the east. Its density is very little less than that of Bogra and is almost the same as that of Mymensingh which adjoins it on the south-east. The only places where there are less than 500 persons to the square mile are two unhealthy and ill-drained police circles in the south-central part of the district on the bank of the old Karátový and a tract along the eastern boundary which includes in its nominal area the bed and sandy *chars* of the Brahmaputra.

53. The relatively low density in Rajshahi is due partly to its containing a large portion of the Báring and partly to the presence of nu-

merous marshes and lakes, including the Chalan *bil*, the largest sheet of inland water in Bengal. There is a belt of country running from north to south, through the centre of the district, where the population is as great as in almost any part of North Bengal. Malda also owes its low position to the Báring which extends over a great part of the district east of the Mahánandá. In the alluvial tract west of that river, the population is generally dense, and in one police circle, Manikchak, there are no fewer than 935 persons to the square mile. Kuch Bihar is most populous on the Rangpur border and least so where it marches with the Western Duars. Dinajpur owns a share of the Báring, but its density is low throughout, and the most populous police circle in the district can boast of only 531 persons to the square mile. Jalpaiguri is even more sparsely populated. In only one police circle (Patgram, where there are a number of old families) does the population exceed 500, and in only three more does it exceed 400 to the square mile. The fewest inhabitants are in the Duars. Towards the west this tract has filled up rapidly owing to the extension of tea cultivation, but in the east, the population is still very sparse, and in Alipur it averages only 89 persons to the square mile. Darjeeling is throughout very thinly peopled. In the Terai the density is about the same as in Jalpaiguri, but it gradually diminishes towards the north, and in the head-quarters subdivision there are only 184 persons to the square mile. Sikkim, which comes last, owes its very low density to the mountainous region in the north which is practically uninhabited. The southern part of the State is less elevated and contains more cultivable land. The population, though still sparse, is here far greater than in the north, especially in the tract west of the Tista, where there are numerous settlers from Nepal.

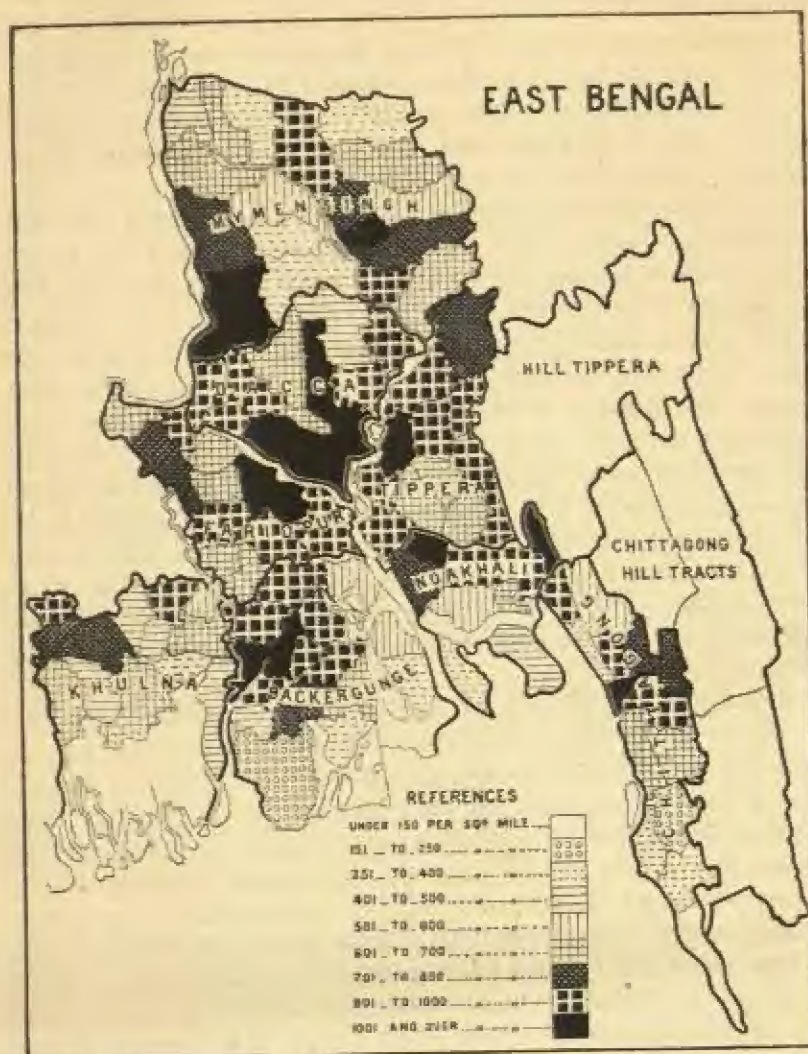
54. The greatest density in East Bengal is found in Dacca, which lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Padma and Megna, and next to Dacca, in Faridpur on the

EAST BENGAL.

bank of the Padma and in Tippera on that of the Megna. The districts in question are sufficiently near the mouth of these great rivers to benefit to the full by their silt-laden floods, while they are far enough from the sea to escape damage by cyclones and storm waves, and they are not weighted, as are the districts on the coast, by the inclusion in their area of land not yet sufficiently elevated to be fit for permanent occupation. In Mymensingh to the north and Khulna,



Backergunge and Noakhali to the south, the density is very uniform. It rapidly diminishes in the south-east where the alluvial plain is replaced by the rocky and jungle clad spurs of the hill range that separates Assam from Burma.



Great as is the density of the population of Dacca it would be still greater were it not for the inclusion within its borders of the southern part of the Madhupur jungle, where the population, though rapidly growing, is still comparatively sparse. The pressure is greatest in the Munshiganj subdivision which contains the famous Bikrampur pargana, the great home of the educated classes of East Bengal, whose sons are found all over Bengal and

Assam, and even further afield, practising as pleaders, or holding posts in Government service, or in private employ as clerks. The proportion of the population dependent on means of livelihood other than agriculture is thus relatively high,\* but even so the density of the population in some thanas is astonishing. In Srinagar there are 1,787, and in Munshiganj 1,526 persons to the square mile.

55. The population of Tippera is greatest in the fertile tract along the bank of the Megna (except in the extreme north, where there are numerous unreclaimed marshes) and in the old settled tract to the east, north and south of the head-quarters station. It is least in the centre of the southern part of the district, but as will be seen in the next chapter this tract is now rapidly being developed. Faridpur has about the same apparent density as Tippera, but it is probable that its area has grown since the time of the survey owing to the vagaries of the Padma, and that some of the thanas, such as Sibchar and Bhanga which, according to the survey figures, have respectively 1,406 and 1,223 inhabitants to the square mile, are in reality less crowded than these figures would show. In the south-west of the district the cultivable area is smaller than elsewhere and in the north-west the lower density is due to long continued unhealthiness. Bhushana which now has only 708 persons to the square mile had 843 at the time of the census of 1872.

56. Fluvial action has affected the survey areas in Noakhali even more than in Faridpur, and much stress cannot be laid on variations in the apparent

\* In Srinagar 53 per cent. of the population are dependent on non-agricultural means of subsistence and in Munshiganj 39 per cent. In Kapasia the corresponding figure is only 13.

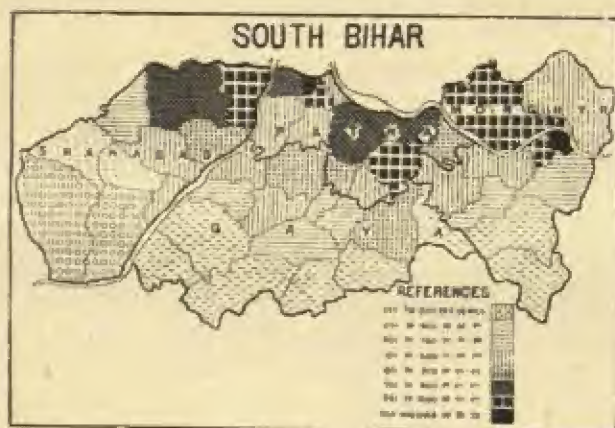


density of different parts of the district. Companyganj thana, for example, is shown as having a lower density than in 1891, but its loss of population is due to diluvion, the effect of which on the area cannot be ascertained in the absence of a new measurement and its true density is probably, if anything, greater than it was at the earlier census. The islands to the south of the district have a relatively small population because many of the cultivators have their permanent homes on the mainland and only go to the islands when agricultural operations are in progress.

The relatively low position of Backergunge is due to the figures for the south and west of the district. This tract is exposed to damage by storm waves; a large part of it is still uncultivable, and it was laid waste less than two centuries ago by Magh pirates from Arakan. To the west and north of Backergunge town are some of the most thickly-populated tracts in Bengal and in one police circle, Jhalakati, there are nearly 1,200 persons to the square mile. Khulna also has a large Sundarban area, but here a great part has been excluded from the generally accepted area of the district on which the density has been calculated. Mymensingh has three thanas with a population exceeding 1,000 to the square mile, but in the north, under the Garo Hills, many parts are very sparsely inhabited, and so also is the Madhupur jungle which projects through the centre of the district from the Dacca boundary almost as far as the town of Mymensingh. In the west the arable area is reduced by numerous *háors* or depressions in the surface which are filled with water for the greater part of the year.

57. The average density of population in Chittagong is reduced by the figures for the Cox's Bazar subdivision which includes the storm-swept islands of Maheshkhal and Banskhali and, in the south, an inhospitable region of hill and jungle with only a few infrequent patches of cultivable land. The Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera are even less capable of supporting a large population than the south of Chittagong, and their inhabitants are mostly migratory savages, whose primitive methods of cultivation necessitate the clearing of new land every other year; after two years' crops have been obtained, the fields become unfit for further tillage until the weeds that follow in the wake of cultivation have been exterminated by reafforestation. Hill Tippera includes a strip of comparatively level land along its western boundary, and here cultivation is more permanent and the population is less sparse.

58. South Bihar is fairly populous along the bank of the Ganges, but further away, the surface rises and there is less cultivation, and the population becomes more and more scanty. Patna has a larger cultivable area than the other South Bihar



on the border of Hazaribagh, there are barely 250 persons to the square mile. In Shahabad the population is greatest in the north and east, on the banks of the Ganges and the Sone, where much of the land is irrigated, and decreases rapidly towards the south and south-east, where the Kaimur Hills afford but small space for cultivation. The Bhabua thana, with 181 persons to the square mile, has the scantiest population of any tract in South Bihar. In

districts, and its density is greater, but if its two large towns be excluded it has less than 700 persons to the square mile, which would not be considered a very high figure in East Bengal or North Bihar. Monghyr which comes next, owes its position to the tract north of the Ganges where there are 693 persons to the square mile compared with only 412 in the South Gangetic part of the district. In the south,



Gaya also the population is very sparse along the southern boundary of the district where, as in the south of Shahabad, a considerable area ought really to be included in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. It is greatest in the north, but even here the absolute density is not excessive. Compared with the productiveness of the soil, however, it appears to be very considerable, and there are numerous emigrants from this district who seek a livelihood in the more favoured tracts of Bengal Proper.

59. Although exceeded by the figures for a few individual districts elsewhere the portion of North Bihar which comprises the districts of Saran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga has a more teeming population than any other tract of equal size in the province.



Towards the east and north-west the population rapidly declines. In the most populous district, Muzaffarpur, the inhabitants are very evenly distributed; in only a small tract to the west does the average number per square mile fall below 900, while in no part of the district does it exceed 1,000. Saran contains three

police circles where this high ratio is exceeded, but it also contains five where it falls below 900. The population of this district is greatest in the south and centre and least in the north and north-east. Darbhanga, which lies between Muzaffarpur and Bhagalpur, partakes in the west, of the character of the former, and in the east, of that of the latter district. In only one of the western thanas does the density of population fall below 900 per square mile, while in none of the eastern thanas does it reach 800. So far as can be judged from the results of the recent census these inequalities in the distribution of the people are gradually being obliterated.

The most populous part of Champaran is east of the Buri Gandak, where the soil is the stiff clay of the older alluvium. Then comes the tract between the two Gandaks, and lastly the north-western corner where the surface rises towards the Somesvar hills on the Nepal frontier, and a great part of the country is still covered with forest. This tract is very unhealthy and the aboriginal Tharus alone seem able to inhabit it with impunity. The district generally is less healthy than those previously described; it is also less fertile and has more recently been reclaimed from forest.\* It needs more irrigation, and when the canals recently sanctioned have been completed, it seems probable that the less settled parts of the district will be rapidly filled up.

60. About half of Bhagalpur lies south of the Ganges, but, except for one thana in the extreme south-west, there is not much difference between the density of the population on the north bank and that on the south. The diminished density compared with the districts to the west of it may be ascribed to a less fertile soil and less healthy climate, combined in parts with occasional floods from the Kosi which leave behind them a barren sediment of sand. The low density in Purnea is due mainly to the unhealthiness of the climate and to the infertility of the western half of the district, where the soil consists mainly of sand deposited by the Kosi which, moreover, frequently causes

\* Champaran is derived from *Champā dranya*, the forest of Champa trees.



disastrous floods. In the south-east there are numerous marshes which are not fit for cultivation. Further north, on both sides of the Mahánandá there is a somewhat greater population, but in only one thana, Bahadurganj, does it exceed 500 to the square mile.

61. Orissa lies between the hills of the Tributary States and the sea. Its population is sparse on the lower slopes of the hills and also on the sea-coast where there is a strip of uncultivable land impregnated with salt; for some distance beyond it there are numerous marshes, and cyclones occasionally inflict great damage. Between these two extremes the area under cultivation is great and the population dense, but it is only in Cuttack that this is apparent from the statistics showing the density of thanas; the other two districts are so narrow that every thana contains a tract of coast or hill or both. Cuttack enjoys an extensive system of irrigation which protects the crops from failure in seasons of drought, and enables land to be cultivated that would otherwise remain barren. One of the central thanas of this district has a population of nearly 1,000 to the square mile, whereas Aul on the sea-coast has only 287, and the hilly Banki only 319. Balasore and Puri, having a smaller space intervening between the hills and the coast, and being for the most part dependent solely on the rain-fall—the south of Balasore enjoys a



certain amount of irrigation—the population is less dense. In Puri, moreover, the extensive Chilka lake occupies a large area and keeps down the average density. Its most closely-inhabited thana is Pipli with 767 persons to the square mile. In Balasore the greatest density, 674 persons to the square mile, is found in Bhadrak.

62. The Chota Nagpur plateau has an average population of 152 persons to the square mile. Speaking generally, the population tends to decrease from the east, where the general elevation is low and the transition from plains to hills is gradual, to the west, where the country is everywhere more hilly and broken. The most densely inhabited district is the Sonthal Parganas which projects beyond the rest of the formation and is surrounded on three sides by the plains of Bengal Proper and Bihar. On the north-east and north-west the administrative boundary of the district includes a considerable area of low and level country which carries a fairly dense population. The *Damin-i-koh*, or reserve for aboriginal tribes in the centre of the district, is a typical part of Chota Nagpur, and is very sparsely inhabited. The adjoining district, Manbhum, ranks next in point of density, chiefly on account of the alluvial tract along the course of the Damodar. In the north-west and south the country becomes more broken and the inhabitants are fewer, except in the neighbourhood of the great Jheria coal-field, where the mines attract large numbers of coolies. Hazaribagh borders on Gaya, but it derives no benefit from its proximity to the plains, as the natural dividing line lies far to the north of the district boundary and the lower slopes of the hills lie within the district of Gaya. The population is greatest in the west in the valley of the Barakar river, where there is a fair extent of level country, and the coal mines support a considerable number of



labourers. The country west and south-west of the central plateau contains the larger proportion of hill and ravine and has very few inhabitants.



63. Ranchi, which has almost the same general density as Hazaribagh, exhibits a steady decrease of population from the north-east to the west and south-west. In Singhbhum the density is fairly uniform except in the south-west corner bordering on Gangpur which consists of a mass of mountains rising to the height of about 3,500 feet. The Palamau district has a fair population in the alluvial valleys along the course of the North Koel river and on the right bank of the Sone, but away from these rivers, and especially in the south and west, the country is wild and inhospitable and its inhabitants are few in number.

The Orissa States have a slightly greater density than Palamau, but this is due to the figures for the eastern States which march with the Orissa plains. Some of the latter include a considerable area of level country and support a considerable population, amounting in the case of the little State of Tigaria to 492 to the square mile. Further west the density rapidly falls and Pal Lahara and Athmalik have respectively only 49 and 56 inhabitants to the square mile. Angul is surrounded by these States, and its circumstances are the same. At the bottom of the list are the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur with an average of only 62 inhabitants per square mile. The figure would be even lower but for the inclusion of the political States of Kharsawan and Seraikela which lie within the confines of Singhbhum. If these be excluded, the greatest density is found in Gangpur, and the least in Korea and Changbhar.

### HOUSES AND HOUSE-ROOM.

64. In 1872 and 1881, a house was defined as the dwelling place of one or more families having a separate independent

DEFINITION OF HOUSE AND  
VALUE OF THE RETURN.

entrance from the common way. In Bengal, this definition was open to several objections, from the point of view of the actual enumeration, and it was therefore abandoned in



1891, when a house was defined as the residence of a commensal family.\* The same definition was repeated at the present Census. There can be no comparison with the figures for 1881, when the unit was a different one and in the case of 1891 also it would be unsafe to draw very definite conclusions from the variations disclosed. The definition was the same on both occasions, but in 1891 it was not issued until three months before the date of the Census, when it was too late to ensure its general application, and in several of the Bihar districts it was to a great extent overlooked in favour of the older definition. It was also not applied in the cities of Calcutta and Howrah. On the present occasion the definition was issued at a very early stage in the operations; the necessity for enforcing its careful observance was constantly inculcated, and there is reason to believe that it has on the whole been properly applied. There was occasionally a tendency to conceal separate messes with a view to escape taxation, but it is not likely

Natural Division.	NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSE.	
	1891.	1901.
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	<b>5.4</b>	<b>5.2</b>
West Bengal ...	4.3	4.4
Central " ...	5.3	5.1
North " ...	5.4	5.3
East " ...	5.3	5.4
South Bihar ...	5.7	5.2
North " ...	5.3	5.2
Orissa ...	5.2	5.1
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	5.2	5.3

that such attempts were successful to an extent sufficient to vitiate the returns. The great general uniformity between the average population per house in different parts of the province, confirms the view that the definition was applied with great uniformity. The only tract where there is a marked divergence from the general standard is West Bengal, and here it is due to the presence of numerous immigrants working in the mills and coal mines whose huts were each reckoned as a separate house. In Midnapore and Bankura, which are free from this disturbing influence, the average rises to 4.8 persons per house. The average even here is somewhat low, but not more so than would be expected from the tendency in these parts of every married man to set up a separate establishment as soon as he takes his wife to live with him. The practice is much the same in East Bengal and Chota Nagpur, but here the rapid growth of the population gives more children to a family than in less progressive parts of the province. In North Bengal, on the other hand, the rather high average is due probably to a slightly greater tendency of families to remain joint and commensal.

65. The return of houses in Europe is of great importance as it throws light on the question of overcrowding. But in Bengal, except in a few large cities, the statistics have no bearing on this subject. The unit is social, not structural, and while in many cases a census house may comprise several distinct buildings, in others one building may be divided into several 'houses.' At the same time the figures have a certain value of their own.

66. If it were not for the joint family system, *i.e.*, if every man living with his wife had a house of his own, the varying size of the house, which would then represent the family in the ordinary acceptation of the term, would afford a good index to the progressiveness or decadence of the population.

As matters stand, however, these differences may equally well be due to the varying extent to which, in different districts or at different times, married sons remain in, or leave, the parental home. Some idea of the practice prevailing in different districts may be gathered by comparing the number of houses in a district with the number of married females over 15 years of age, but here too the comparison is obscured by the fact that in some parts the proportion of married females only slightly over 15 years of age, is higher than in others. This is especially the case in parts of Bihar, but even if this be allowed for, it is clear that in this part of the province, sons do not so readily leave their parents' house for a new one of their own, as they do elsewhere. The setting up of a separate house is a less simple matter in the crowded village sites of Bihar than it is in Bengal Proper; the people, moreover, are poorer, and many of the men who go to Bengal for work leave their wives in the charge of relatives who will look after them.

SIGNIFICANCE OF FIGURES SHOWING NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSE.

NATURAL DIVISION.	Number of houses per 100 married females aged 15 and over.
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	<b>96</b>
West Bengal ...	119
Central " ...	109
North " ...	101
East " ...	97
South Bihar ...	84
North " ...	85
Orissa ...	91
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	96

\* This subject has been more fully dealt with in the Administrative Report on the Census Operations.



## TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

67. For the purpose of the census the word town was held to include all municipalities and cantonments and such other continuous collections of houses as it might be decided to treat as towns. The total number of towns, as thus defined in Bengal, is 199, of which 190 are in British Territory and 9 in the Native States. Of the former number, 157 are municipalities and 9 are cantonments, and 24 are other places treated as town on account of their urban character. The statistics regarding these towns are contained in Imperial Tables IV and V. The combined number of towns and villages and their distribution according to population will be found in Imperial Table III. The corresponding proportional figures are given in Subsidiary Table No. II at the end of this chapter.

68. In the province as a whole, out of every 100 persons, 95 live in villages and only 5 in towns. Bengal is a distinctly agricultural country, and many even of the so-called towns are merely overgrown villages.

### DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

The urban population is considerable only in Central Bengal where the inclusion of Calcutta and its environs brings the proportion of urban population up to 19 per cent. If they be excluded, it is only a little more than 7 per cent. The second place is shared by West Bengal, with its flourishing industrial centres at Howrah, Bally, Serampore and Raniganj, and South Bihar, with its ancient towns of Patna, Gaya and Bihar; in both these tracts 7 per cent. of the inhabitants live in urban areas. Orissa follows with an urban population of four per cent., then North Bihar and North Bengal with three per cent. and lastly East Bengal and the Chota Nagpur Plateau with only two per cent. The order in which the different tracts stand is sufficient to show the want of any connection between the prosperity of the people and the growth of towns. The general standard of comfort is highest in Eastern Bengal, although it has the smallest proportion of persons living in towns. South Bihar ranks comparatively high in this respect and yet it includes the poorest part of the province. The older towns, which usually owed their origin to the presence of a Native Court and its entourage, have few industries, and such as they possess are for the most part decadent, while in the newer towns the industries are carried on by foreign capital, and even the employés come from other parts of the country. The mills of Howrah and the coal mines of Asansol are alike worked with British capital by coolies from Bihar and the United Provinces, and the shop-keepers who are enriched by the trade they bring, are also for the most part foreigners. The district-born, as a class, have so far benefited but little by the growth of new industries. In the general account of towns which follows it will be convenient to deal not only with their present condition but also with the progress they have made in the past, instead of leaving the latter subject for discussion in a separate chapter as has been done in the case of variations in the population generally.

69. Burdwan has six towns, all municipalities. The largest is Burdwan, itself, with 35,023 inhabitants. It has no special industries and owes its position to the fact that it is

### TOWNS IN WEST BENGAL.

the head-quarters of the district and of the Burdwan Raj. It is growing in importance as a railway centre and appears to be fairly prosperous, but in spite of this the population has grown but little of late years. It has been deserted since 1891 by the Commissioner of the Division, who has removed with his establishments to Chinsura. Kalna and Katwa are on the Bhágirathi and enjoyed a considerable trade before the advent of the railway, but their prosperity has long been waning. The only progressive towns are Raniganj and Asansol in the west of the District which owe much of their development to the neighbourhood of the coal mines. Raniganj has, besides, large pottery works and is one of the busiest places in Bengal, while Asansol is an important railway junction; both are growing rapidly. The only town in Birbhum is Suri, the district head-quarters. It is small and has no special industries. Bankura has three towns with an aggregate population of more than 53,000; they are of small commercial importance and are unprogressive, but Vishnupur, the ancient capital, is still noted for its embroidered silk scarves and shawls.



Midnapore contains seven towns, none of which are of much moment. The largest is the head-quarters station with 33,140 persons, but it has no great industry or trade and shows no tendency to grow. Tamluk, the head quarters of the boat traffic on the Rupnarayan, has added 22 per cent. to its population, but it still has barely 8,000 inhabitants. There are eight towns in Hooghly of which by far the most important is Serampore on the bank of the Hooghly, which contains many important mills and is growing very rapidly, having added 40 per cent. to its population between 1881 and 1891 and another 24 per cent. during the decade preceding the present census; its population is now 44,451. Bhadreswar, also on the river, though barely a third the size of Serampore, has of late grown more rapidly, and now contains 57 per cent. more inhabitants than in 1891. This is due to the growth of a local jute mill and to the fact that the operatives in some of the mills on the opposite side of the river reside in this town. Hooghly itself (including Chinsura) is decadent. Bally in the Howrah district is prosperous, but has not grown much during the last decade. Howrah city shows a remarkable development, and is now, next to Calcutta, the largest in the Province. In view of its great and growing importance, it seems desirable to consider its history and statistics in some detail, and this I am enabled to do, thanks to a very full and interesting report from Mr. Duke, the Magistrate, from which the greater part of the following three paragraphs has been extracted almost *verbatim*.

70. Howrah, which stretches for seven miles along the Hooghly and comprises an area of about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  square miles, is a town of entirely modern growth. In 1785 it was a small village held by one Mr. Lovett who found it so unprofitable that he petitioned to be allowed to relinquish it. The artillery part of the Nawab Nazim was at one stage located there, and the artillery practising ground is shown in old maps, north of the railway where the most densely populated part of the town now is. The Government salt golas were located within the limits of the town, and it gradually grew in importance until, in 1841, it became the seat of a separate Magistracy. In 1853 a further impetus was given to its development by the establishment there of the head-quarters of the East Indian Railway, the first part of which was opened to traffic in 1856. In 1874 the pontoon bridge was opened, and the improved communication with Calcutta thus afforded enabled many of the people employed in the metropolis to reside on the right bank of the Hooghly. Meantime there had been a continuous development of various large industries conducted according to European methods, of which the rope works at Ghuseri and Shalimar, founded a century ago, are probably the oldest. Then followed iron foundries and engineering works, and then the rise of the jute and cotton spinning industries, until at the present time there are no less than 40 registered factories working within the municipal limits. Excluding 13,815 persons in Bally, which then belonged to Howrah but has since been made a separate municipality, the population in 1872 was 83,969. In 1881 it was 90,391 and in 1891, 116,606; at the present census it is 157,594, or 35 per cent. more than it was ten years ago, and nearly 88 per cent. more than in 1872.

71. This rapid expansion is due almost entirely to the great industrial development that has taken place. The growing demand for labour has been met by the immigration of labourers from outside the district and about two-thirds of the total number of inhabitants are immigrants, chiefly from up-country. More than 33,000 come from the United Provinces and about 25,000 from Bihar. Amongst these foreigners there is an enormous excess of males who outnumber the females in the ratio of 2 to 1. As already stated they are for the most part operatives in the mills, who look forward to returning to their homes as soon as they have accumulated sufficient funds. In the meantime they live huddled together in crowded lodging-houses as close as

DISTRICT.	Number of persons.
UNITED PROVINCES —	55,142
Fatna ... ..	5,900
Gaya ... ..	2,884
Shahabad ... ..	6,399
Saran ... ..	4,772
Muzaffarpur ... ..	1,023
Monghyr ... ..	5,229
Cuttack ... ..	2,166
Hooghly ... ..	16,938
Midnapore ... ..	6,270
Calcutta ... ..	4,469
24 Parganas ... ..	3,560
Burdwan ... ..	1,969

possible to the mills and factories where they work. This over-crowding is not a necessary condition in Howrah, as there is ample room for building at no



great distance from the centres of industry. It proceeds partly from the desire of the operatives to live as near as possible to their work, partly from their poverty which leaves them little to spare for rent, and partly from the pressure of municipal taxation which falls heaviest on huts and discourages the construction of new ones, unless there is a certainty of their being kept full of lodgers. The *basti* clauses of the Municipal Act enable roads to be opened out and drain-

Ward number.	Number of persons per acre.	Ward number.	Number of persons per acre.
1	50	6	18
2	14	7	62
3	58	8	33
4	60	9	9
5	83	10	8

age effected; but there is at present no law under which it is possible to prevent over-crowding, which sometimes attains truly astonishing proportions. The density of the population in each ward is noted in the margin; but as many of the wards contain large areas of uninhabited land, the figures afford no index to the density of the population in the neighbourhood of the

mills where over-crowding chiefly occurs. Fortunately the lodging-houses are of very flimsy materials, and there is much natural ventilation, so that the effects are probably less harmful than they would be in the case of masonry buildings.

72. The rapid growth of the population has led to a great increase in the value of house property and land, and the municipal income in 1901 exceeded five lakhs of rupees, compared with less than 2½ lakhs ten years previously. The greatest recent improvement was the introduction, in 1896, of a filtered-water supply. The town had previously suffered very severely from water famines and cholera, but since the opening of the water-works the former have of course ceased, and the latter has not appeared in epidemic form. On the other hand the general death rate has risen, and it is sometimes asserted that this is due to the water-works, as the drains are now seldom dry, and breeding grounds for mosquitoes have consequently been multiplied. The town, moreover, is low and naturally exposed to water-logging. What it now needs, more than any thing, is an efficient system of drainage.

73. Excluding Calcutta there are twenty five municipalities in the 24-Paraganas. Of these the three suburban municipalities, Cossipore-Chitpur, Manicktala and Garden Reach were enumerated as part of Calcutta, and have been dealt with in the Calcutta Census Report. Most of the towns in this district lie on the bank of the Hooghly, and owe their prosperity to the jute mills and other industries which are carried on mainly by European capital. The most progressive are Naihati and Bhatpara, which together have grown by more than 50 per cent. during the decade. Budge-Budge is also a growing town, but as it was only created a municipality in 1900 the figures for previous enumerations are not available. The same remarks apply to Titagarh and Panihati, which were formed into municipalities in 1895 and 1900 respectively. North and South Dum-Dum are slightly decadent and so are several others, including the head-quarters of the Baraset subdivision. Of the inland towns Basirhat alone shows a considerable gain of population. Nadia has nine towns, but only one, Ranaghat, can boast of an increase. The apparent loss of population in Kushtia and Kumarkhali is due to the exclusion of a considerable area from the municipal limits; Kushtia, at least, on its present area, has probably gained rather than lost ground. Santipur was once the centre of a flourishing weaving industry and its muslins had an European reputation, but the modern machine-made article has driven them out of the market; the weavers are no longer prosperous, and in many cases they have been driven to supplement the earnings from their looms by agricultural pursuits. There was also at one time a considerable trade in date-sugar, but this too is becoming less profitable. The earthquake of 1897 destroyed many of the largest buildings, and these the impoverished owners have been unable to replace. The result of these adverse conditions is a decline of 11½ per cent. Krishnagar, the district head-quarters, is also decadent, chiefly on account of malarial fever which is very prevalent in the older part of the town. The decline in Nabadvip is to a great extent fictitious. It is celebrated amongst Baishnabs as the birth-place of Chaitanya, and is a favourite place of pilgrimage. There happened to be very few



pilgrims on the date of the present Census, whereas in 1891 and 1881 a great number were present, especially in the former year, when the Dhulut ceremony was in progress at the time when the Census was taken.

74. The towns of the Murshidabad district are either stationary or decadent. Berhampur, the district head-quarters, and Jangipur have gained, and Kandi has lost slightly, while Murshidabad and Azimganj, taken together (they were not separately enumerated in 1891) show a heavy falling off. Trade has declined, and of late years the ivory work and bell-metal manufactures, for which Murshidabad is famous, have become less profitable. The earthquake of 1897 destroyed a great number of houses which have not been rebuilt, and these two municipalities now wear a gloomy aspect of neglect and decay. The Jessore district has an urban population of only 1 per cent. which is collected in three small towns, all of which have lost ground since 1891. Kotechandpur has a considerable trade, chiefly in date-sugar: but this seems to be becoming less profitable.

75. North Bengal has no important towns. The head-quarters of the Dinajpur district and Rampur Boalia and Nator in Rajshahi have a slightly smaller population now than they had in 1872. Rampur Boalia enjoyed a considerable trade when the Padma flowed beside it, but its prosperity has departed now that the river has receded to a distance of several miles. English Bazar and old Malda in the Malda district have lost ground owing to the diversion of trade to other routes. Nawabganj on the Máhanandá, near its junction with the Ganges, has the largest population of any town in this district; but it is not a municipality, and comparative figures for earlier enumerations are not available. Jalpaiguri is progressive but still has less than 10,000 inhabitants. Rangpur has grown steadily since 1881, but its population is still only slightly greater than in 1872. The other places treated as towns in this district are subdivisional head-quarters or railway centres, but they are not municipalities and their population in 1891 is not known. Bogra is growing slowly, but Sherpur in the same district is stationary. In Pabna the head-quarters station has grown by nearly 12 per cent., while the flourishing jute mart at Serajganj which, with 23,114 inhabitants, is the largest town in North Bengal, has lost ground, though to a very slight extent.

76. The town of Darjeeling is peculiarly circumstanced, as it owes its existence not to local requirements but to the fact that it has been selected as the summer head-quarters of the Bengal Government, and is also largely resorted to during the hot season by Europeans, whose permanent residence is in the plains. Its inhabitants in 1872, before the days of the railway, numbered only 3,157. During the next nine years the population increased by more than 100 per cent., and it again doubled itself between the years 1881 and 1891. Since 1891 the growth has been less rapid, and at the present Census an increase of rather less than 20 per cent. has been recorded. Being a hill station its population is at a minimum during the cold weather months, when the general Census was taken. In order to ascertain its population during the season when it is chiefly resorted to, a special enumeration was effected on the 21st September 1900. This disclosed a population of 23,852, or nearly 50 per cent. more than that at the time of the regular Census taken about 5 months later. Kurseong is another hill station, also in the Darjeeling district, but its elevation is considerably lower, and it does not enjoy the same reputation as a sanitarium. Its population is small, and it shows no signs of any great development.

77. Although the urban population of East Bengal is relatively very small, this tract contains one of the largest towns in the Province. Dacca was a flourishing city long before the days of British rule, and for many years it was the capital of the Nawabs. It was subsequently the emporium of the well-known muslins which were greatly in demand in Europe, and especially in France. In 1801 it was estimated to have a population of 200,000. Its prosperity was seriously affected by the French wars, and in 1814 the police tax was levied only on 21,361 houses, which would indicate a population of less than 110,000. The place continued to decline, and an enumeration effected in 1830 disclosed a population of only 66,989 persons. In 1872 when the growth of the jute



trade had begun to cause a revival, the number of inhabitants was 69,212. The town has grown steadily since that date and now has a population of 90,542, or more than 30 per cent. greater than it was 29 years ago. The progress of Narayanganj which is quite a modern town and owes its progress entirely to modern trade and industrial developments, has been much more rapid, and its present population of 24,472 is about double that recorded in 1881.

78. Seven of the eight municipalities in Mymensingh have improved their position since 1891, the increase being most marked in Nasirabad, Sherpur, and Kishorganj, and in Jamalpur, the terminus of the railway and an important station for the river steamers. These towns are all small, and in none of them does the population reach 18,000. The Faridpur district contains Madaripur whose present population (17,463) shows an increase compared with 1891, of about 22 per cent.; it is favourably situated at the junction of the Arielkhán and Kumár rivers, and is the centre of a flourishing jute trade. Faridpur town has grown slightly, but it is still small and has no manufactures or general trade. In Backergunge all the towns are progressive and Barisal with nearly 19,000 inhabitants has grown by 22 per cent. in the course of the last decade. Its most flourishing town, however, is Jhalakati which is one of the largest marts in East Bengal. It is still small but shows a very rapid rate of expansion, and its population has considerably more than doubled itself during the last ten years.

79. In Tippera the population is growing rapidly and the towns are keeping pace with the general progress of the district. The capital, Comilla, has been tapped by the railway since 1891 and the population, which now stands at 19,169, has grown by more than 30 per cent. Chandpur is a branch terminus of the railway, a port for river steamers and the local head-quarters of the jute trade. It is a very rising town, but as it does not find a place in the returns for previous enumerations, it is not possible to give an exact measure of its rate of expansion. Akhaura is coming into importance as the railway station for the Brahmanbaria subdivision, and Laksam as an important junction, but neither of these places has as yet attained the rank of towns. Noakhali has practically no urban population, and its one small town is Sudharam, the head-quarters station. In spite of the advent of the railway and the development of its port, the town of Chittagong shows an apparent loss of population compared with 1891. This is due partly to the fact that the railway quarter, with a population of 1,289 persons, lies beyond the municipal limits and partly to the census having been taken during some holidays when large numbers of the usual residents were absent at their permanent homes a few miles away. The Magistrate estimates that the number of these temporary absentees must have reached nearly 3,000. Including them and the railway people, the population would be about 26,500, instead of 22,140 at which it stands in the census tables.

80. South Bihar contains the oldest towns in the Province and Patna,

Gaya, Bihar, and Monghyr have a very ancient history. Buchanan Hamilton estimated the population of Patna at 312,000, but his calculation referred to an area of 20 square miles, whereas the city, as now defined, extends over only 9 square miles. The population returned in 1872 was 158,900, but the accuracy of the enumeration was doubted, and it was thought that the real number of inhabitants was considerably greater. It is thus probable that the growth indicated by the census of 1881, which showed a population of 170,654, was fictitious. There was a falling off of 5,462 persons between 1881 and 1891, while the present census gives a population of only 134,785, which represents a further decrease of more than 18 per cent. This is due mainly to the plague which was raging in the city at the time of the census, and not only killed a great number but drove many more away; no one who could go elsewhere remained in the stricken city, and many of the private houses and even shops were left empty or in charge only of a care-taker. The census thus entirely failed to afford a true indication of the normal population of the city at the present time. To ascertain this a fresh count was effected at the end of July, *i.e.*, about five months after the general census, when the plague scare had passed away and the people had once more settled down.



This second enumeration disclosed a population of 153,739 or about 19,000, more than on the 1st March, but still nearly 7 per cent. below the corresponding figure for 1891. The relative deficiency of females on this occasion seems to indicate that some of those who had left during the plague scare had still not returned, but on the other hand there would in any case be more males in July than in March; fewer would then be absent in Bengal, and the schools, which were closed in March but open

Census of	POPULATION.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.
March 1901	154,785	67,023	67,747
July "	153,739	79,309	74,970

in July, would also swell their number. On the whole, then, except for the loss due to actual deaths from plague, which according to the returns amounted to 4,688, the population may be assumed to have regained its normal strength at the time of the second enumeration. The decrease due to causes other than deaths from plague which, allowing for an incomplete return of plague deaths is probably about 3 per cent., may be ascribed to the continued operation of the causes that led to a loss of population between 1881 and 1891, the chief of which was declining prosperity due to the gradual decay of the river-borne trade.

81. Of the other towns in the Patna District, Barh is stationary and Bihar has lost slightly, while in Dinapur the population is less by nearly 32 per cent. than it was in 1891. These variations are probably due entirely to the plague epidemic, and the heavy fall in Gaya and Tikari is attributable to the same cause. Plague appeared in Arrah shortly before the census and it is probably on this account that its population is slightly less than that returned ten years previously but, with the solitary exception of Sasaram all the towns in Shahabad seem to be decadent. Bhabua shows a heavy decrease during the last decade but it still has about as many inhabitants as in 1881. In Monghyr, as in Patna and Gaya, plague was raging when the census was taken, and the population returned in Monghyr town (35,880) was 37 per cent. less than it had been 10 years earlier. A second census, taken at the end of July when the plague had disappeared, gave a population of 50,133 or only 6,944 less than in 1891. Of this decrease 2,885 represents the number of reported deaths from plague. The railway town of Jamalpur in the same district suffered from plague, and some of the railway offices have been removed to Calcutta; its population has thus declined during the decade, but it still contains more inhabitants than it did in 1881.

82. All the municipal towns of Saran have lost ground. Chapra, which showed a steady growth between 1872 and 1891, has now suffered a decrease of about 20 per cent. Revelganj has lost even more heavily. There was no second census in these towns, but there can be no doubt that plague is the principal, if not the only, cause of the falling off. At the same time it should be noted that Siwan, where there had been no plague, also shows a decline. Motihari and Bettiah, in Champaran, have both gained slightly, but in Muzaffarpur, Sitamarhi alone is progressive. Muzaffarpur town is less populous by 9 per cent. than it was ten years ago but it has still 3,000 more inhabitants than in 1881. Its decrease is to a great extent only apparent and, but for the exclusion of one of the old wards from the municipal limits and the temporary absence of a large number of people in connection with marriage ceremonies, it would probably have returned at least as many inhabitants as in 1891. In Darbhanga town also the fact that the date was an auspicious one for weddings led to the population being unusually small on the day of the census. Moreover, plague had just appeared and some of the residents whose permanent homes were elsewhere, had already begun to move away. The population of this town in 1891 was abnormally large on account of the presence of some 5,000 Brahmans who had come to partake of a feast given by the Maharaja. The decrease, which amounts to nearly 10 per cent., is attributable partly to these causes and partly to unhealthiness in recent years. In 1900 there were 924 deaths from cholera alone. Rosera, on the bank of the Gandak, is slightly decadent, as the railway has diverted some of the traffic that was formerly borne by the river. Samastipur and Madhubani, on the other hand, have benefited by the railway, especially the former. Comparative figures are not available, but it is known to be growing rapidly. Of the larger Bihar



towns Bhagalpur alone is progressive. It has grown steadily since 1872, but the increase of 9·6 during the last decade is greater than that brought out by the two previous enumerations put together. This is due mainly to the great development in the export trade in agricultural produce which has led to the opening of a second railway station and to a great extension of the accommodation provided for goods. On the south, moreover, the municipal limits have been enlarged.\* The town is a very healthy one with a good natural system of drainage and a filtered water-supply which has been greatly increased and extended during the decade.

Purnea and Kishanganj both show a falling off in sympathy with the general decline of population in the Purnea district.

83. There are only five towns in Orissa of which Cuttack, with 51,364 inhabitants, is the largest. It has grown by 9 per cent. since 1891 while the district taken as a whole has added only 6·4 per cent. to its population. The town is noted for its filagree work, but the advent of the railway has doubtless been the main factor in its somewhat rapid increase. At first sight the growth of Puri from 28,794 to 49,334 seems phenomenal, but it is due mainly to the presence of an unusually large crowd of pilgrims on account of the Gobind Duadasi festival. When preparing the preliminary totals, the Magistrate, Mr. Luson, caused these pilgrims to be separately counted, and they were thus found to number 17,085. If these be deducted, the population of the town falls to 32,259 or only 12 per cent. more than in 1891. There were doubtless some pilgrims present in the town at the last census also; it is impossible now to ascertain their number, but as there was then no great festival in progress, it was probably not very large.

The other Orissa towns call for no special remarks. Balasore and Jajpur are almost stationary while Kendrapara has lost population. Comparative figures for Bhadrak are not available.

84. The towns of the Chota Nagpur Plateau are for the most part small and unimportant. Sahibganj, in the Sonthal Parganas, shows a serious decrease for which the plague scare is responsible; its normal population is probably quite as large as in 1891. Hazaribagh is slightly decadent, but on the other hand large increases have been registered in Ranchi and Purulia, amounting respectively to 28 and 42 per cent. In the case of Purulia the opening of the railway and the growth of the coolie recruiting business have added greatly to the population, but the reasons for the great expansion in Ranchi are less apparent. The other towns scarcely need separate mention. Chaibassa has grown and Raghunathpur and Lohardaga show a decrease. The population of the towns of the Tributary States was not shown on previous occasions, but they have no commercial importance, and it is not likely that there has been much change in recent years.

85. If places now treated as towns for the first time be left out of account the urban population at the present census shows an increase of 5·4 per cent. over that recorded in 1891. The apparent rate of progress is greatest in Orissa where, however, it is to a great extent fictitious, being due mainly to the crowd of pilgrims collected at Puri in connection with a religious festival. In East Bengal which comes next, most of the towns are growing. The country is prosperous and trade is increasing, and the most progressive towns are those connected with the export trade in jute. The high rate of increase in Central Bengal is due to the expansion of Calcutta and the modern industrial towns on the banks of the Hooghly. In

Natural Division.	Percentage of variation.
West Bengal	+13·3
Central ..	+12·6
North Bengal	+4·1
East Bengal	+13·7
South Bihar	-16·9
North Bihar	-4·9
Orissa	+17·9
Chota Nagpur	+5·1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>+5·4</b>

the other parts of this tract the old native industries have ceased to be profitable and the urban population is declining. West Bengal also owes its high position to the rapid expansion of new industries fostered by European

\* The true boundary had been lost sight of and a tract lying beyond it was treated as part of the Municipality, but the addition has not yet been legalised.



capital in Howrah and its environs, and at Raniganj and Asansol. The older towns show no tendency to grow. The progress of the urban population in North Bengal and Chota Nagpur is normal, and presents no points of interest, though it may be noted that, here too, the greatest advance has taken place in towns that have sprung up under British rule, such as Darjeeling, Purulia, and Ranchi. Throughout Bihar the urban population is stationary or decadent, save only in Bhagalpur and one or two smaller towns that owe their prosperity to the construction of new lines of railway. Few of the other towns contain any of the elements that make for progress, and many of them have suffered by the diversion of the traffic from the rivers to the railways. At the same time their position is not by any means so bad as the figures for the present census would indicate. The decrease in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga is mainly fortuitous; and that in Chapra, Revelganj and many of the towns of South Bihar is chiefly on account of the plague epidemic. The second count taken in Patna and Monghyr, a few months after the regular census, showed that even then a great part of the loss had been made good, and unless plague or some other calamity intervenes it is probable that the next enumeration will show a general recovery throughout the plague area.

In India generally the urban population is small but it is particularly so in Bengal. In Madras, the Punjab and the United Provinces, the people who live in towns are more than twice, and in Bombay (excluding Sind) they are nearly four times, as numerous, in proportion to the total population, as they are in this province. The province is also poor in respect of large cities. Calcutta, of course, is the largest city in India, but Howrah stands only fourteenth on the list; its population is exceeded by that of five cities in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, three in the Punjab, two in Bombay, one in Madras and one in Burma.

86. A village may be either a collection of houses bearing a separate name, or else the mauza, *i.e.*, the area treated as a village at the survey. The latter has the advantage of being a definite unit regarding which there can be no manner of doubt so long as the boundaries laid down at the survey are known, but it does not at the present time necessarily correspond to the residential village. One of the latter may spread over two mauzas or survey villages, or two may lie in the same mauza or the mauza may be altogether uninhabited. On the other hand, if the survey unit be neglected, it is very difficult to say with any precision what constitutes a village. There are many collections of houses which would by one person be called separate villages, while another would treat them as hamlets of other villages in the neighbourhood. In Bengal the records of the revenue survey have not been kept up to date and in most districts the survey mauza is no longer clearly traceable. Generally, therefore, a village was taken for census purposes to mean a residential village, *i.e.*, as a collection of houses bearing a separate name with its dependent hamlets. Where, however, there has been a recent cadastral survey, as in parts of Bihar and Orissa, the survey mauza was taken as the census unit.

Having regard to the indeterminate character of the villages, it is unnecessary to spend much time in discussing the statistics relating to them. The total number of villages is 222,656\* and the average number of inhabitants is 355. Eleven per cent. of the rural population live in villages with a population exceeding 2,000; 42 per cent. in villages with a population of from 500 to 2,000 and 47 per cent. in villages with a population of less than 500. Assuming each village to be a point, the average distance between each would be rather less than a mile. The corresponding distance between each house would be about 212 yards.

\* The figure 222,655 in Table III includes Towns.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—DENSITY OF THE POPULATION.

NATURAL DIVISIONS, DISTRICTS, AND CITIES.	Mean density per square mile.				Variation Increase (+) or Decrease (-).			Net Variation, 1872-1901. (+) or (-)
	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1872 to 1881.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>BENGAL</b>	413	393	366	328	+ 20	+ 27	+ 38	+ 85
<i>West Bengal</i>	391	351	350	345	+ 40	+ 21	- 15	+ 46
<i>RURAL</i>	376	329	320	283	+ 36	+ 16	+ 57	+ 210
Howrah	1,351	1,363	1,142	1,078	+ 68	+ 121	+ 64	+ 373
Hoochly	846	841	800	923	+ 5	+ 41	- 123	+ 76
Hurdwan	370	319	318	353	+ 59	-	- 35	+ 17
Midnapore	638	507	485	400	+ 31	+ 23	- 5	+ 48
Birbhum	615	456	402	430	+ 59	+ 4	- 34	+ 29
Bankura	426	408	367	363	+ 18	+ 11	+ 22	+ 57
<i>CITIES</i>	14,714	11,084	8,746	8,148	+ 3,430	+ 2,638	+ 808	+ 6,666
Howrah (Howrah and Bally)	15,023	12,119	9,603	8,880	+ 3,004	+ 2,516	+ 714	+ 7,134
Hoochly (Serampore)	11,112	8,583	6,290	6,110	+ 2,134	+ 2,698	+ 280	+ 5,002
<i>Central Bengal</i>	608	578	550	501	+ 30	+ 18	+ 59	+ 167
<i>RURAL</i>	536	519	506	446	+ 16	+ 13	+ 81	+ 60
24-Parganas	406	379	330	307	+ 36	+ 42	+ 23	+ 101
Murshidabad	622	484	372	306	+ 38	+ 19	+ 4	+ 54
Jessore	620	648	603	490	- 28	- 17	+ 167	+ 151
Nadia	597	580	515	537	+ 8	- 6	+ 58	+ 60
<i>CITIES</i>	20,661	24,067	22,655	22,763	+ 5,604	+ 2,008	- 708	+ 6,899
Calcutta	42,890	34,115	30,515	31,650	+ 8,274	+ 3,500	- 1,035	+ 10,740
24-Parganas (Cosipur-Chitpur, Garden Reach, and Manick- tala.)	8,445	7,292	7,767	7,061	+ 2,153	- 485	- 161	+ 401
<i>North Bengal</i>	428	458	459	417	+ 25	+ 19	+ 22	+ 66
<i>RURAL</i>	483	483	430	417	+ 38	+ 19	+ 23	+ 66
Pahna	772	740	712	616	+ 32	+ 53	+ 54	+ 131
Bogra	620	563	545	472	+ 66	+ 54	+ 33	+ 157
Rangpur	617	601	600	616	+ 26	- 9	- 16	+ 11
Kaibabhi	664	655	659	649	+ 9	- 4	+ 19	+ 110
Malda	460	429	374	354	+ 37	+ 55	+ 19	+ 27
Kuch Bihar	484	443	421	407	+ 9	+ 16	+ 54	+ 35
Dinajpur	307	376	385	303	+ 21	+ 11	+ 3	+ 126
Jalpaiguri	366	230	190	141	+ 36	+ 54	+ 55	+ 126
Darjeeling	114	162	134	51	+ 25	+ 58	+ 53	+ 133
Sikkim	21	11	.....	.....	+ 10	.....	.....	.....
<i>CITIES</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>East Bengal</i>	514	465	408	367	+ 49	+ 57	+ 41	+ 147
<i>RURAL</i>	511	463	406	363	+ 48	+ 58	+ 40	+ 146
Dacca	623	634	725	634	+ 89	+ 109	+ 91	+ 289
Faridpur	540	600	727	671	+ 49	+ 73	+ 56	+ 178
Tippera	542	713	600	569	+ 135	+ 107	+ 44	+ 286
Noakhali	694	614	499	511	+ 80	+ 115	- 12	+ 183
Malda	684	691	551	518	+ 37	+ 70	+ 3	+ 110
Backergunge	618	646	462	371	+ 70	+ 64	+ 351	+ 347
Myerasingh	609	507	520	504	+ 36	+ 47	+ 16	+ 89
Khalna	543	519	454	428	+ 25	+ 64	+ 2	+ 91
Chittagong	42	34	23	8	+ 8	+ 11	+ 15	+ 24
Hill Tippera	21	21	20	13	+ 3	+ 1	+ 7	+ 11
Chittagong Hill Tracts	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>CITIES</i>	10,080	9,147	8,785	7,690	+ 513	+ 361	+ 1,096	+ 2,370
Dacca (Dacca)	10,060	9,147	8,786	7,690	+ 513	+ 361	+ 1,096	+ 2,370
<i>North Bihar</i>	656	635	600	526	+ 1	+ 35	+ 74	+ 110
<i>RURAL</i>	626	624	600	517	+ 2	+ 34	+ 73	+ 109
Muzaffarpur	805	888	847	738	+ 16	+ 41	+ 111	+ 167
Saran	692	902	847	766	+ 17	+ 65	+ 81	+ 126
Darbhanga	663	820	770	626	+ 35	+ 50	+ 144	+ 220
Champanan	507	527	458	404	+ 29	+ 39	+ 80	+ 89
Bhagalpur	477	465	450	417	+ 12	+ 15	+ 33	+ 60
Purnea	573	593	570	545	+ 14	- 19	+ 27	+ 32
<i>CITIES</i>	8,540	8,500	8,154	7,972	- 650	+ 746	+ 882	+ 1,087
Bhagalpur	8,470	8,638	8,320	8,172	+ 632	+ 109	+ 557	+ 1,298
Darbhanga	9,403	10,368	9,423	7,677	+ 1,043	+ 1,096	+ 1,745	+ 1,788
Muzaffarpur	1,092	8,109	7,070	6,973	- 926	+ 1,122	+ 703	+ 1,269
Chapra	8,557	8,120	7,381	6,612	- 1,436	+ 812	+ 780	- 55







SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. II.—DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.	AVERAGE POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION LIVING IN—		PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION IN TOWNS OF—				PERCENTAGE OF RURAL POPULATION IN VILLAGES OF—			
	Per town.	Per village.	Towns.	Villages.	20,000 and over.	10,000 to 20,000.	5,000 to 10,000.	Under 5,000.	5,000 and over.	2,000 to 5,000.	500 to 2,000.	Under 500.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>BENGAL ...</b>	<b>20,504</b>	<b>535</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>WEST BENGAL ...</b>	<b>20,323</b>	<b>509</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>16</b>	.....	.....	<b>6</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>59</b>
Burdwan ...	11,434	305	5	95	40	30	24	.....	1	7	62	41
Birbhum ...	8,904	239	1	99	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bankura ...	17,758	120	5	95	39	61	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Midnapore ...	12,849	312	3	97	37	25	33	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hoojaly ...	16,736	284	13	87	35	54	21	.....	.....	11	47	41
Howrah ...	58,129	465	20	80	30	10	.....	.....	.....	13	51	34
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL ...</b>	<b>53,435</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	.....	<b>5</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>46</b>
24 Parganas ...	16,095	331	19	81	50	38	11	1	.....	3	43	54
Calcutta ...	547,758	.....	100	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nadia ...	10,395	401	5	95	54	11	20	9	.....	8	57	35
Murshidabad ...	11,181	345	5	95	32	68	.....	.....	.....	8	47	45
Jessore ...	7,099	306	1	99	.....	.....	80	20	.....	3	48	48
<b>NORTH BENGAL ...</b>	<b>5,586</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>53</b>
Rajshahi ...	15,121	226	3	95	71	.....	29	.....	.....	1	29	70
Dinajpur ...	13,430	198	1	99	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	3	20	77
Jalpaiguri ...	5,144	7,914	1	90	.....	.....	94	6	17	37	33	13
Darjeeling ...	10,620	400	8	92	.....	79	.....	21	2	13	45	43
Bangpur ...	4,914	408	1	99	.....	84	.....	20	.....	14	43	41
Bogra ...	8,579	218	1	90	.....	.....	63	37	.....	3	39	65
Pabna ...	20,769	371	3	97	50	44	.....	11	1	6	47	46
Maidan ...	11,475	323	4	96	.....	80	.....	11	1	4	33	60
Kuch Bihar ...	2,215	447	2	98	.....	74	.....	26	6	9	54	31
Sikkim ...	.....	472	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	32	34	25
<b>EAST BENGAL ...</b>	<b>5,177</b>	<b>398</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>40</b>
Khulna ...	8,078	267	2	98	.....	43	57	.....	1	6	47	46
Dacca ...	57,507	540	4	96	100	.....	.....	.....	1	8	45	42
Mymensingh ...	13,174	300	2	98	.....	84	6	.....	.....	7	44	45
Faridpur ...	14,556	331	1	99	.....	100	.....	.....	1	9	46	44
Backergunge ...	9,115	487	2	98	.....	72	22	6	1	16	34	50
Tippura ...	16,120	386	1	99	.....	51	19	.....	1	6	45	45
Noakhali ...	16,520	431	1	99	.....	.....	100	.....	7	21	43	50
Chittagong ...	12,992	912	2	98	80	.....	14	.....	9	37	43	12
Chittagong Hill Tracts ...	421	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hill Tippura ...	9,615	112	3	95	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	13	87
<b>NORTH BIHAR ...</b>	<b>32,512</b>	<b>602</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>14</b>	.....	<b>4</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>25</b>
Saran ...	20,280	397	3	97	57	19	24	.....	.....	8	40	45
Champaran ...	10,213	608	2	98	64	16	.....	.....	6	32	32	30
Muzaffarpur ...	22,714	647	3	97	70	13	11	.....	.....	12	54	31
Darbhanga ...	25,848	630	3	97	84	27	8	.....	7	30	30	13
Bhagalpur ...	40,749	655	4	96	83	.....	7	.....	3	23	32	29
Purnea ...	10,620	240	1	99	.....	44	54	.....	1	14	53	31
<b>SOUTH BIHAR ...</b>	<b>22,905</b>	<b>545</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>45</b>
Patna ...	35,873	277	12	85	55	10	3	1	.....	3	36	61
Gaya ...	14,309	247	5	95	62	.....	32	6	.....	2	34	64
Shahabad ...	10,884	334	6	94	59	36	5	.....	.....	11	44	45
Monghyr ...	17,600	794	3	97	50	50	.....	.....	9	25	51	15
<b>ORISSA ...</b>	<b>27,908</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>27</b>	.....	.....	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>47</b>
Cuttack ...	36,340	500	4	90	65	35	.....	.....	1	8	40	44
Balasore ...	10,660	307	3	97	63	47	.....	.....	1	4	45	50
Puri ...	43,834	512	6	93	100	.....	.....	.....	1	5	43	52
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU ...</b>	<b>8,545</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>12</b>	.....	<b>3</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>71</b>
Hamirbagh ...	11,243	129	3	97	.....	74	26	.....	.....	1	17	86
Ranchi ...	10,202	561	2	97	64	.....	38	8	.....	2	40	58
Palaman ...	4,723	192	2	98	.....	.....	61	38	1	5	25	71
Manbhum ...	8,779	221	2	98	.....	65	.....	34	.....	8	24	72
Sinkbhum ...	8,553	102	1	99	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	1	21	78
Sonthal Parganas ...	7,745	102	1	99	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	6	27	67
Angul ...	.....	132	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	27	61
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ...	.....	214	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	28	71
Orissa Tributary States ...	5,030	163	1	98	.....	.....	80	20	.....	3	31	70



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—HOUSES AND HOUSE-ROOM.

NATURAL DIVISIONS, DISTRICTS OR CITIES.					AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSE.			AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOUSES PER SQUARE MILE.		
					1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1					2	3	4	5	6	7
BENGAL					5.9	5.4	6.3	79	73	59
WEST BENGAL					4.4	4.3	5.2	131	121	104
Burdwan					4.3	4.2	4.6	135	121	107
Birbhum					4.3	4.2	4.3	119	107	108
Bankura					4.5	4.9	6.1	88	82	64
Midnapore					4.6	4.9	6.9	111	104	93
Hoochly					3.9	3.6	4.08	223	233	193
Howrah					4.3	5.2	6.9	372	397	330
CENTRAL BENGAL					5.1	5.3	6.0	151	136	119
24-Parganas					5.4	5.7	5.4	183	187	145
Calcutta					6.7	10.1	17.7	6,274	3,356	4,317
Nadia					4.7	4.9	4.8	135	119	106
Murshidabad					4.7	4.4	4.7	133	131	130
Jessore					4.9	5.3	5.5	123	120	99
NORTH BENGAL					5.3	5.4	6.0	90	83	72
Rajshahi					5.1	5.7	6.4	111	100	95
Dinajpur					5.4	5.3	6.3	73	67	63
Jaipur					5.0	5.4	6.1	33	43	33
Darjeeling					4.0	4.9	5.3	32	35	23
Bangpur					5.6	6.0	6.3	111	105	96
Bogra					5.9	6.3	6.3	105	98	66
Pabna					5.5	5.9	6.5	140	133	108
Madda					5.4	5.4	5.6	86	78	66
Kuch Bihar					5.1	4.9	5.2	85	90	66
Sikkim					5.3					
EAST BENGAL					5.4	5.3	7.3	106	96	69
Khulna					5.4	5.6	6.0	110	90	75
Dacca					5.9	5.4	6.7	109	107	110
Mymensingh					5.9	5.6	7.5	101	67	64
Faridpur					5.2	5.3	7.4	163	150	99
Rackergunge					4.8	4.9	6.5	120	119	61
Tippura					5.8	5.7	6.4	144	135	79
Nonkhali					5.5	5.3	6.4	127	114	63
Chittagong					4.9	4.9	6.3	110	101	62
Chittagong Hill Tracts					5.8	5.1	6.7	4	4	3
Hill Tippura					5.6			7		
NORTH BIHAR					5.2	5.3	6.6	120	109	90
Saran					5.3	5.4	7.0	175	168	134
Champaran					5.7	5.3	6.08	89	84	60
Muzaffarpur					5.9	5.8	7.0	174	153	121
Darbhanga					6.0	6.1	7.2	179	167	164
Bhagalpur					5.5	5.7	6.1	60	58	73
Purnea					5.4	5.3	6.06	60	73	61
SOUTH BIHAR					5.2	5.7	6.6	97	92	78
Patna					5.3	6.1	6.3	136	140	134
Gaya					5.1	5.5	6.1	88	81	73
Bhahabad					5.3	5.7	7.00	84	62	63
Monghyr					5.4	5.7	7.0	97	91	1
ORISSA					5.1	5.3	5.9	99	90	75
Cuttack					5.1	5.1	6.5	111	104	89
Balasore					5.9	5.4	6.3	85	80	78
Puri					4.6	5.2	6.9	60	72	51
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU					5.3	5.3	5.4	38	26	21
Hazaribagh					5.3	5.9	5.9	33	37	28
Ranchi					5.3	5.0	5.6	31	31	24
Palamanu					5.4	5.8	5.8	25	21	20
Manbhum					5.9	5.4	5.0	60	53	45
Singbhum					5.9	5.3	5.3	31	27	23
Sonbhal Parganas					5.6	6.1	6.3	67	62	45
Angul					4.8	5.0	5.07	23	11	32
Chota Nagpur Tributary States					6.1	6.0	6.0	10	10	7
Orissa do. do.					5.0	5.0	5.4	37	33	17

CITIES, 1901.							
CITIES.		Average number of persons per House.	Average number of Houses per square mile.	CITIES.		Average number of persons per House.	Average number of Houses per square mile.
1		2	3	1		2	3
CALCUTTA		6.7	6,274	Patna		4.1	3,373
Cossipur-Chitpur		6.9	1,948	Bihar		4.9	1,019
Manicktollah		5.2	1,033	Gaya		5.0	1,560
Garden Reach		4.3	2,207	Darbhanga		4.7	1,967
Serampore		5.3	3,470	Muzaffarpur		4.7	1,603
Howrah		3.4	5,086	Chapra		4.4	1,481
Hally		3.9	2,377	Bhagalpur		5.2	1,793
Dacca		5.3	1,307	Monghyr...		4.1	1,674

Figures for occupied houses for the cities for 1891 and 1881 being not available their average Nos. have not been given. The figures for Calcutta have been shown under Central Bengal. The number of houses has been taken from the first total reported by the District Officers.



## Chapter II.

## VARIATIONS IN THE POPULATION.

## PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION.

87. In the previous chapter the statistics of the population as it stood on the 1st March 1901 have been considered. The present chapter deals with the variations that have

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

taken place since 1872. The information regarding the early population of Bengal is very scanty and unreliable. In 1787 Sir William Jones thought that it amounted to 24 millions including part of the United Provinces then attached to Bengal. Five years later Mr. Colebrook placed it at 30 millions. In 1835 Mr. Adams assumed it to be 35 millions, but this estimate was thought too high and was reduced to 31 millions in 1844. In 1870 the population was held to be about 42 millions or less by more than a third than the figure disclosed by the first regular census of the province which was taken in 1872. The changes between the latter year and 1881 and between 1881 and 1891 have already been dealt with in the reports on those censuses; they will, therefore, be treated of very briefly, and the discussion in this chapter will

refer chiefly to the variations which have occurred during the last decade. The figures showing the variations in the population of districts are contained in Imperial Table II. Similar information for thanas is given in Table I of the Volume of Provincial tables. Proportional figures illustrating some of the more important features of the statistics will be found in Subsidiary Table I at the end of this chapter. The map reproduced in the margin shows the variations since 1891 in



the population of districts taken as a whole. Similar maps in which the thana is the unit will be found in paragraphs 222 to 231 below.

88. As already stated the population of the whole of Bengal now amounts to 78,493,410, viz., 74,744,866 in British Territory and 3,748,544 in the Feudatory States. The increase since 1891 is 3,819,612 or 5·1 per cent., viz., 3,397,905 or 4·7 per cent. in British Territory and 421,707 or 12·6 per cent. in the Native States. It will be convenient to begin by examining the variations in each individual district and state, and then to proceed to a consideration of the changes in each natural division and in

Bengal as a whole. Apart from the gradually increasing accuracy of each succeeding census, which has now for the first time ceased to be a factor of any importance in these Provinces, the growth of the population depends on (1) the excess of births over deaths and (2) migration. Migration will be dealt with in the next chapter, and it will be referred to here only so far as is necessary in order to gauge its effect on the variations in the population. Returns showing the number of births and deaths in each district are

Year of Census.	Population.	Percentage of variation since previous Census.
1872	42,336,317	
1881	49,532,040	+ 17·5
1891	74,073,798	+ 7·3
1901	78,493,410	+ 5·1



published in the annual reports of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, but before any use is made of them, it is desirable to examine the figures in some detail in order to arrive at a conclusion as to their absolute and relative value.

89. Births and deaths are recorded throughout the Province, except in Angul, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Feudatory States. The present system of mortuary registration was introduced in 1869. The duty of reporting deaths was imposed on the chaukidars, or village watchmen, and not on the relations of the deceased. In 1876 the system was extended to births but the returns received were so incomplete that they were soon discontinued and, except in towns for which special legislation was undertaken in 1873, deaths alone were registered until 1892. In that year the collection of statistics of births as well as of deaths was ordered, and the system now in vogue was introduced. In the Chaukidari Amendment Act of 1892 the reporting of vital occurrences was made one of the legal duties of the chaukidars. The births and deaths occurring in each chaukidar's beat are entered on leaflets by the chaukidar or, if he be illiterate, by the pancháyat, and taken by the former to the Police Station when he attends his weekly muster. A consolidated monthly return is compiled at the Police Station and submitted to the Civil Surgeon who prepares a similar return for the whole district. The accuracy of the reporting is checked by the police and other local officers, but the most valuable testing agency is that of the vaccination establishments, who are required to enquire regarding vital occurrences when on their rounds to test the vaccination operations. Errors and omissions thus brought to light are communicated to the District Magistrate and the chaukidars at fault are punished. In 1900, 276,077 births and 211,618 deaths were enquired into by inspectors and sub-inspectors of vaccination and the omission from the returns of 4,345 births and 2,910 deaths was thus detected. These omissions represent respectively 1·57 and 1·37 of the total number of births and deaths reported. The corresponding proportions in the previous year were 1·13 and 1·14. Under the special Act for towns above referred to, the reporting of births and deaths by the nearest male relative was made compulsory. The information was collected for some time by the municipal authorities, but the results were not satisfactory and the duty was subsequently transferred to the police.

90. The above measures have led to a great improvement in the accuracy of the vital statistics. Prior to 1892, the returns of deaths, which alone were collected, were held to be highly unreliable, and it was thought that about half the total number were unreported. The latest authoritative pronouncement on the probable birth and death rates in Bengal is that of Mr. Hardy, F.I.A., F.S.S., the Actuary who was retained by the Census Commissioners of 1881 and 1891 to deal with the age returns prepared in connection with those enumerations. After an elaborate examination of the age statistics for both censuses he estimated that the birth and death rates in Bengal in 1891 were respectively 51·8 and 44·8 per 1,000. The rates calculated on the number of births and deaths actually reported in each year are noted in the margin. The figures are far below those of Mr. Hardy's estimate and, so far as this test goes, it is clear that they cannot yet pretend to a very close approach to accuracy. The returns for the latter half of the decade are, however, better than those for the earlier half. Moreover, it is not yet certain that the estimates based on the age

YEAR.	RATE PER 1,000 OF POPULATION OF 1891 OF REPORTED		
	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of births over deaths.
1892 ...	29·1	31·3	- 2·2
1893 ...	35·7	28·2	+ 7·5
1894 ...	32·5	28·9	+ 3·6
1895 ...	31·8	31·4	+ 0·4
1896 ...	35·0	31·3	+ 3·7
1897 ...	37·9	32·9	+ 5·0
1898 ...	35·8	30·8	+ 5·0
1899 ...	43·0	31·3	+ 11·7
1900 ...	39·7	30·5	+ 9·2
Average of nine years	35·3	31·3	+ 4·0

NOTE.—Still-births are not included in the above figures. In 1899 when the largest number of still-births was recorded, the rate was about 1·3 per 1,000 of the population of 1891; 57 per cent. of the total number were males.

statistics are altogether reliable. The age return is admittedly most inaccurate, and although errors due to the tendency of the people to mention one or other of certain favourite numbers as their age can be eliminated by means of elaborate methods of adjustment, it is not so easy to correct any general tendency to over-state or under-state the real age. Some check is afforded by the actual variation in the population from one census to another, but this has hitherto



been obscured by the greater accuracy of each succeeding enumeration which has caused the growth of the population to seem greater than it really is. According to Mr. Hardy's estimated birth and death rates, the population should have grown at the rate of 7 per 1,000 per annum, *i.e.*, the 71,069,617 persons in the areas for which vital statistics have been recorded should have risen in the course of ten years to 76,204,194, but the census shows that the population of these areas in 1901 was only 74,428,193. The actual increase is thus 3,358,576, or at the rate of 4.6 per 1,000 per annum.\* The net addition to this population indicated by a comparison of the returns for births and deaths during the decade is 3,159,200. For the purpose of this comparison the actual number of deaths reported in each year has been taken, but on the side of births the number returned in the years 1892 to 1900 inclusive has been increased by one-ninth to allow for the year 1891 when births were not registered. It will thus appear that there is a very close approximation between the actual growth of the total population and that indicated by the vital statistics of the Province.

91. In Subsidiary Table II the variations in the population of each district are compared with the excess of births over deaths, but before considering these figures it is necessary to point out that the census variations and the vital statistics are both complicated by the movements of the people from one part of the country to another. A district may have gained or lost largely owing to migration and the actual variation in such a case will not of course correspond with that indicated by the excess of births over deaths. It is sometimes assumed that the effect of migration can be discounted and the true growth ascertained comparing not the actual, but the district-born or natural population, which is arrived at by deducting from the actual population at the time of each census the immigrants from other districts and adding the number of persons born in the district who were enumerated beyond its borders. It is also assumed that the excess of births over deaths in any given area affords a direct measure of the natural growth of the population of that area. Neither of these assumptions is correct, and it is, therefore, necessary to examine briefly the real effect of the movements of the people on the population and the vital statistics.

92. For the purpose of this enquiry permanent and non-permanent migrants must be considered separately; the permanent migrants again must be subdivided into two groups, those who had changed their abode before the commencement of the decade under consideration, and those who did so during the said period. The former, having already severed all connection with their district of origin and having been counted at the earlier of the two enumerations in the district where they have made their home, can have no further effect on the population or on the birth and death returns of their old district. When they die, the death is registered in the district of adoption and the births of their children are also registered there. Neither class of events in any way affects the vital statistics of their district of origin. These persons, therefore, should be considered an integral part of their district of adoption and their number should not be deducted from the figures showing the actual population of that district nor added to those of the district of origin.

The circumstances of the second group are identical so far as their history after entering the new district is concerned. They should, like the first group, be treated as part of its population, and not as part of that of their old district. But the movement having taken place after the first and before the second enumeration, allowance must be made for it, when estimating the natural growth with reference to the census figures, by deducting from the actual population of the new district, and adding to that of the old, the number of permanent migrants who have come to the one from the other in the course of the decade. In this connection it must be remembered that the volume of the migration is not to be gauged by the mere difference between the figures for two successive enumerations; but allowance must also be made for deaths. Thus if 1,000 permanent emigrants born in district A were found in district B in 1891, and the same number were again found there in 1901, this would indicate, not that there had been no further movement, but that, on

\* The growth of the population is, of course, progressive and if " $r$ " be the annual rate of growth, the sum will be:—Population of 1901 = Population of 1891  $\times (1 + r)^{10}$ .



the average, just enough persons had gone from the one district to the other to fill death vacancies. If the death-rate be taken at 40 per 1,000, this would involve a migration of 40 persons a year or 400 persons in the decade. If the number of emigrants had risen from 1,000 to 1,500 persons then, in addition to this migration of 400 persons required to keep up the original number, there must have been a further settlement of about 62 persons a year to produce the increase of 500,\* and the total number of persons going from district A to district B during the ten years will be 1,020.

The case of non-permanent migrants is quite different. These persons are usually males. They leave their wives behind them and return home themselves at frequent intervals. It is not probable that their absence has any appreciable effect on the size of their families. Their children are born, and the births of their children are registered, in their native district. On the other hand, the deaths occurring amongst them while absent from home are included in the mortuary returns of the district where they may happen to be at the time. Consequently, if the birth and death rates be calculated on the total population, the districts which attract a large number of temporary settlers will have a much smaller birth rate and a much higher death rate than those from which they come. In order to ascertain the true progress of a district from its vital statistics, a proportionate deduction must be made from the mortality returns on account of deaths amongst temporary settlers and the same number must be added to the figures of the district whence these people have come.† When making a similar calculation on the basis of the census figures, these temporary migrants should be replaced in their district of birth.

93. The census makes no distinction between permanent and temporary migration, and although a careful consideration of the birth place, of the occupations followed by the foreign-born in the district of enumeration, and of the proportion of the sexes might enable an approximate estimate to be arrived at of the number of migrants of each class, both at the present census and in 1891, the enquiry would take more time than can be devoted to it in the present report. It must suffice to have pointed out reasons why the results of the census necessarily seem to differ from those of the returns of births and deaths and to note in general terms whether the actual differences are capable of explanation on these grounds or not. Almost all the districts of Bengal Proper contain a large floating population from Bihar and the United Provinces who have no effect on the number of births, while the deaths that occur amongst them go to swell the mortality returns. As a rule, therefore, the increase in the actual population is considerably higher than would appear from a comparison of the number of births and deaths shown in the vital statistics returns. There will necessarily be some discrepancy, even where the number of these temporary settlers is about the same as in 1891, but it is, of course, proportionally greater where it has grown during the decade. This has been the case in Burdwan, Hooghly, the 24-Parganas, Calcutta, and other districts, and the recorded excess of births over deaths is, therefore, far less than the difference between the population as now ascertained and that of 1891. Permanent migrants affect the birth and death rates equally, and in their case there will only be a discrepancy when there has been fresh migration since 1891, as in the case of Dinajpur, Darjeeling, Sikkim and Jalpaiguri. In districts where there are comparatively few temporary settlers and whose population has not been greatly affected by migration since 1891, such as Midnapore and Backergunge, the difference between the census results and the vital statistics is less marked. It may, therefore, be concluded that in Bengal Proper the discrepancies are in most cases not greater than the movements of the people would account for. In Orissa and Chota Nagpur also the discrepancies admit of a similar explanation. Many of the inhabitants of these divisions are constantly to be found in Bengal Proper whence they return to their homes at more or less frequent intervals. In Bihar, however, and especially in the Patna Division, the difference is so marked that

\* For the method of arriving at this figure see footnote on page 102.

† Thus Puri with its vast number of pilgrims and a very small volume of permanent migration shows an actual increase between 1891 and 1901 of 72,286, the vital statistics returns show an excess of only 48,749 births over deaths. The difference is due doubtless to the mortality amongst pilgrims who have nothing to do with the district.



further explanation is necessary. The number of its inhabitants enumerated in other parts of the Province, taking the mean of the two last censuses, is 563,076. Assuming this to be the average number absent at one time, the number of deaths amongst them at the rate of 40 per 1,000 would be 21,523 yearly or 215,230 in the decade. The division has also sent out 15,373 emigrants to the colonies, who have necessarily been omitted from the census returns, and also a considerable number to Upper Burma. But even so, a large divergence remains. The causes will be discussed when dealing with the figures for each district, but it may be stated generally that a great part of it is due to the plague. The returns of plague deaths were very incomplete and the 20,075 deaths that were reported during the first two months of 1901 have not been included in the figures in the Subsidiary Table. Moreover, apart from the mortality, reported and otherwise, the plague frightened away most of the shop-keepers and others whose permanent homes were elsewhere and it also disorganised the arrangements for taking the census and interfered to some extent with the accuracy of the enumeration. The true population of the plague districts was doubtless somewhat greater on the 1st March 1901 than the returns would indicate. It is probable that, but for these disturbing causes, the difference between the recorded births and deaths in Bihar would have afforded as near an approximation to the census results as it has been shown to do in other parts of the Province.

94. Generally, therefore, it appears that the difference between the total number of births and deaths shown in the vital statistics returns affords a very close approximation to the actual growth of the population.

#### CONCLUSIONS AS TO VALUE OF VITAL STATISTICS.

Why this should be so when the number of each class of occurrences reported is considerably below the estimated birth and death rates, is a question that will be again referred to in the chapter on Age. It is usually supposed that deaths are more fully reported than births, but assuming that the estimated rates are not excessive, the result indicated above can only be due to a slightly greater inaccuracy on the part of the death returns. The understatement of deaths in the case of plague is well-known, but this is due to special reasons. It may be that when any epidemic disease is specially prevalent, many deaths occur which are not reported, owing to the general demoralisation and alarm and, in some cases, to the death or flight of the village official who is responsible for preparing the return. The results of testing by vaccination officers do not disclose any special tendency to leave deaths unreported, but it is not likely that their testing is as thorough in villages where epidemic disease is prevalent as it is elsewhere. The natural tendency would be to avoid such villages. Apart from epidemics it has been suggested that there is a tendency to ignore the deaths of infants under 1 year of age, who are buried without any special ceremony and whose decease is thus not likely to attract much notice. This also may possibly help to account for the result.

95. This discussion has already reached a much greater length than I had intended, but before leaving the subject a brief notice of the reported causes of death may not be uninteresting. The first thing that strikes one is the high proportion of deaths ascribed to fever. More than 70 per cent. of the total mortality is returned under this head. This is due mainly to the difficulty of diagnosing all but a few well-defined diseases. Cholera, dysentery and small-pox are known, but most other complaints are classed indiscriminately as fever. It is impossible to say what proportion of the total is attributable to malarial affections, but it may safely be assumed that wherever the mortality entered under this head is unusually high, the greater part of the excess over the normal is due to their prevalence. On an average about one-twelfth of the total mortality is due to cholera, but the prevalence of this disease varies greatly from year to year and from district to district. In 1898 it was responsible for less than 1 death per 1,000 of the population of the province, but in 1900 the mortality from it rose to nearly 5 per 1,000. In the latter year it killed off nearly 24 persons in every 1,000 in Purnea, while in Bankura only 1 person in 4,000 died from the disease. Dysentery and diarrhoea account for barely a quarter as many deaths as cholera, while small-pox claims only 1 victim in every 5,000 persons yearly.



## WEST BENGAL.

96. The greater portion of Burdwan has a rich alluvial soil, but towards the west the surface becomes more undulating and the alluvium gives place to laterite. At the time of the Census of 1872 the fever epidemic, to which the district has given its name, was at its height, and for many years the resulting mortality was enormous.

## BURDWAN.

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891.	1891-1901. 1901-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,539,475</b>	<b>+10.1</b>	<b>-0.16</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>679,419</b>	<b>+ 9.6</b>	<b>- 3.1</b>
Burdwan ...	29,818	+ 8.4	+ 14.5
Bahibganj ...	86,941	+ 7.7	- 1.5
Rhandaghosh ...	61,747	+ 10.4	+ 1.2
Raona ...	165,329	+ 10.5	- 1.5
Saigachia ...	108,000	+ 9.8	- 3.1
Jamulpur ...	72,947	+ 1.6	+ 0.1
Galsi ...	93,239	+ 14.8	- 15.2
Anggram ...	97,590	+ 12.4	- 11.6
<b>Raniganj Subdivision</b> ...	<b>370,988</b>	<b>+19.6</b>	<b>+ 8.9</b>
Raniganj ...	165,911	+ 12.1	+ 8.9
Asansol ...	187,896	+ 31.8	+ 28.9
Katwa ...	37,181	+ 6.3	- 9.5
<b>Katwa Subdivision</b> ...	<b>348,806</b>	<b>+ 8.1</b>	<b>- 1.0</b>
Kougnon ...	85,287	+ 10.8	+ 1.0
Katwa ...	85,807	+ 4.8	- 1.5
Mangalkot ...	77,912	+ 8.8	- 2.4
<b>Kalna Subdivision</b> ...	<b>233,269</b>	<b>+ 0.5</b>	<b>- 2.5</b>
Kalna ...	90,513	+ 0.9	- 2.4
Purbasthali ...	74,794	- 3.0	- 6.0
Manteshwar ...	67,962	+ 5.2	+ 1.9

of a remittent type, but the real "Burdwan fever" which often proved fatal within one or two days is now very rarely met with. Cholera is seldom absent from the district, and is markedly endemic in Kalna, but there have been no outbreaks of special virulence during the last decade. Crops have been good as a rule, and were short only in 1895 and 1896, and the cultivators have benefited by the rise in prices that has taken place. There are very few landless labourers except such as obtain remunerative employment in the coal mines. The consequence is that the district has made a rapid recovery, and has added ten per cent. to its population, which now exceeds by more than 30,000 the number recorded in 1872. This satisfactory result is due partly to an increase in the number of immigrants, partly to a reduced flow of emigration and partly to the excess of births over deaths. The

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	764,742	767,733	632,872	709,008
Immigrants ...	84,205	74,130	51,090	62,342
Emigrants ...	47,537	69,977	64,768	59,769
Natural population ...	724,071	744,471	609,980	716,435

they have been attracted by the growing demand for labour in the coal mines and other industries that are rapidly being developed.

97. The growth of the population in the Asansol thana is phenomenal; it has increased by more than 30 per cent. since 1891 and by 130 per cent. since 1872. Nearly one-third of the present inhabitants were born in other districts, and of the district-born many have doubtless migrated from other thanas. Raniganj shows an increase of 12 per cent. since 1891, which is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that its coal mines are nearly worked out and that the people find more remunerative employment in the new mines further west. The town of Raniganj, however, is a great trading centre, and is probably one of the busiest places in Bengal. The increase is also considerable in the Burdwan and Katwa subdivisions, where there has been comparatively little

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the origin and course of this fatal epidemic, as a full narrative up to 1881 was given in the Census Report of that year and its subsequent history was described in the Report on the Census of 1891. It will suffice to say that the disease is supposed to have originated in the Jessore district whence it spread gradually westwards, and appeared for the first time in Burdwan in 1862. Between 1872 and 1881 the population declined by more than 8 per cent. During the next decade, except in the Raniganj subdivision, there was a further decrease due to the same cause, but it was noted in the last Census Report that though the disease was still virulent in parts of the district, it seemed at last to be dying out. This expectation has been fulfilled. The district is still subject to fevers, especially to those

increase is greatest in the Raniganj subdivision, which rests on the laterite, and is not only the healthiest part of the district, but has also gained most by immigration. More than half the total number of immigrants in the district were enumerated in this subdivision, whither



immigration. It is most noticeable in the Ausgram and Galsi thanas which were mentioned in the last Census Report as then forming with Kaksa the focus of the fever. Apart from the fever these thanas are naturally healthy, and the disappearance of the epidemic has been followed, as is usual in such circumstances, by a rapid recovery in the population. That the improvement is not equally marked in Kaksa is due to the poverty of the soil in that thana and to its proximity to the coal mines where good wages are obtainable. The only part of the district that has failed to share in the general revival are two of the three thanas of the Kalna subdivision, Kalna and Purbasthali, where the Burdwan fever first appeared forty years ago. These thanas lie along the bank of the Bhágirathi; the soil is water-logged, and they are full of jhils and jungle; they are thus more unhealthy than any other part of the district.

98. Birbhum like Burdwan suffered most from the great fever epidemic between 1872 and 1881, during which period its population declined to the extent of nearly 60,000 persons. The epidemic continued its ravages during the earlier years of the

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>909,250</b>	<b>+13.0</b>	<b>+0.78</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>555,928</b>	<b>+14.0</b>	<b>- 5.8</b>
Bari ...	140,083	+ 10.9	- 0.4
Dubrajpur ...	138,028	+ 18.5	- 6.6
Bolpur ...	118,840	+ 17.3	- 8.5
Sakulipur ...	77,540	+ 14.1	- 8.9
Lahpur ...	64,281	+ 11.6	+ 5.8
<b>Rampur Hat Subdivision</b> ...	<b>366,352</b>	<b>+11.7</b>	<b>+ 8.0</b>
Rampur Hat ...	102,510	+ 10.05	+ 0.6
Mavareeshwar ...	98,830	+ 8.6	+ 6.0
Nalhati ...	83,221	+ 11.9	+ 10.3
Muraroí ...	86,183	+ 17.2	...

whole district was a small increase, amounting to barely one-tenth of the loss registered ten years earlier. Since 1891 there has been a great improvement in the health of the people. The fever epidemic has disappeared, and although cholera has often broken out, especially in the south-eastern thanas, there have been no serious epidemics. The district is wholly agricultural, and owing to its undulating surface, the crops can never fail altogether. There were short crops in 1891, 1895 and 1896, but there was no serious distress; in other years the outturn was good, and the cultivators have benefited by the rise in prices. Their material condition has thus improved considerably. The only classes that have suffered are the respectable poor with fixed incomes, and the landless labourers; the latter, however, can always obtain remunerative employment in the coal mines round Asansol.

99. The result of the prosperous condition of the district and of its comparative freedom from disease is an increase of 104,240 persons or 13 per cent. The population now exceeds by about 6 per cent. that recorded at the first census, 29 years previously.

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	444,089	467,591	380,842	416,412
Immigrants ...	27,194	33,412	21,744	25,804
Emigrants ...	20,876	26,485	17,122	22,440
Natural population ...	438,371	460,664	380,228	404,967

There has been some immigration of Santáls for cultivation and of up country men in connection with the railway, but the total number of foreign settlers is only 14,000 greater than it was in 1891. This, moreover, is to a large extent counterbalanced by a greater amount of emigration, and it is thus clear that the increase is due mainly to the natural growth of the population. Excluding Muraroí in the extreme north of the district, where the immigration of Santáls has been greatest, the improvement is most marked in the south of the district where



it represents a recovery from the losses recorded at the last census. The continued advance of the Rampur Hât Subdivision is attributable partly to its fertile soil and partly to the fact that it is tapped by the railway. The least progressive thana is Muraroi, where the soil is comparatively infertile and there is a large proportion of unculturable waste.

100. The greater part of the Bankura district is high and undulating.

#### BANKURA.

The soil is poor, but the country is well drained, and the people suffer very little from malarial affections. Towards the east, in the Vishnupur subdivision, the land is low and

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,116,411</b>	<b>+4.37</b>	<b>+2.7</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>712,055</b>	<b>+2.8</b>	<b>+6.5</b>
Bankura	148,870	+3.9	+10.1
Onda	122,917	+5.1	+2.4
Gangajalghati with I. O.	155,411	+4.9	+3.2
Burjora.			
Raipur	101,435	-0.8	+6.5
Sundarpur Independent outpost.	35,109	+3.0	+13.0
Khatra	115,313	+3.0	+12.8
<b>Vishnupur Subdivision</b>	<b>404,356</b>	<b>+7.3</b>	<b>-4.1</b>
Vishnupur	142,873	+5.1	-3.4
Samakshi	82,468	+3.5	-5.8
Kotalpur	96,052	+5.9	-3.9
Indas	82,963	+10.4	-5.3

alluvial; the soil is very fertile, but the climate is unhealthy and malarious. The "Burdwan" fever was introduced from the adjoining thanas of Galsi and Khandaghosh in Burdwan, and caused a very heavy mortality, but its westward course was checked on reaching the high ground in the west of the Vishnupur subdivision. The head-quarters subdivision never suffered from the disease, and its population increased by 21 per cent. between 1872 and 1891, while that of the Vishnupur subdivision, in spite of the superior fertility of the soil, declined by more than 8 per cent. As in Burdwan and Birbhum

the great fever epidemic has now died out, and the past decade has been a fairly healthy one. Between 1894 and 1897 the mortality was comparatively high, and cholera was unusually prevalent, but in spite of this, the recorded birth-rate has throughout exceeded the death-rate. The people suffered considerably from scarcity during 1896 and 1897, but on the whole the crops have been good, and the material condition of the people has improved. The Magistrate, Mr. De, writes on this subject as follows:—

"There has been, on the whole, an increase in the prosperity of the people. They evince a growing desire to provide themselves with better food, better clothing, and better appliances generally. Gold and silver ornaments are more common than they were ten years ago, brass utensils have usurped the place of earthen pots, and shoes, umbrellas and better articles of dress are more extensively used. New brick-built houses are springing up everywhere, and articles of food which were formerly luxuries are now in common use."

101. In view of these favourable conditions it is somewhat surprising to find that the population is only 4 per cent. greater than it was in 1891, and that the increase is far less than the vital statistics would indicate. The Vishnupur subdivision has increased by 7 per cent., so that it has now nearly recovered the combined losses of the two previous decades, but the head-quarters

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	549,494	566,927	525,941	543,737
Immigrants	13,740	17,794	17,104	25,409
Emigrants	73,269	71,949	57,085	54,973
Natural population	613,015	620,832	585,960	614,173

subdivision has added less than three per cent. to its population. This is due to the movements of the people. The immigrants from outside the district are fewer by about 13,000 than they were ten years ago, while the emigrants have increased by more than 38,000. The

emigrants are for the most part hardy aborigines from the south and east of the district who find the high pay obtainable on the coal fields of Asansol or the distant tea gardens of Assam a more attractive prospect than a penurious livelihood laboriously extracted from the unwilling soil of their native uplands. There is also a considerable amount of temporary migration on the part of the semi-Hinduized tribes in the south and west of the district, who supplement their scanty harvests by working as labourers in the metropolitan districts when they have no crops to look after. They leave home in December, after the winter-rice has been reaped, and do not return till the monsoon breaks. This temporary emigration was greatly stimulated in the



cold weather, when the Census was taken, by the short harvest of that year, and this accounts to a great extent for the falling off in the population of Raipur and the very small increase in the other thanas in the south of the district. But for these movements of the people the growth of the population would have been two or two and-a-half times as greater as that recorded at the Census.

102. Midnapore is an extensive district and comprises tracts of very different characteristics. The subdivisions of Contai and Tamluk are on the sea-coast and the estuary of the Hooghly and contain the mouths of the Rasalpur and Haldi rivers. They

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891.	1891-1901. 1891-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL.</b>	<b>2,789,114</b>	<b>+ 5.99</b>	<b>+ 4.6</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>1,977,749</b>	<b>+ 4.5</b>	<b>+ 1.3</b>
Kharakpur	111,016	+ 10.3	+ 2
Midnapore	78,821	+ 9.1	+ 17.4
Jhargam	76,063	+ 7.1	+ 13.9
Birpur	104,582	+ 3.4	+ 2.3
Salbani	80,850	+ 9.7	+ 4.0
Debra	67,872	+ 1.3	+ 1.3
Sabang	163,805	+ 7.6	+ 9.0
Narayagarh	118,441	+ 7.8	+ 5.4
Garhbata	183,192	+ 8.4	+ 1.3
Keshpur	86,580	+ 3.3	+ 0.8
Dantan	123,541	+ 2.3	+ 7.4
Gopiballabpur	163,189	+ 7.4	+ 0.1
<b>Ghatal Subdivision</b>	<b>324,991</b>	<b>- 0.9</b>	<b>+ 4.6</b>
Ghatal	92,082	- 0.5	+ 10.1
Daspur	130,064	- 2.4	+ 7.0
Chandrakona	102,845	+ 0.7	+ 2.9
<b>Tamluk Subdivision</b>	<b>553,936</b>	<b>+ 9.0</b>	<b>+ 11.6</b>
Tamluk	147,929	+ 10.3	+ 8.0
Masulapur	66,996	+ 8.3	+ 10.1
Satalbata	70,844	+ 11.0	+ 13.5
Panskora	143,366	+ 4.1	+ 1.7
Nandigram	124,844	+ 13.6	+ 27.9
<b>Contai Subdivision</b>	<b>605,136</b>	<b>+ 10.6</b>	<b>+ 6.1</b>
Khajuli	87,567	+ 14.7	+ 10.0
Contai	172,643	+ 17.1	+ 13.8
Ramnagar	76,020	+ 8.3	+ 11.5
Bhagwanpur	130,728	+ 8.6	+ 5.3
Bera	77,884	+ 5.5	+ 13.1
Patsapur	99,394	+ 0.2	+ 1.0

are comparatively free from malaria and produce very rich crops of rice. The Ghatal subdivision further north, slopes back from the bank of the Rup Narayan; the soil is a rich alluvium, but much of its area is liable to floods, and though excellent crops are obtained, the inhabitants suffer greatly from malarial affections. The head-quarters subdivision consists in the north and west of thinly wooded and rocky uplands. The climate is good, but the laterite soil is dry and infertile. Towards the east and south the level dips, and a swampy hollow is formed between the elevated country to the west and the comparatively high ground along the coast; the conditions in this tract are very similar to those in the Ghatal subdivision which it adjoins.

Thirty years ago the whole of the north-eastern portion of Midnapore suffered severely from "Burdwan fever," and in 1881 the district showed a loss of 1.07 per cent. of its population as compared with that found in 1872.

Since 1881 the health of the district has been fair and the population on a whole has made satisfactory progress. Although much ordinary fever exists in the badly drained and flooded tracts, in other respects the health of the people shows a marked improvement, and during the last decade the district has been peculiarly free from cholera and small-pox epidemics. This is due in recent years to the opening of the railway through the district which carries the crowds of pilgrims to Jagganath, who previously plodded wearily on foot and spread disease in all directions along their line of march. The railway has benefited the district in many other respects. By facilitating the disposal of the produce, prices have risen, and the cultivators, who enjoy fixity of tenure, are very well off. It has opened up several of the jungle thanas and stimulated trade. The decade has been a prosperous one, and in 1897, when the pinch of famine was keenly felt elsewhere, the birth-rate was unusually high—a circumstance attributed by the Magistrate to the prosperity of the people, who disposed of their hoards of rice at famine prices.

103. In the district as a whole, there has been an advance of about 6 per cent. in the population since 1891, as compared with a gain of 4.6 per cent. in the previous decade, and a decrease of 1 per cent. in 1872—1881. The Contai subdivision leads the way with an increase of 11 per cent. All the thanas in this subdivision have gained considerably, but especially Contai itself, which has added nearly a sixth to its population of 1891, and the other three thanas on the coast, which contain the great temporarily-settled estate of Majnamatha. The Ghatal subdivision has lost nearly 1 per cent. of the population recorded at



the last census. This decrease, as well as one of 1·3 per cent. in thana Debra and insignificant increases of ·6 and ·8 per cent. respectively in thanas Sabang and Narayangarh, all in the Sadar subdivision, is largely due to the movement of a portion of the population from the densely populated and lowlying tracts in the north-east and centre of the district to the reclaimed *jalpai* lands along the coast and tidal rivers in the Contai and Tamruk subdivisions. From the times of the Muhammadans these lands had been reserved by Government for the accumulation of salt and for the supply of fuel to boil the brine. The manufacture of salt by Government was stopped about forty years ago, and the lands, which are very extensive, were settled with various persons. After some time they began to be cleared and to be surrounded with embankments to keep out the salt-water. Thus protected, they yield abundant crops and are still an attraction to cultivators from distant parts of the district. Unfortunately the embanking of these lands is said to have caused deterioration in the beds of various tidal rivers and *khals*, and so to have rendered more frequent

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,390,221	1,308,581	1,308,074	1,222,372
Immigrants	27,754	23,107	20,405	21,550
Emigrants	72,129	62,116	62,374	63,545
Natural population	1,434,608	1,428,899	1,350,043	1,384,885

the flooding of the lowlying tracts inland which have been previously referred to. Considering its size the volume of emigration and immigration from and to the district is small. The immigrants aggregate less than 50,000, and the emigrants about 134,000. The number of females on both sides of the account is very nearly the same as it was ten years ago, but the number of males who have come to the district is greater by about 7,000, and that of those who have left it by about 10,000 than it was in 1891. On the one hand the railway has attracted a number of coolies and railway employés, and on the other it has induced a greater exodus than before to Calcutta and Hooghly for temporary employment during the early months of the year. The net result of these movements is a small loss amounting probably to something less than 1 per cent.

104. The Hooghly district suffered almost more than Burdwan itself from the great fever epidemic, and in 1881 the Census Superintendent estimated the total loss of population due to this cause at 650,000. Between 1872 and 1881 there was a

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,649,282</b>	<b>+ 1·4</b>	<b>+ 6·0</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>308,713</b>	<b>- 0·3</b>	<b>+ 0·2</b>
Balaenrh	46,220	- 1·1	- 3·3
Pandua	68,650	+ 4·1	- 0·3
Dhanakhal	93,604	- 0·1	+ 2·3
Poiba	43,402	- 3·0	+ 2·0
Hooghly	54,774	- 3·6	+ 0·5
<b>Serampore Subdivision</b>	<b>415,178</b>	<b>+ 5·3</b>	<b>+ 15·6</b>
Haripal	90,010	+ 1·9	+ 11·5
Kristanagar	57,694	- 3·7	+ 5·6
Serampore	10,011	+ 12·3	+ 10·7
Singur	65,617	- 3·1	+ 14·1
Chanditala	90,446	+ 1·9	+ 10·6
<b>Arambagh Subdivision</b>	<b>327,359</b>	<b>+ 0·8</b>	<b>+ 3·4</b>
Arambagh	131,247	+ 2·3	+ 6·7
Goghat	100,788	- 1·3	- 1·3
Khamkul	95,254	+ 1·9	+ 4·2

decrease in the population amounting to 12½ per cent. During the next decade, there was a recovery of 6 per cent., chiefly owing to the rapid expansion of the Serampore subdivision. During the last decade there have been no specially violent outbreaks of cholera or small-pox. Cholera was bad in several years, but the mortality so caused was but a small fraction of that due to fever. The country is flooded yearly by the spill of the Damodar. Its surface is but little above sea level, and the drainage is bad and is yearly getting worse, as the silting-up of the old streams and water-courses continues. The soil is thus water-logged to an exceptional extent. The peculiarly malignant "Burdwan" fever has disappeared, but even now the fevers of the district are of an unusually virulent kind. The death-rate is consequently high, and in only two years of the decade have the recorded births been more numerous than the deaths.



But if the health of the people has been bad, they have very little to complain of in other respects. The crops have been good in most seasons, and prices have ruled high. The cultivators are thus so prosperous that there was no serious distress even in 1897 when the rice crop was little more than a third of a normal one. There is a large and growing demand for labour in the mills and brick-fields, but the natives of the district are so well off that not only do they not, as a class, take employment in the mills, which obtain their labour force chiefly from Bihar and Orissa and from Bankura, but they themselves employ imported labour to do the work which the same class in other parts of India are accustomed to do unaided. Writing on this subject the Magistrate (Mr. Inglis) says:—

“There is no doubt that the uneducated classes are remarkably well off. The cultivators find ready markets for their jute, potatoes and other crops, and make large profits. The ordinary ryot or cultivator can afford to hire other men to do most of his field work. This is evidenced by the large number of foreign labourers who have settled in the district or who visit it at the harvest season. Wages have risen greatly, both for skilled and unskilled labour, and in the towns all classes are well off, specially the coolies, who will not work regularly, and the shop-keepers. The mills in the Serampore subdivision and those near the head-quarters station (across the river) pay a large amount in wages, and most of this is spent locally.”

105. The result of the recent Census is a small increase of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.,

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	528,379	531,003	509,185	525,111
Immigrants ...	81,823	87,891	49,822	50,392
Emigrants ...	70,289	68,551	84,681	71,680
Natural population ...	516,748	515,953	544,104	546,409

but this is due entirely to a rise in the number of immigrants, and a diminished loss from emigration. The number of persons from elsewhere who were enumerated in the district was greater by nearly 40,000 than in 1891, while the number of emigrants was less by more than

33,000. The number of the latter has been diminishing steadily since 1881. So much of the migration to and from this district is of a temporary nature that it is impossible to gauge its effect on the population with any approach to accuracy. If the whole of the movements of the people were permanent and distributed evenly over the decade, the census figures would indicate an annual exodus of some 2,358 persons coupled with a settlement of 8,935 new comers,\* or a net gain by migration of about 65,000 persons since 1891. The actual gain is probably considerably below this figure, but even so, it is evident that it far more than accounts for the small addition to the population which has been recorded. The same conclusion is obvious from the fact that the only part of the district which has shown any marked advance is the great industrial centre, Serampore, where it amounts to more than 17 per cent., the actual addition to its population being about the same as that for the district as a whole. Two other thanas in this subdivision, Haripal and Chanditala, show a nominal increase, due in the latter to the importation of coolies to work in the brickfields. The head-quarters subdivision shows a general decline except in Pandua, where there is an advance of 4 per cent. Two of the three thanas of Arambagh show an increase, slight but none the less welcome, because quite unexpected. This subdivision is generally looked on as the unhealthiest part of the district, and its crops are often damaged by floods from the Damodar, whose waters are now allowed to spill over its right bank in order to obviate the risk of the embankment on the left side being breached. In spite of the immigration that has taken place, the district is still less populous by 70,000 than it was in 1872 and even then the district had suffered terribly from the fever epidemic for nearly a decade. It seems very doubtful whether it will ever fully recover its losses until the drainage problem is solved.

106. The district of Howrah occupies a peculiar position, owing to its proximity to Calcutta, and to the presence within its limits of a great industrial town. Its inhabitants

HOWRAH.

\* This is on the basis of a death-rate of 40 per 1,000, the slight difference between this and the normal estimated death-rate being due to the consideration that there are very few children amongst migrants. The way in which this and similar calculations have been made is explained in the footnote on page 102.



even in the rural areas are dependent on agriculture to a smaller extent than those of any other district in Bengal, and many of them go daily to their work in the metropolis, returning home in the evening. The communications between the rural areas and the town have been greatly improved during the decade by the opening of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway through Bagnan and the construction of the light railways from Howrah to Amta and to Sheakhali in the Hooghly District. Howrah suffered to a far less extent than its neighbours, Hooghly and Burdwan, in the fever epidemic, and even in 1881 the only thanas that showed a decrease were Jagatballabhpur and Amta in the north-west of the district. With the exception of Bagnan, which is bounded on the west by the Rup Narayan, and Jagatballabhpur, the other thanas are on the bank of the Hooghly, and though not very high, are better drained than the country behind them. The last ten years have not been healthy, and, except in 1897 and 1898, fever has been very prevalent. Prior to 1896 cholera broke out constantly, but the construction of the water-works in that year, in addition to improving the general health of Howrah city has resulted in a far smaller mortality from epidemic disease. The crops were bad in three years owing to

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891—1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>850,514</b>	<b>+ 11.4</b>	<b>+ 15.06</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>431,257</b>	<b>+ 17.7</b>	<b>+ 17.5</b>
Bally	18,662	+ 11.8	+ 12.7
Howrah	...	...	...
Golabari	157,094	+ 35.15	+ 38.4
Silpur	...	...	...
Dumjor	160,431	+ 9.9	+ 14.9
Jagatballabhpur	92,370	+ 9.6	+ 9.9
<b>Ulbaria Subdivision</b>	<b>419,257</b>	<b>+ 5.5</b>	<b>+ 9.6</b>
Amta	100,039	+ 3.4	+ 9.6
Bagnan	73,459	+ 5.2	+ 8.2
Ulbaria	50,398	+ 8.8	+ 7.3
Syampur	84,487	+ 9.7	+ 12.9

Howrah city, the growth has been  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Along the river the increase has been about 9 per cent.; in Bagnan 5, and in Amta  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The relatively small increase in Amta is surprising, in view of its greater accessibility since the construction of the Howrah-Amta light railway.

107. The number of immigrants has increased by rather more than 34,000

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	420,325	410,889	384,844	378,781
Immigrants	38,041	46,079	68,071	42,151
Emigrants	14,884	8,412	12,430	7,094
Natural population	366,768	375,822	320,209	343,744

The inspection of the schedules was more thorough on this occasion than in 1891, and mistakes of this nature were corrected to a much greater extent. At the present Census only 26,120 persons were returned as born in Hooghly compared with 34,459 in 1891. It is probable that the whole of the excess in 1891 was due to this misdescription of birth-place, and that the immigrants, as compared with 1891, were fewer by 8,000 than the returns would indicate. If so, the gain by immigration at the present Census probably accounts for about 7 per cent. of the total increase. Two-thirds of the total number of persons born outside the district were found in Howrah city, whither they had been attracted for work in the numerous mills and other industrial undertakings. Of the remainder, excluding accidental migration across the border line of adjacent districts, the great majority were doubtless attracted by the prospect of employment in the brick-fields, or on railway works. The terminus of the Bengal-Nagpur railway at Shalimar and extensive sidings were being constructed at the time of the Census, and afforded employment to thousands of coolies from Midnapore, Bankura and Ranchi.

deficient rainfall, and in two years they suffered from floods, but the people are so well-off that relief works are never necessary. The mills offer ample employment to those who need it, and the only class that has not improved its position is the poorer middle class, who find the cost of food constantly increasing, while their incomes remain the same. The district now contains 86,889 persons more than it did in 1891, but nearly half of this is due to the phenomenal expansion of Howrah city which has already been referred to. Excluding

according to the returns, but it is probable that the true increase is really greater. Howrah, though a separate district for ordinary administrative purposes, is in revenue matters a subdivision of Hooghly, and the villagers often describe themselves as born in Hooghly.



## CENTRAL BENGAL.

108. THE 24-Parganas includes several tracts of entirely different characteristics.

They are divided by the Magistrate, into the following five groups:—

- (1) The thanas on the bank of the Hughli in which there are mills. These are Naihati, Nawabganj, Barrackpore, Khardaha, Barnagore, Budge-Budge. The suburbs also fall within this category, but they have been treated for census purposes as part of Calcutta. These thanas on the whole are more healthy than those further inland, being higher and enjoying a better supply of drinking water, which, in some cases, is filtered by the management of the mills.
- (2) The northern and central thanas, Habra, Diganga, Barasat, Dum-Dum, and Tollygunge. The drinking water is here very bad, being derived mainly from tanks polluted by surface drainage; the drainage channels are blocked and there are numerous swamps, and the homesteads are surrounded by dense jungle. Malaria is very prevalent.
- (3) The eastern thanas, Baduria and Basirhat. The inhabitants are for the most part sturdy Muhammadans; the country is now healthy and the main crop is jute which yields a handsome profit to the cultivators.
- (4) The southern thanas, Haroa, Bhangar, Sonarpur, Baruipur, Vishnupur, Fultah, Diamond Harbour and Magrahat. These thanas are salubrious owing to better drainage, the comparative absence of noxious undergrowth and the sea-breeze that blows almost continuously during the south-west monsoon.
- (5) The Sundarban thanas, Hasanabad, Canning or Matla, Jaynagar, Mathurapur and Kalpi. Cultivation is here spreading rapidly, and reclamation is extending southwards.

The census of 1881 showed a net increase of nearly 6 per cent. but there was a decline in the north and east of the district due to the prevalence of malaria. The so-called "Burdwan fever" spread thither from Nadia about 1861, but is said to have died out in 1864. However that may be, this tract continued to be very unhealthy, and there was a loss of population amounting to 9 per cent. in the Barrackpore subdivision and to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in the Naihati thana. In 1891, excluding the suburban municipalities, the district showed a further increase of 11·8 per cent., but several of the northern and central thanas were either stationary or decadent, the worst being Habra, where there was a decline of 5·4 per cent.

Since 1891 the condition of the people has, on the whole, been prosperous, but some distress was caused by the floods of September 1900 which destroyed the crops in a great part of the Sundarban area. There has been a considerable industrial development and the demand for labour in the mills lining the Hughli

has been growing steadily. The public health is said to have been bad

THANA.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891.	1891-1901. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>2,078,359</b>	<b>+ 9·9</b>	<b>+ 11·8</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>709,917</b>	<b>+ 11·9</b>	<b>+ 15·4</b>
Tollygunge ...	105,827	+ 1·4	+ 20·1
Sonarpur ...	45,646	+ 3·3	— 4
Baruipur ...	90,786	+ 4·6	+ 14·3
Jaynagar ...	107,099	+ 15·6	+ 19·5
Matla (Canning) ...	80,210	+ 41·9	+ 18·9
Vishnupur ...	83,904	+ 6·3	+ 10·2
Bhangar ...	76,465	+ 12·6	+ 4·4
Budge-Budge ...	82,352	+ 13·9	+ 16·2
Barnagore ...	38,646	+ 12·7	+ 14·3
<b>Barasat Subdivision</b> ...	<b>451,963</b>	<b>+ 4·6</b>	<b>+ 6·8</b>
Dum-Dum ...	54,666	+ 1·4	+ 18·6
Barrackpore ...	35,600	+ 28·1	— 9·2
Nawabganj ...	16,994	— 7·9	+ 69·2
Khardaha ...	26,019	+ 7·5	+ 15·9
Barasat ...	70,590	+ 1·3	+ 3·4
Diganga ...	65,205	— 1·0	+ 4·2
Habra ...	70,335	— 0·9	— 5·4
Naihati ...	90,222	+ 11·6	+ 11·3
<b>Basirhat Subdivision</b> ...	<b>372,187</b>	<b>+ 7·2</b>	<b>+ 9·6</b>
Basirhat ...	86,925	+ 10·7	+ 2·9
Baduria ...	123,236	+ 4·6	+ 2·1
Haroa ...	61,564	— 2·9	+ 27·4
Hasanabad ...	91,472	+ 15·9	+ 15·0
<b>Diamond Harbour Sub-division</b> ...	<b>466,748</b>	<b>+ 14·4</b>	<b>+ 17·0</b>
Diamond Harbour ...	79,565	+ 11·4	+ 20·0
Fultah ...	55,403	+ 6·3	+ 14·6
Magrahat ...	130,454	+ 4·6	+ 10·0
Kalpi ...	135,099	+ 26·8	+ 18·0
Mathurapur ...	72,157	+ 23·0	+ 16·1



throughout the decade, save only in 1893, 1897 and 1898. The most unhealthy year was 1896, when the recorded deaths from cholera numbered 11,043 and from fever 37,919. The reported deaths exceeded the births in this year and also in 1895.

109. Excluding the suburbs of Calcutta, the census of 1901 shows a net

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,022,918	985,443	660,278	602,755
Immigrants ...	184,963	70,414	106,351	55,290
Emigrants ...	53,017	55,945	51,061	47,127
Natural population ...	1,000,990	970,072	623,968	594,598

increase of 9·9 per cent., or, if the suburbs be included, of slightly more than 10 per cent. The total number of immigrants has increased by nearly 64,000, and as most of these new arrivals are males, it is clear that a very large proportion of them are temporary settlers attracted by

the high wages obtainable in the mills. But immigration only accounts for about a third of the total gain, and there is a loss of more than 20,000 persons by emigration (chiefly to Calcutta) which must be set off against it. The greater part of the increase is, therefore, due to natural growth.

The variations in each of the five groups of thanas into which the district

Group.	Percentage of variation.
THANAS.	
(1) Riparian	+ 12·4
(2) North & Central	+ 5
(3) Eastern ...	+ 6·9
(4) Southern ...	+ 5·8
(5) Sundarban ...	+ 24·2

is divided are noted in the margin. Speaking generally it may be said that the growth of the riparian thanas is due to immigration to the mills and that of the Sundarban thanas to new reclamations by imported cultivators. Elsewhere the changes are due mainly to natural conditions. The only thana in group (1) that has lost ground is Nawabganj. The rural area is here very unhealthy, and a large cotton mill has been partially closed. Group (2)

shows a stationary population. The number of persons enumerated in Calcutta, but born in the 24-Parganas, has grown by 24,000 during the decade, and it is mainly from this group of thanas that they have gone, attracted partly by the pleasures of town life and partly by the superior healthiness of Calcutta compared with their own fever-stricken homes. In group (4) a decrease is returned from Haroa where several large estates have been abandoned owing to the breach of the embankments constructed to keep out the salt water. The greatest expansion in the Sundarban area is in Canning, where large reclamations have been effected by the Land Improvement Company, but all the Sundarban thanas show a remarkable development.

110. The census of Calcutta and the three Suburban Municipalities, Cossipore-Chitpur, Manicktala, and Garden Reach, was taken under the super-

#### CALCUTTA AND SUBURBS.

vision of the Deputy Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, who has discussed the results in a separate report. It will suffice to note here that the total population of the metropolis, including its suburbs, is about 950,000, and that if Howrah, which is really as

	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
Calcutta ...	847,706	692,305	612,307	633,000
Cossipore-Chitpur ...	40,750	31,423	20,204	25,808
Manicktala ...	32,987	28,161	40,125	53,902
Garden Reach ...	22,211	Not available.		
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>943,654</b>	<b>781,889</b>	<b>686,726</b>	<b>712,579</b>

much a part of Calcutta as Southwark is of London, be included, the population is very nearly 1,107,000, which is greater than that of any European city except London, Paris and Berlin, and of any city in America, except New York, Chicago and Philadelphia.

Excluding China, the population of whose cities is uncertain, the only city in Asia with more inhabitants than Calcutta is Tokio. According to this census returns the expansion of the city of Calcutta during the last decade exceeds 24 per cent., but this is due no doubt in part to a more accurate enumeration, facilitated by an excellent set of maps which were prepared at my suggestion. No fewer than two-thirds of the inhabitants of Calcutta, are immigrants, and of these barely one quarter are females. Amongst the persons born in Calcutta the sexes are more evenly represented and 46 per cent. of the total are females. The increase in the number of immigrants is about 83,000 and in that of the Calcutta-born about 72,000. In the Suburbs the proportion of immigrants is even greater than in Calcutta itself.



111. The Nadia district is a part of the old delta, but its rivers have gradually dried up and it no longer receives the annual deposits of silt which formerly renewed its fertility.

## NADIA.

In the greater part of the district the soil is sandy, and will not retain the water necessary for the growth of winter rice. Its main crops, therefore, are early rice, pulses and oilseeds. Late rice is generally grown only in the Kalantar, a lowlying tract of black clay soil stretching from the adjoining part of Murshidabad through the Kaliganj and Tehatta thanas, and in the country north and east of it in the thanas of Meherpur, Damurhuda, Gangni, Nowpara and Kushtia. Formerly indigo was extensively cultivated, and the ruins of the old factories are to be seen all over the district. But the indigo planters have well nigh disappeared, and although in their time complaints of their highhanded behaviour were frequent, there is little doubt but that the condition of the raiyats is on the whole less favourable than it was in their time. They are for the most part tenants-at-will, a circumstance which the planters made use of to procure the cultivation of indigo, while their new landlords have taken advantage of it to force up rents, and their landlords' underlings to levy blackmail on their own account.

The district was once famous as a health resort, and it is said that Warren Hastings had a country house at Krishnagar. But it has long since lost this reputation. Before attacking Burdwan, the fever, subsequently called after that district, had devastated Nadia and Jessore, between 1857 and 1864, at which time it was known as "Nadia fever." A fresh outbreak occurred in 1880 and continued for five years, causing a terrible mortality, especially in the southern half of the district. A Commission appointed in 1881 concluded that the epidemic had its origin, partly in the insanitary conditions which prevail in native villages, but chiefly in the silting up of the rivers which had become "chains of stagnant pools and hot-beds of pestilence in the dry season". There were two destructive floods, in 1885 and 1890, and it is thus small wonder that at the Census of 1891 a decrease of rather more than 1 per cent., should have been recorded.

112. The decade which has just passed has witnessed no such widespread calamities as that which preceded it, but the conditions have not been

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,667,491</b>	<b>+ 1.4</b>	<b>- 1.1</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>361,333</b>	<b>+ 3.5</b>	<b>- 6.9</b>
Krishnagar ... ..	166,887	- 5.7	- 6.1
Chapra ... ..	65,477	+ 3.1	...
Hanskhali ... ..	62,777	+ 14.5	- 17.6
Kaliganj ... ..	68,792	+ 12.7	- 15.4
Nakosipara ... ..	60,710	+ 0.6	- 5.6
Kiseengunge ... ..	37,681	+ 15.4	- 0.1
<b>Ranaghat Subdivision</b>	<b>317,077</b>	<b>- 5.6</b>	<b>- 4.6</b>
Ranaghat ... ..	76,144	- 1.5	- 8.4
Santipur ... ..	40,559	- 5.2	+ 0.1
Chakdaha ... ..	91,374	- 7.48	- 4.0
<b>Kushtia Subdivision</b>	<b>436,568</b>	<b>+ 0.7</b>	<b>+ 6.4</b>
Kushtia ... ..	113,409	+ 7.2	+ 10.7
Nowpara ... ..	143,004	+ 2.2	+ 2.5
Daulatpur ... ..	94,033	- 0.1	+ 4.3
Kumarkhali ... ..	144,882	- 4.7	+ 8.4
<b>Meherpur Subdivision</b>	<b>348,124</b>	<b>+ 5.4</b>	<b>- 0.5</b>
Meherpur ... ..	73,865	+ 0.3	- 0.0
Karimpur ... ..	100,344	- 0.5	+ 3.2
Gangni ... ..	79,467	+ 8.5	- 2.9
Tehatta ... ..	63,548	+ 7.7	- 2.2
<b>Chudanga Subdivision</b>	<b>254,659</b>	<b>+ 5.7</b>	<b>- 5.5</b>
Chudanga ... ..	67,161	+ 1.6	- 8.1
Damurhuda ... ..	60,808	+ 0.6	+ 0.5
Alamdanga ... ..	91,331	+ 1.7	- 0.2
Jamnagar ... ..	36,704	+ 1.5	- 0.9

and deepened into famine in the tracts where late rice is the staple crop. The

\* The mortality was so high in some of the villages in Kumarkhali in 1897 when I was Magistrate of the district, that I suspected the presence of plague. A special inspection was made by the Civil Surgeon who reported that the deaths were due to a bad outbreak of malarial fever.



relief afforded by Government was eminently successful in preventing loss of life, and the deaths reported in the years 1896, 1897 and 1898 were less numerous by nearly 50 per cent. than those of the preceding triennium. The statistics were tested, but the results showed that the reporting was quite as accurate as usual, and the fact that during the same period the reported births exceeded by 7 per cent. those of the previous three years, points to the same conclusion.

113. The net result of the present census is an increase of 23,383 persons or 1·4 per cent. The Ranaghat subdivision in the south of the district shows a loss of 5·6 per cent., or 1 per cent. more than that recorded ten years ago. The Krishnagar thana, in the head-quarters subdivision which adjoins this tract, has also lost ground, though not quite to the same extent as in the previous decade. The whole of this tract is, as has been already noted, malarious and unhealthy, and its continuous decline must be ascribed mainly to this cause.

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	827,609	809,982	802,147	841,061
Immigrants ...	39,226	28,794	33,408	37,447
Emigrants ...	71,160	62,677	77,696	57,228
Natural population ...	805,675	805,773	844,345	861,799

The decadent condition of the weaving industry of Santipur may also have contributed to the falling off in that direction. Calcutta and the mills in its neighbourhood attract immigrants from this neighbourhood, but the total number of Nadia-born settlers in Calcutta and the

24-Parganas was less in 1901 than it had been ten years previously. The district has lost by migration during the decade to the extent probably of about 1 per cent.

The two eastern thanas of the head-quarters subdivision, Hanskhali and Kissengunge, show the greatest increase of any in the district. These thanas lie in the hollow across which the floods of the Bhágirathi sweep whenever the great Lalitakuri embankment in the Murshidabad district gives way, and they suffered severely in the floods of 1885 and 1890. The population of Kissengunge was stationary in 1891, while that of Hanskhali showed a great decrease. In the two thanas together, the present figures represent a very slight improvement on the population recorded twenty years ago. The only other part of the district that shows a satisfactory rate of progress is the line of thanas stretching through the centre of the district from Kaliganj to Kushtia, which corresponds very closely to the area in which famine relief operations were found necessary. This area, taken as a whole, is probably at the present time the healthiest part of the district. The decrease in Kumarkhali, in the north-east, is due to malaria which, as will be seen further on, has caused an even greater loss of population in the adjoining parts of Jessore and Faridpur. The falling off in Karimpur to the north-west is less easy to explain.

114. The district of Murshidabad is bisected from north to south by the Bhágirathi, the ancient course of the Ganges, and the character of the country on the two banks is very different. East of this river the soil is lowlying and alluvial, and forms a part of the old delta. It is fertile, but is liable to be flooded by the spill of the Bhágirathi and other rivers, to prevent which numerous embankments have at various times been erected.\* The climate is damp and malaria is prevalent. On the western side, the land is high and undulating; the soil is a hard clay on which winter rice alone grows well, and the climate is comparatively dry. The Bhágirathi is more than a mere physical boundary. It was the ancient dividing line between Rárh to the west and Bárendra to the east. West of the river Hindus predominate, while to the east Muhammadans are more numerous. The population is comparatively dense on the eastern side of the river, but is sparse in the central portion of the Rárh country. Shortly before 1881 the Burdwan fever spread to the district, and devastated not only the lowlying waterlogged eastern tract, but also the elevated country to the west. For some years the death-rate was exceptionally high, and the growth of the population was checked, the variation between 1872 and 1891,

\* The most important is the line of embankments along the left bank of the Bhágirathi. The propriety of maintaining all these embankments has often been called in question. The land that would otherwise be flooded is thereby deprived of its supply of fertilizing silt, and the river, being confined to its bed, deposits its silt there, and thus gradually raises itself above the level of the surrounding country.



being barely 2 per cent. Since 1891 there has been a great improvement and the death-rate has fallen considerably, especially in the Rárh country, which is reputed to be the healthiest part of the district. The reported birth-rate has been higher than in most other parts of Bengal and in 1899, it exceeded 48 per 1,000, a figure which shows that the vital statistics of the district have attained a fair standard of accuracy. According to these returns the excess of births over deaths during the eight years 1892—1900 exceeds 98,000. The gradual decay of the silk and indigo industries has affected the prosperity of the people, and in 1897 the district was visited by famine. The distressed area comprised the tract east of the Bhágirathi and a small strip in the Kandi subdivision, but relief operations were not found necessary on so large a scale as elsewhere. The scarcity had no apparent effect on the death-rate which was considerably lower in 1897 than in any other year of the decade, except 1898, while the average birth-rate of 1897 and 1898 was higher than that of any other consecutive two years. Except for the famine year, the crops have been generally good, and the condition of the cultivators is satisfactory.

115. The present census shows a net increase of 6·6 per cent. but there

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891—1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,333,184</b>	<b>+6·6</b>	<b>+1·9</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>471,969</b>	<b>+3·7</b>	<b>+2·5</b>
Sujaganj	9,377	-0·3	+12·7
Gorabazar	12,921	+0·02	-4·8
Berhampore	34,337	+3·7	-0·3
Burwa	74,415	+5·3	+1·1
Daulatabad	37,542	-4·2	-1·4
Haribarpur	57,191	+3·9	-3·6
Nonda	51,517	+6·3	+2·5
Gowas	88,944	+3·9	+9·0
Jalangi	116,465	+3·2	+4·0
<b>Lalbagh Subdivision</b>	<b>192,978</b>	<b>+6·2</b>	<b>-1·2</b>
Shahanagar	25,380	-15·0	+17·4
Manullabazar	12,927	-18·6	+110·4
Azamgar	14,723	+3	-9·3
Bhagwanpola	28,695	+4·7	-6·3
Sagardighi	37,078	+26·0	+5·3
Kalianganj	47,558	+26·3	+1·3
<b>Jangipur Subdivision</b>	<b>354,191</b>	<b>+5·4</b>	<b>+4·1</b>
Raghunathganj	73,599	+10·7	-9·8
Shamshirganj	58,830	+11·9	+14·0
Suti	84,422	-6·4	+4·5
Ditwan sarai	61,640	+1·9	+10·3
Mirzapur	45,761	+9·3	+2·8
<b>Kandi Subdivision</b>	<b>334,033</b>	<b>+12·4</b>	<b>+0·6</b>
Kandi	31,234	+12·5	-1·7
Barwan	60,806	+9·8	+3·5
Kharaganj	63,772	+13·9	+3·6
Bharatpur	121,947	+11·4	+1·9
Gokarna	46,694	+16·7	-5·3

are considerable local variations. Two tracts have sustained a loss of population, viz., Suti thana in the Jangipur subdivision, and the country bordering on the left bank of the Bhágirathi from Azimganj to Berhampore, including Manullabazar, Shahanagar, Sujaganj and Daulatabad. Suti is surrounded by progressive thanas, and the falling-off is due probably to temporary causes connected with the movements of the Ganges. A good deal of land has been washed away and thrown up on the opposite bank of the river in the Malda district, and this has led to a considerable amount of emigration. The other tract has been decadent ever since 1872. It is to a great extent urban, and its prosperity has been steadily declining. Trade has been diverted to other channels, and the ivory work and bell metal manufactures for which it is noted have become less profitable. The Lalbagh subdivision was closed for some years, and this also must have had some effect in reducing the population. The prosperity of this locality, moreover, is closely connected with the fortunes of the Nawáb whose circumstances have not been improving. The earthquake of 1897 overthrew a great number of buildings which the people have not been able to replace, and the untouched ruins give to the visitor an uncomfortable impression of neglect, decay and poverty. Throughout the rest of Eastern Murshidabad there has been a fair increase, which is greatest in Raghunathganj in the north, and in Burwa in the extreme south.

In this part of the district as a whole, the rate of growth is 3·1 per cent. In Western Murshidabad, on the other hand, it amounts to 12·9 per cent. In no thana in the latter tract is it less than 9, while in Sagardighi and Kalianganj it amounts to 26 per cent.

These thanas, which are still very sparsely populated, attract a large proportion of the immigrants from Birbhum and the Sonthal Parganas. Sagardighi showed a fair increase at the two previous enumerations, but Kalianganj was almost stationary in 1891, while in 1881 it showed a decrease of 11·7 per cent. The thana that has

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	653,546	679,835	665,075	645,251
Immigrants	35,648	35,345	54,943	25,429
Emigrants	88,469	40,227	39,081	41,911
Natural population	455,967	684,917	600,803	621,763



progressed most rapidly since 1872 is Shamshirganj, which is nearly 50 per cent. more populous than it then was. During the last decade the district has lost by migration more than it has gained but the changes have not been very great, and have probably not affected the rate of growth by more than 1 per cent.

116. The conditions adverse to health that exist in the south of Nadia prevail over almost the whole of Jessore. The banks of the rivers are higher than the country behind them, and depressions are thus formed between the main water courses. The drainage of these depressions was always difficult, and it has now become almost impossible owing to the silting-up of the mouths of the rivers and drainage channels. Stagnant swamps are thus formed, while good drinking water is scarce and the homesteads are enveloped in dense jungle. The district has long been notoriously unhealthy, and it was here that cholera first appeared in a violently epidemic form in 1817.\*

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891.	1891-1901. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,813,255</b>	<b>-4.0</b>	<b>-2.6</b>
<b>Sader Subdivision</b>	<b>561,242</b>	<b>-5.6</b>	<b>-5.3</b>
Jessore	146,080	-7.5	-5.6
Kaliganj	81,335	-2.1	-6.9
Bagharpara	54,350	-5.9	-0.8
Gadkhali	60,751	-4.8	-5.5
Manirampur	142,278	-4.9	-3.8
Keshabpur	70,563	-7.5	-3.0
<b>Jhenida Subdivision</b>	<b>304,899</b>	<b>-2.3</b>	<b>-4.5</b>
Jhenida	84,660	-5.8	-12.3
Kotchandpur	40,237	-3.5	-6.1
Salkopa	179,932	-0.4	+0.4
<b>Magura Subdivision</b>	<b>377,581</b>	<b>-8.5</b>	<b>+3.4</b>
Magura	142,820	-0.7	+4.3
Muhammadi	83,051	-8.5	+8.3
Saikhia	44,461	-4.0	-8.0
<b>Narail Subdivision</b>	<b>352,281</b>	<b>+1.1</b>	<b>+6.2</b>
Narail	154,171	+1.7	+0.1
Lohagara	112,511	-3.5	+11.2
Bar Kalia	85,499	+4.9	+11.7
<b>Bangaon Subdivision</b>	<b>517,352</b>	<b>-3.9</b>	<b>-8.7</b>
Bangaon	106,610	-4.6	-7.4
Maheshpur	99,082	-3.8	-8.2
Saraha	68,199	-2.0	-11.1
Geighata	43,232	-4.4	-9.7

of prices. There was some distress in 1897, and a few thousand rupees were expended in helping the very poor, but regular relief operations were not needed. The decade has been consistently unhealthy and the returns of vital statistics for the nine years ending with 1900 show an excess of deaths over births aggregating 70,934.

117. The census of 1881 brought out an apparent increase in the population, but this is attributed by the Magistrate (Mr. Hallifax) to the inaccuracy of the census of 1872. In 1891 there was a decrease of 2.6 per cent., and this has now been followed by a further decline of 4 per cent. In the head-quarters subdivision the loss of population is about the same as in 1891, and it is considerably less in Jhenida and Bangaon; it is greatest in Magura (8.5 per cent.) where there was an improvement of 3.4 per cent. in 1891. The only subdivision which shows a slight advance is Narail in the south-east. The great falling-off in Magura is due to the prevalence of malarial fever, which has caused such a marked diminution in the population of the adjoining thanas of Kumarkhali in Nadia, and Pangsa, Balia-kandi and Bhushana in Faridpur. The subdivision has the advantage of better drinking water (from the Gorai and Nabaganga) than any other part of the district except Narail, but malaria is not dependent

\* Westland's Report on Jessore, pages 179-183. The disease had previously been known, but only in a milder endemic form.



on the drinking water; and Muhamadpur, where the great fever epidemic first broke out, lies within the limits of this subdivision.

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	914,055	899,130	941,534	947,403
Immigrants	24,485	22,351	24,053	27,837
Emigrants	43,775	27,359	57,814*	39,496*
Natural population	935,815	903,938	975,008	968,148

\* Corrected figures.

The above changes in the population are practically independent of migration. The total amount of inter-district movement is small and immigrants and emigrants have alike decreased in number since 1891.

## NORTH BENGAL.

118. The district of Rajshahi is composed of three entirely distinct tracts.

### RAJSHAHI.

The first, or Bárind, is elevated and undulating. The soil is a stiff red clay or quasi-laterite, and, where not cultivated, is covered with brushwood interspersed with large trees, the remains of extensive forests. The only crop that can here be grown is winter rice. The population, though once plentiful, is now sparse. The climate is healthy. This tract comprises the whole of Godagari, the greater part of Tanor, Manda and Mahadebpur, and the north of Singra. The Gangetic thanas, Rampur Boalia, Charchat and Lalpur, form another well-defined area. It has a grey sandy soil and a variety of crops are grown. The level is relatively high, and the climate is moderately healthy. The population is fairly dense and includes a considerable number of landless labourers who were originally attracted by the silk industry. The remaining thanas, Naugaon, Bagmara, Puthia, Panchupur, Nator, Singra and Burigaon, constitute the third area, a swampy depression, waterlogged and abounding in *jhils*. The rivers that once drained it have been cut in halves by the Padma, and their mouths have been silted up. The soil is a black loam, and is most fertile. But malaria is very prevalent, especially during the winter months, and the death-rate is high. The population, however, is dense except in Singra, which divides with thana Raiganj in the Pabna District the distinction of containing the Chalan bil, the largest sheet of inland water in Bengal. This tract may be again subdivided into areas growing and not growing ganja. The former category includes the Naugaon and Panchupur thanas which supply the whole of Bengal with ganja. The crop is a most profitable one and is a great attraction. The land is here somewhat higher and the drainage less obstructed than elsewhere in this group of thanas.

119. During the nineteen years between 1872 and 1891, the population of the district as a whole was almost stationary. The thanas to the north and west increased rapidly, while those in the centre and south declined. The latter part of the district suffered so terribly from fever that in 1883 and 1884 Rajshahi held the first place in the list of fever-stricken districts. The unhealthiness still continues, and the annual reports of the Civil Surgeon are most depressing. In seven out of the last ten years it has held a place amongst the six most feverish districts in Bengal, and in 1892 and 1893 it stood at the top of the list. In only two years of the decade, 1897 and 1898, did the reported births exceed the deaths. These years were comparatively healthy owing to the low rainfall which caused many of the shallower bils to dry up. The crops have been good since 1897, but prior to that year they had been short for several years in succession. The famine did not touch this district, though the people suffered from the high prices due to scarcity elsewhere. The condition of the cultivating classes is said to be satisfactory, especially in the Naugaon Subdivision. The decade, however, has seen the practical extinction of indigo cultivation in the district, and the decline of the silk industry has impoverished silk-worm rearers and silk-workers and the cultivators of the mulberry.

120. The net result of the last ten years in the district as a whole is a slight increase of 1·6 per cent. As on previous occasions, there has been an increase in the Bárind and in the ganja-growing thanas and a decrease in the centre and south of the district. The most progressive thanas are Naugaon and Mahadebpur, both of which have been growing rapidly during the whole of the last thirty years. Manda, in the Bárind, and Panchupur, in the Naugaon Subdivision, also show a considerable increase. The



stationary condition of Tanor and Godagari is surprising, as the immi-

THANA.	POPULA- TION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,462,407</b>	<b>+ 1.6</b>	<b>- 0.8</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>363,936</b>	<b>- 1.3</b>	<b>- 3.1</b>
Boalia ...	95,045	- 3.9	- 2.8
Tanor ...	85,457	+ 1.8	+ 1.6
Godagari ...	47,371	+ 1.3	+ 6.7
Puthia ...	62,350	- 3.4	+ 21.0
Charghat ...	114,989	- 5.9	+ 6.1
Bagmara ...	123,704	+ 3.9	- 2.1
<b>Naugaon Subdivision</b> ...	<b>476,072</b>	<b>+ 12.1</b>	<b>+ 10.8</b>
Naugaon ...	179,540	+ 14.2	+ 18.1
Manda ...	126,123	+ 10.2	+ 10.1
Panchapur ...	93,774	+ 8.7	+ 11.7
Mahadebpur ...	83,694	+ 14.1	+ 8.9
<b>Nator Subdivision</b> ...	<b>422,599</b>	<b>- 4.8</b>	<b>- 6.2</b>
Nator ...	187,763	- 10.1	- 7.6
Singra ...	119,418	+ 1.6	+ 4.1
Burigaon ...	104,684	- 6.8	- 4.1
Lalpur ...	66,544	- 1.9	- 20.7

respectively. These two tracts owe a great deal of their development to immigration—from other districts in the

case of the Barind, and from other parts of Rajshahi itself, chiefly from Puthia, Baghmara and Nator, in the thanas where ganja is grown. The total number of immigrants from other districts has increased by more than 9,000 during the decade, but it is very uncertain how many have come to stay. A

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	741,600	726,717	719,280	726,595
Immigrants ...	46,815	32,365	42,719	28,084
Emigrants ...	11,941	11,671	19,098	19,267
Netural population ...	736,474	706,804	695,895	711,368

great many are palki-bearers, earth-workers and field labourers who visit the district during the cold weather and leave again before the rains set in. Probably not more than a third are permanent settlers. Of these, the great majority are Santals, Mundas and Oraons who have made clearances in the jungles of the Barind. The zamindars allow newly-cleared land to be held rent-free for the first three or four years, and this exactly suits the taste of these unsophisticated aborigines, who do not mind the physical labour involved in breaking down the jungle, but have a very great aversion to the payment of rent. They remain until rent is demanded and then move on, leaving the land they have brought under cultivation to be occupied by the less hardy and less industrious Hindu cultivators who would shrink from undertaking on their own account the irksome task of reclamation.

131. The whole of Dinajpur is alluvial, with the exception of four or five thanas in the south of the district which lie in the

#### DINAJPUR.

Barind. The surface is here elevated, undulating and well drained, and even in the alluvial parts of the district the proximity to the foot of the hills and the consequent greater speed of the rivers has given the country a more rapid slope than is the case further south, and it is thus far better drained. In spite of this the district was for many years exceedingly unhealthy, and in 1878 a Committee was appointed to enquire into the causes. The only remedial measure adopted was a scheme for draining the neighbourhood of the chief town. The census of 1881 showed a gain of barely 1 per cent. which was more than accounted for by the greater accuracy of the enumeration. The district continued to be unhealthy for some years longer, but it then took a turn for the better, and in 1891 there was an increase of rather less than 3 per cent., of which, however, a considerable part was due to immigration. Since 1891 the health of the district has continued to show some further improvement, but it is even now far from satisfactory, and malarial fevers are still very prevalent. In every year of the decade, Dinajpur has been one of the six districts with the highest recorded mortality from fever, but this may be due in part to the greater accuracy of the returns, as its reported birth rate is exceeded in only two districts in the Province. A comparison of the births and deaths reported during the nine years 1892-1900 shows a net excess of 21,080 births. The crops have been good on the whole. There were



partial failures in 1891 and 1897, and the scarcity in the latter year was aggravated by the high prices which prevailed throughout India. The good harvests of subsequent seasons have restored the prosperity of the cultivators, but they are wanting in industry. The Magistrate says:—

"They are an idle lot. In spite of the fertility of the soil, the low rates of rent, and the opening up of the country by railways, their material condition is still much the same as it was many years ago. The reclaimers of jungle and waste land, a large portion of the reapers during harvest time, the coolies, the domestic servants, the skilled labourers, such as carpenters, etc., the wholesale traders, all, or nearly all, come from other districts. The standard of comfort of the ordinary cultivator is low. He is content with a house which can but indifferently protect him and his family from stress of weather, and he does not possess any warm clothing for the winter. The standard of comfort has not shown any tendency to rise during the last ten years. The people are improvident and spend a large amount of money every year in buying useless articles of rural luxury at the fairs held all over the district during the dry months."

122. During the last decade the population has grown by 84,510 or 5·7 per

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	633,972	743,105	774,380	768,190
Immigrants ...	80,780	51,314	66,012	40,024
Emigrants ...	5,420	8,773	16,946	16,735
Natural population ...	751,603	790,667	725,314	679,901

cent., but this is to a great extent due to immigration from other districts. The increase in the immigrant population is nearly 20,971, but this, of course, does not represent the real number of new arrivals. There were already 112,000 immigrants in 1891, and at the assumed annual death rate

of 40 per 1,000, about 45,000 new settlers must have come to the district during the decade to keep up this number. A further immigration of 2,486 persons yearly, or of about 25,000 during the decade, would be necessary to produce the excess of 20,000 immigrants recorded at the present census. There is some uncertainty as to the actual number of emigrants in 1891\* but in any case the loss by fresh departures during the decade cannot well have exceeded 6,000. These figures indicate a net gain owing to migration of about 64,000 persons, which leaves less than 21,000, or say 1½ per cent., as the gain due to the excess of births over deaths. This result agrees very closely with that indicated by the returns of births and deaths. I have discussed this matter at some length, not because it is claimed that a very close approximation to the true growth of the population has been arrived at, but because the volume of immigration is here exceptionally large and the mere percentage of increase in the population actually enumerated in the district thus differs to an unusual extent from that indicating the true growth. Moreover, where a district has so long been decadent, it is specially desirable to know whether the conditions adverse to health still continue or not.

123. An examination of the figures for individual thanas shows, as was to

THANA.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1891-1901.	1891-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,567,080</b>	<b>+5·7</b>	<b>+2·8</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>1,023,294</b>	<b>+7·7</b>	<b>+3·6</b>
Dinaipur ...	200,248	+0·3	-1·8
Kaliganj ...	105,330	+4·7	+0·0
Kaliganj ...	85,872	+1·0	-0·3
Bonshihari ...	96,457	+3·3	+1·5
Patnitala ...	93,900	+10·0	+14·0
Parsa ...	24,887	+6·4	+4·1
Parsa ...	23,943	+23·9	+6·0
Patiram ...	23,513	+4·2	+7·0
Gangarampur ...	61,047	+12·7	+4·3
Chintaman ...	74,978	+8·4	+3·2
Parbatapur ...	73,473	+15·7	+7·7
Nawabganj ...			
<b>Thakurgaon Subdivision</b> ...	<b>543,986</b>	<b>+2·2</b>	<b>+6·4</b>
Thakurgaon ...	227,423	+1·2	+1·8
Banienkail ...	73,712	-4	-1·2
Pirganj ...	95,211	+3·7	+1·0
Birganj ...	143,740	+4·2	-1·3

be expected, that the increase is most rapid in the south of the district, especially in Patnitala, Patiram, Chintaman and Nawabganj. These thanas lie in the Báring. Magnificent tanks and scattered bricks afford ample evidence of a considerable population at some former period but at the present time the country is very sparsely inhabited, and it is for the most part covered with scrub jungle. About fifty years ago it occurred to the manager of a Government estate that the waste land might be reclaimed if Santáls were imported and settled there. The experiment was made and

\* In 1891 more than 10,000 persons censused in the Sonthal Parganas were returned as born in Dinaipur. There would seem to have been some mistake about this. There is no known tread of emigration, from Dinaipur to the Sonthal Parganas, and a movement on such a scale as this could not have escaped observation. At the present census only 67 persons in the Sonthal Parganas returned Dinaipur as their birthplace. The Deputy Commissioner of the Sonthal Parganas is of opinion that the birthplace table of 1891 for that district is quite unreliable.



proved such a success that the influx has continued ever since. The total number of Santáls in the district now amounts to 74,101. Their lead has been followed by a few Mundas and Oraons from Ranchi. The zamindars welcome the advent of these hardy pioneers, but they do not usually take any active steps to import them, as they are of a roving disposition and readily move on to fresh clearances on other estates. Outside the Báring the Santáls seem averse to settling and the increase in the population is consequently smaller. The only thana showing a decrease is Ranisankail. The opening of the Bihar section of the Eastern Bengal Railway does not, so far, appear to have had much effect in developing the tract through which it runs, and both Raiganj and Dinajpur show a less rapid rate of increase than the thanas on either side of them.

124. Jalpaiguri comprises two distinct tracts, viz., (1) the regulation portion which was formerly a subdivision of Rangpur.

#### JALPAIGURI.

This tract includes thanas Jalpaiguri, Rajganj, Titalya, Boda and Pathgram, all of which lie west of the Tista, except the last which is an enclave of the Kuch Bihar State; (2) the Western Duars, taken from Bhotan after the war of 1864-65, comprising the thanas of Damdim, Mainaguri, Dhupguri, Falakata and Alipore, all east of the Tista. The regulation tract has been long settled, and except in the north, it has a fairly dense population. The non-regulation thanas, on the other hand, were very sparsely populated when first acquired. The former tract is decadent, while the latter is very progressive. Its two western thanas, Damdim and Mainaguri, contain much land very suitable for the cultivation of tea. The first garden was opened in 1874, and others followed so rapidly that in 1881 there were 55 tea estates with 6,230 acres under tea. In 1891 there were 79 gardens with 35,683 acres of tea, and in 1901, 103 gardens with 76,158 acres. Apart from the tea gardens, the settlement of land for ordinary cultivation is progressing rapidly; the rates of rent are very low, and cultivators are attracted not only from the thanas west of the Tista, but also from Rangpur and the Kuch Bihar State.

The census of 1872 was not very accurate, even in the regulation part of the district, and for the Western Duars an estimate by the Settlement Officer was accepted in lieu of a detailed enumeration. There were also various changes of jurisdiction between 1872 and 1881, and the effect of these on the population was not ascertained. It is thus impossible to give an accurate idea of the variations that took place between 1872 and 1881. So far as the figures go, the population of the district as a whole rose by nearly 40 per cent., and that of the Damdim and Mainaguri thanas was more than nine times as great in 1881 as it was in 1872. The Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Forrest), however, calculates that the population of the district in 1872 must have been at least 70,000 greater than that returned at the census in which case the growth of the district between that year and 1881 would be only about 16 per cent.

125. During the next ten years the registered increase was 17·2 per cent. The regulation portion of the district showed a loss of 3·5 per cent., which was shared by all thanas except Jalpaiguri, where an advance of 10 per cent. was recorded. The Western Duars continued to show a phenomenal rate of development, especially Damdim, Dhupguri and Falakata. Since 1891 the area under tea has more than doubled. The industry has now fallen upon hard times and its further development has been checked, but the effect of this will not be apparent until 1911. The settlement of lands in the Duars for ordinary cultivation has continued to progress. The crops have been good and the growing demand for labour has been met, as in previous years, by extensive importation from other parts of the Province. Amongst the natives of the district the landless labourer does not exist. There have been considerable extensions of the Bengal Duars and Kuch Bihar State Railways, and a workshop has been opened in connection with the former, employing nearly 1,000 workmen. There have been no specially serious outbreaks of epidemic disease, but fever is always prevalent, and in eight out of the ten years the district has figured amongst the six districts with the highest recorded mortality from fever in the Province. The births reported by the police have exceeded the deaths only in four years, and on the average the deaths have outnumbered the births by nearly 3 per 1,000 per annum. Even if we allow for a slightly more defective registration of deaths than of births the natural population must still be slightly decadent. The registered mortality is greatest in the Duars.



where the reported deaths give an average of 39·9 per 1,000 compared with only 33·1 in the regulation tracts. The birth-rate, on the other hand, is here 34·3 per mille, as against 33·3 in the Duars.

Thana.	Percentage of variation.		
	1901.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>787,580</b>	<b>+ 15·6</b>	<b>+ 17·2</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>668,097</b>	<b>+ 9·8</b>	<b>+ 11·8</b>
Jalpaiguri ...	89,984	— 7	+ 10·0
Bajganj ...	81,919	— 9·9	— 6·0
Titalya ...	29,842	— 1·8	— 6·8
Boda ...	165,067	— 0·8	— 7·1
Pathgram ...	56,965	— 8·3	+ 29·3
Maynaguri ...	119,496	+ 29·3	+ 77·7
Dhupgari ...	64,280	+ 27·1	+ 157·4
Damdim ...	107,567	+ 25·3	+ 20·9
<b>Alipore Subdivision</b> ...	<b>119,553</b>	<b>+ 64·7</b>	<b>+ 20·2</b>
Alipore ...	60,746	+ 70·0	+ 77·7
Falakata ...	58,807	+ 57·9	

and Dhupgari. Damdim, which showed the greatest development in 1891, has increased far less rapidly during the last decade, owing probably to the fact that there was less scope for further expansion. Most of the land suitable for tea had been taken up prior to the last census. Throughout the district the variations in population are due almost entirely to migration, which accounts alike for the falling-off west of the Tista and for the rapid growth of the population east of that river. The western thanas are the more healthy, and they, if any, would show an increase if migration were left out of account. These, however, are the thanas where alone a loss of population has taken place, and it is clearly due to the movement of the population within the district from west to east which has been going on since 1881, and probably from a much earlier date, and will doubtless continue so long as the supply of culturable waste in the Western Duars remains unexhausted, unless in the interval the zamindars reduce their rates to the level of those payable on the Government estates in the Duars. There is also a slight balance against these thanas in the migration between them and Siliguri in the Darjeeling district.

127. In the Duars, on the other hand, the natural population has probably

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	422,577	364,505	384,319	316,417
Immigrants ...	104,914	83,309	87,914	60,613
Emigrants ...	7,565	9,871	9,631	11,916
Natural population ...	325,618	291,668	296,006	266,820

Thana.	Percentage of immigrants.
Maynaguri ...	38
Damdim ...	48
Dhupgari ...	38
Alipore ...	40
Falakata ...	55

declined, and the whole of the increase is due to the growth of the immigrant population. There are now 188,223 immigrants in the district, compared with 143,922 in 1891, and most of them were enumerated in the Duars. The proportion borne by the foreign-born to the total population in each thana in the Duars is

noted in the margin. It is highest in Falakata, where more than half the inhabitants were born outside the district. About half of the immigrants are tea-garden coolies from Chota Nagpur and the Sonthal Parganas. Many of these stay permanently. The number of settlers from Kuch Bihar and Rangpur is less than it was in 1891; many of the older settlers have died, and the new-comers have not been sufficient to replace them. Assuming the death-rate amongst the immigrant population to be 40 per 1,000 per annum, an annual supply of nearly 6,000 new-comers would be needed to keep up their original number, and of nearly 5,000 to raise it to the present figure. The countervailing loss owing to departures from the district has been very small, and the net gain on account of migration must have considerably exceeded 100,000. The district-born population has increased from 552,856 to 616,583, but this is due not so much to the excess of births over deaths as to the fact that the ranks of the district-born are swelled by the children of immigrants who have made their homes in the district. There were 60,613 immigrant females in the district in 1891, and if the births amongst

\* I assume that the Deputy Commissioner's estimate of the 1872 population is correct. If the census figures be taken, the increase between 1872 and 1881 was greater than that between 1891 and 1901.



them were at the rate of 80 per 1,000 yearly, this alone would account for a great part of the increase that has taken place.

128. Darjeeling consists of three distinct tracts, viz., (1) the thanas of Darjeeling, Jorbangala and Kurseong, *i.e.*, the whole of the hills except the Kalimpong outpost; most of this was ceded by the Raja of Sikkim in 1835; (2) the Kalimpong outpost taken from Bhutan in 1865; and (3) the Terai, *i.e.*, the Siliguri thana, annexed from Sikkim in 1850.

At the time of its cession, the first mentioned tract was almost wholly under forest, and it is said that there were not twenty resident families in the whole area.\* Its rapid growth is due partly to the establishment of the hill stations of Darjeeling and Kurseong and partly to the development of the tea industry. The first garden was opened in 1856, and proved such a success that within thirty years the greater part of the cultivable area was under tea. Excluding the municipality and cantonment, more than two-thirds of the population is resident on the tea gardens. The Kalimpong outpost contains only one or two gardens, and the greater part of the area is reserved for native cultivation. Five-sixths of the inhabitants are settled on the Government *khás maháls*. The aborigines of Kalimpong are Lepchas and Limbus, but many Nepalis are now settling there. The Terai contains a number of tea plantations along the foot of the hills, but there are also extensive areas under ordinary cultivation, and the tea-garden population is barely one-fifth of the total.

The hills, including Kalimpong, are very healthy, and the death-rate is comparatively low. The Terai, on the other hand, is notoriously malarious, and the mortality is always very heavy. In the district as a whole there was an increase of 63 per cent. between 1872 and 1881 and of 43 per cent. in the next decade, but the rate of expansion was far more rapid in the hills than in the plains. In the former the growth in these nineteen years was 222 per cent., while in the Terai it was only 52 per cent. The census of 1872 was admittedly inaccurate, and in 1881 also there were probably a good many omissions, especially of women, owing to the alarmist rumours that were spread amongst the ignorant hill men. The census of 1891, on the other hand, is believed to have been very accurate, and some part of the difference between that and the previous enumerations must be set down to the greater accuracy of the work, but even if liberal allowances are made for the errors on previous occasions, it is still clear that the growth of the population during these nineteen years was phenomenal.

129. During the last ten years the health of the hilly part of the district has been normal. In Siliguri, however, the mortality, always high, has been exceptionally heavy. The recorded deaths for the decade as a whole give an average death-rate of 59·8 per 1,000 per annum, and in 1900 it exceeded 71 per 1,000. The average birth-rate, on the other hand, was only 19·4 per annum. The ordinary crops have been good, and in Kalimpong the number of settlers has been rapidly increasing. There is a great demand for labour of all kinds and wages are far higher than in any other part of Bengal. As observed by the Deputy Commissioner, there is no district in the Province where the people are so well off. The tea industry, however, on which the growth of the district mainly depends, has been passing through a serious crisis. Prices have fallen

Thana.	Population 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>249,117</b>	<b>+11·5</b>	<b>+43·4</b>
<i>Sadar Subdivision</i>	<i>133,386</i>	<i>+26·2</i>	<i>+62·6</i>
Darjeeling	69,362	+ 13·8	} + 62·6
Kalimpong	41,511	+ 65·9	
Jorbangala	22,513	+ 34·5	
<i>Kurseong Subdivision</i>	<i>115,731</i>	<i>- 1·6</i>	<i>+29·3</i>
Kurseong	43,375	+ 1·4	+ 55·3
Siliguri	70,460	- 3·5	+ 17·0

greatly during the last four or five years, and many gardens are no longer able to work at a profit. Some few have already been closed and others have reduced their labour force, so that the increase due to extension of cultivation during the earlier years of the decade has been to a great extent discounted by subsequent reductions of establishment.

The population of the district as a whole has grown by 11·5 per cent. during the decade. The increase is greatest in Kalimpong, where the waste

\* This however seems doubtful. In the course of enquiries made regarding the alleged gradual disappearance of the Lepchas it was stated to me that many of the hill-slopes now occupied by tea-gardens were formerly the sites of Lepcha villages.



land is rapidly being brought under cultivation by new settlers, chiefly from Nepal. In Darjeeling and Jorbangala there has been a fair growth, and the tea gardens in this tract have added 5,000, or more than 12 per cent., to their population since 1891. In the Kurseong subdivision the tea-garden population has been slightly reduced, but the loss has been more than counterbalanced by the growth of the town of Kurseong and by new settlers for ordinary cultivation. Of the decrease of 2,464 persons in the Siliguri thana, about two-thirds is accounted for by the fact that in 1891 a large number of temporary immigrants were employed there in the construction of a road. The tea gardens have added 11 per cent. to their population, but the settlers in the *khás maháls* have decreased by nearly 5 per cent. Having regard to the heavy death-rate, the loss of population in this thana must have been far greater than it is but for immigration from outside. If we accept the recorded death-rate as

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	133,005	116,112	123,043	100,308
Immigrants	71,259	55,102	78,978	55,079
Emigrants	3,129	2,568	3,296	1,526
Natural population	64,844	65,576	47,266	43,718

correct and raise the birth-rate from 19·4 as reported, to 25 per 1,000, the annual decrease, but for immigration, would, at the rate of 35 per 1,000, exceed 2,500. There must thus apparently have been an immigration to the thana of more than

25,000 persons. This supposition is corroborated by the returns of birthplace which show that no less than 36,907, or 52 per cent. of the inhabitants of the thana were born elsewhere.

The total volume of immigration is less than it was in 1891, but the foreign-born still number nearly half the total population of the district. A very large proportion of them are permanent settlers on the tea gardens and *khás maháls*. The earlier immigrants are gradually dying out and their place is being taken by their children born in Darjeeling; the reduction in the foreign-born population, therefore, merely means that the flow of fresh immigrants is growing less and not that it has ceased altogether. If there had been no new settlers since 1891 the number then enumerated would have fallen to about 91,000, or 32,000 less than the actual strength of the immigrant population. These figures indicate an average annual arrival of some 4,000 new-comers. The corresponding loss by emigration is inappreciable.

130. The soil of Rangpur is fertile and the population is very dense compared with other districts in North Bengal.

#### RANGPUR.

A wave of unhealthiness swept over the district some time before 1872. Between that year and 1891 malarial fever was very prevalent and the district lost more than 4 per cent. of its population. The thanas that suffered most before 1881 were Rangpur, Mitapokhur and Pirganj in the centre of the district. In 1891 these three thanas taken together recovered some of their losses, but there was a general decadence in all the thanas to the east and north of them and in Badarganj which adjoins them on the west. The death-rate from fever was very high throughout the decade, and there were frequent outbreaks of cholera which was imported by coolies passing through the district *en route* for Assam. The prevalence of malaria was attributed at the last census to the obstruction of the old drainage channels south and west of the Tista. The greatest loss of population occurred in the thanas on the north-east of that river, but there can be no doubt that the drainage is obstructed throughout the district.

Since 1891 there has been a great improvement in the health of the people, and the births reported by the police since birth registration was introduced in 1892 have exceeded the deaths by more than 29,000. The crops on the whole have been good, and even in 1897 the distress was comparatively slight. No relief works were found necessary, and the amount distributed in charitable doles was very small. Railway communications have been greatly improved. The Gaibanda subdivision has been rendered more accessible by the line running from Santahar to Fulchari on the Brahmaputra; the Kuch Bihar Railway has been completed on the north; the railway to the Jalpaiguri Duars running from Lalmonir Hát through the north of the district has been opened, and the Tista river has been bridged. These operations have not only opened out the country, but they brought many labourers into the district, some of whom were



still there at the time of the census. Speaking of the prosperity of the people, the Magistrate (Mr. P. C. Mitra) says:—

“The material condition of the people has greatly improved during the last decade. They generally reap good harvests, and now derive larger profits than formerly by selling jute and tobacco, owing to the facilities for export afforded by the new lines of railway. Agriculturists may now be seen using umbrellas and other imported things which were formerly considered luxuries. They are now better fed, better clothed and better educated. It is true that they are sometimes in difficulties on account of failure of crops owing to deficient or excessive rainfall, but they very soon recover, as the land is very fertile and rents are lower than in Central Bengal.”

The earthquake of 1897 did a great deal of damage to roads and buildings, but it is not certain that its effects were altogether harmful. It caused marked changes in the level of the country and it is possible that it has improved the drainage. The Magistrate reports that since the earthquake malaria has abated, and his opinion derives some support from the vital statistics of the district according to which there were 190,883 deaths during the three years 1898 to 1900 compared with 223,034 during the previous triennium.

131. The census shows a net increase of rather more than 4 per cent., and

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,126,109	1,028,072	1,001,812	1,006,692
Immigrants	80,489	28,990	43,070	14,188
Emigrants	36,662	27,470	38,679	36,085
Natural population	1,097,881	1,071,542	1,007,421	1,028,549

the population is now almost exactly what it was thirty years ago when the first census was taken. This result is due in a great measure to immigration, and if this were left out of account the increment would not much exceed 1 per cent. This, though small, may perhaps be taken as showing that the general opinion regarding the improvement in the health of the district is well founded, in which case a marked increase may be looked for in 1911. The greatest expansion has occurred in the Gaibanda subdivision where it is due partly to the advent of the railway, and partly to its comparative salubrity and to the extension of jute cultivation, which has attracted settlers from the unhealthy thanas to the north-west, and also from Pabna and Mymensingh. Nilphamari shows a fair rate of growth, due in part to the railway settlement at Saidpur and the flourishing trade centre at Darwani, and in part to the healthiness of the locality and the extension of sugarcane and tobacco cultivation. The only thanas which show a marked decadence are Mitapokhur which lost heavily between 1872 and 1881, Mahiganj, where the decrease in 1891 was greater than in any other part of the district, and Kurigram, where

THANA.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>2,154,181</b>	<b>+ 4.3</b>	<b>- 1.5</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>658,221</b>	<b>+ 1.8</b>	<b>- 2.9</b>
Bangpur	142,003	+ 7.5	+ 6.1
Mahiganj	106,382	- 3.4	- 14.9
Kaliganj	151,011	+ 1.7	- 4.1
Bedarganj	94,794	+ 8.0	+ 1.1
Mitapokhur	93,648	- 5.7	+ 0.2
Pirganj	60,913	+ 2.8	- 1.6
<b>Nilphamari Subdivision</b>	<b>461,314</b>	<b>+ 5.0</b>	<b>+ 0.4</b>
Nilphamari	160,563	+ 9.6	+ 3.2
Dima	133,289	- 2.5	- 1.5
Jaldhaka	167,462	+ 1.8	+ 0.6
<b>Kurigram Subdivision</b>	<b>514,322</b>	<b>+ 1.3</b>	<b>- 5.0</b>
Kurigram	56,000	- 4.8	-
Barahari	128,676	+ 4.3	- 0.2
Rageshwari	148,010	+ .7	- 8.3
Ulipur	100,606	+ 1.8	- 9.4
<b>Gaibanda Subdivision</b>	<b>520,184</b>	<b>+ 12.2</b>	<b>+ 2.8</b>
Gaibanda	200,779	+ 14.7	- 2.6
Gobindganj	234,123	+ 16.6	+ 6.6
Sundarganj	85,282	- 1.6	- 5.3

it seems to be due chiefly to diluvion and to outbreaks of cholera which is said to be imported by coolies passing through the subdivision on their way to Assam.

132. Bogra is a small district, but it is one of the most prosperous in Bengal. The soil is fertile and the great majority

Bogra.

of the inhabitants are sturdy, industrious and prolific Muhammadans. It is bisected from north to south by the Karátový. East of that river the land is alluvial and lowlying and is subject to annual inundations. On the west the surface is somewhat higher and towards the north-west the soil is a hard clay and is covered, where not reclaimed, by a thick underbrush. This is in fact a part of the Báring or old tertiary formation already described in the accounts of Rajshahi and Dinajpur. The district appears to be



more healthy than either Rajshahi to the west or Rangpur to the north. The drainage is somewhat better and malaria is less prevalent. It is only along the bank of the moribund Karátóyá, and especially in the towns of Bogra and Sherpur, that serious unhealthiness exists. Between 1872 and 1881 the population grew by 6·5 per cent., and this was followed during the next decade by a further increase of 11·2 per cent. The great general prosperity of the district is shown by the fact that on both occasions every thana in the district shared in the general improvement.

"Since 1891," says the Magistrate, Mr. Sen, "there has been no disaster of any kind, either in the shape of famine or pestilence, to impede progress. There was some scarcity in 1897, but there was no loss of life and local help sufficed to allay it. The inhabitants are well off, and most cultivators hire foreign labour at the time of reaping and sowing. Wages are high and the local people will rarely condescend to work as coolies." The opening of the railway from Santahar to the Brahmaputra towards the close of the decade promises to still further increase the prosperity of the district, and a great amount of produce is already being exported by means of it. The earthquake of 1897 overthrew most of the brick buildings in the towns of Bogra and Sherpur, including the Government offices, and struck a serious blow at the prosperity of Sherpur town which was already decadent; but otherwise no serious harm was done. The vital statistics show a net excess of about 30,000 births since 1892, and the Bogra and Sherpur towns and Sherpur thana are the only places where the registered deaths have outnumbered the births.

133. The census of 1901 shows a further increase of 11·8 in the

THANA	Population 1901.	Percentage of variation.	
		1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>854,533</b>	<b>+ 11·8</b>	<b>+ 11·2</b>
Bogra	265,104	+ 8·3	+ 9·3
Shariakandi	134,088	+ 16·2	+ 11·6
Sibganj	76,623	+ 13·4	+ 13·9
Panchabibi	89,026	+ 22·1	+ 9·1
Khetlal	51,477	+ 11·2	+ 16·1
Adamdighi	110,967	+ 9·5	+ 15·2
Sherpur	54,032	+ 7·1	+ 7·5
Dhunote	79,820	+ 19·0	.....

population, and again every thana in the district contributes to the general result. The growth is greatest in the Panchabibi thana in the Báring, which adjoins the highly progressive thanas of Patiram and Patnitola in Dinajpur and its development is due to the same cause, viz., the clearance of the jungle by immigrant Santáls and Mundas, who remain only so long as the landlord demands no rent, and then move on elsewhere with their portable huts, leaving the land already reclaimed to be occupied by the

settled cultivators of the district. The thana is sparsely populated compared with the rest of the district, and there is still ample room for further expansion. The next most progressive thana, Dhunote, presents a complete contrast to Panchabibi, as it is already the most densely populated part of the district. The soil is a grey sandy loam of great natural fertility and it receives annual deposits of silt from the Jamuna. The principal crop is the highly profitable jute which finds a ready market at Serajganj, on which the numerous water channels which intersect it converge. It lies along the bank of the Jamuna and the climate is good. Very similar conditions prevail in Sibganj and Shariakandi, but here jute is less extensively grown. The smallest increase is in the Bogra and Sherpur thanas. These are less healthy than the rest; Sherpur in particular is jungly and the silting up of the Karátóyá has led to obstructions in the drainage. As already observed, the vital statistics of this thana show an excess of deaths over births. Bogra thana is already somewhat densely populated, but in Sherpur the population is sparse.

134. The variations above noticed are due in the main to natural causes.

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	437,349	417,184	391,632	374,820
Immigrants	22,358	16,559	94,683	17,931
Emigrants	8,137	7,019	6,901	5,908
Natural population	429,125	409,594	381,280	369,816

There is a considerable immigration from Pabna and Rajshahi on the south and south-west, and some emigration to Rangpur and Dinajpur on the north and north-west. There are about 5,000 immigrants from the Sonthal Parganas and Chota Nagpur

and more than twice as many from Bihar and the United Provinces. The former



are mostly settlers in the Bárind, while the latter are nearly all temporary visitors who carry palkis, dig earth and serve as field labourers during the dry months. Since 1891 the number of immigrants has fallen off, especially those from Rajshahi, Chota Nagpur and the Sonthal Parganas, while the number of emigrants is greater. It is thus probable that although the immigrants exceed the emigrants very nearly in the ratio of 5 to 2, the balance of migration during the decade under review has not been very much in favour of this district, and the greater part of the improvement that has taken place may be attributed to natural causes.

135. The head-quarters subdivision, which forms the south-western half of

#### PABNA.

Pabna, like the adjoining portion of Rajshahi, is an area of silted up river-beds, obstructed drainage and marshy swamps. It is fertile, but abounds in old villages surrounded by jungle, and malaria is very rife. From 1880 to 1884 it shared in the excessive mortality from fever that distinguished the Rajshahi district during these years. The Serajganj subdivision, on the other hand, resembles the neighbouring half of Bogra. It is lowlying, but except in Raiganj the drainage is not impeded by the high banks of dead rivers. It thus receives the benefit of an annual deposit of silt from the Jamuna, but at the same time, when the floods subside, the water readily flows off and does not stagnate as it does further east. The climate is consequently far more healthy than that of the south-western half of the district. Jute is the main crop and the people are very prosperous. Apart from the climate and the fertility of the soil, the variations in the population depend largely on fluvial action. The district lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Padma and the Brahmaputra, or Jamuna as it is here called. Both these rivers, but especially the latter, are constantly oscillating, cutting away land in one direction and adding it in another. For a series of years one bank is gradually cut away and the other added to, and then for another series of years the opposite process goes on.

The census of 1881 showed an increase in all parts of the district, especially in the Dulai thana, where it was probably due to alluvion. Then came the fever epidemic in the south-west of the district and during the early part of the next decade there was a very heavy mortality. The Padma cut away its northern bank and spread over the country, leaving in many parts a deposit of sand that effectually checked cultivation. At the same time the Jamuna washed away a considerable area in the Mathura thana. The result was that at the end of the decade the population of the head-quarters subdivision was less by 1·1 per cent. than it was at the beginning. In Serajganj none of these adverse conditions prevailed and the population grew by 8·3 per cent.

136. During the decade that has just passed the circumstances have been very similar to those of the previous ten years. The south-western part of the district has been uniformly unhealthy and the vital statistics show an excess of deaths over births in every thana. In Serajganj, on the contrary, the public health has been good and in every thana, except Raiganj, where the figures approach equality, the births greatly exceed the deaths. In the head-quarters the process of erosion is still going on. The Padma has caused some further diluvion in Dulai and a considerable portion of Mathura has been cut away by the Jamuna and thrown up on its opposite bank in the Dacca and Mymensingh districts. Owing to the difficulty of defining a village with precision, it is impossible to lay very much stress on variations in the number of inhabited villages, but it is none the less significant that in this thana the number has fallen since 1891 from 257 to 216. Further north the river has been making amends for these ravages, and in the Shahzadpur and Serajganj thanas extensive *chars* have been formed which are now sufficiently high to admit of cultivation and permanent habitation. The crops have been good in most years of the decade, especially in Serajganj. In 1897 there was a partial crop failure, but the only tract at all seriously affected was a small strip of about 70 square miles between Sara and Pabna with a population of 35,000. Test works were opened, but the demand for employment was very trifling and no regular relief works were found necessary.



137. The outcome of the above conditions is a net gain of 4·3 in the

THANA.	POPULA- TION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,420,461</b>	<b>+ 4·3</b>	<b>+ 5·9</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>585,749</b>	<b>- 2·1</b>	<b>- 1·1</b>
Dulai ...	170,882	- 7·3	+ 0·9
Pabna ...	197,973	+ 6·3	- 1·8
Mathura ...	88,244	- 6·3	- 8·0
Chatmohar ...	129,350	- 3·8	+ 0·9
<b>Serajganj Subdivision</b> ...	<b>833,712</b>	<b>+ 9·4</b>	<b>+ 8·3</b>
Serajganj ...	254,189	+ 10·0	+ 8·0
Shahadpur ...	201,896	+ 3·8	+ 9·2
Raiganj ...	110,308	+ 11·6	+ 7·1
Ulapara ...	107,268	+ 7·2	+ 5·1

sufficiently accounted for. In Serajganj the greatest development has taken place in Raiganj where the so-called Bunas are at work clearing jungle. The immigration of Santáls and other aboriginal tribes has not greatly increased since last census, and as the number of births only slightly exceeds the number of deaths, it is probable that there has been a movement to this thana of ordinary cultivators from other parts of the district to take up land

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	702,358	711,065	677,252	683,971
Immigrants ...	34,158	14,882	37,710	15,790
Emigrants ...	30,917	24,388	43,216	27,977
Natural population ...	715,150	720,571	685,738	696,188

1891, and it is not probable that the movements that have taken place during the decade have had much effect on the population. The losses on the one side would seem to have been nearly balanced by the gains on the other.

138. The Mahánandá river flows through Malda from north to south and divides it into two nearly equal parts which present very different characteristics. West of the river

#### MALDA.

the soil is alluvial and comparatively low and a great deal of it has been subject to fluvial action in very recent times. The Ganges once washed the walls of Gaur, but it now flows sixteen miles further east. Except between Gaur and the Máhanandá where there are extensive undrained swamps, the land on this side of the Máhanandá is very fertile and admirably adapted for the cultivation of rice, mulberry and the celebrated Malda mangoes. The eastern half of the district lies in the Báring, and has a high undulating surface and a stiff clay soil. It once bore a dense population, but is now very thinly inhabited and is covered with thorny tree-jungle locally known as *káldi*. It is well suited to the growth of winter rice and it is now being rapidly opened out in the manner already described in the case of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra. Towards the south, in Nawabganj, the land becomes alluvial and here, as in the other portions of the district bordering on the Ganges, the cultivable area varies according to the trend of the river.

Between 1872 and 1881 there was an increase of 5·0 in the district population. Nawabganj, Kharba and Ratua showed a rapid expansion, but the southern half of the tract west of the Mahánandá was found to contain fewer inhabitants than it had done at the earlier of the two enumerations. This was attributed to the prevalence of malarial fevers during the latter half of the decade. During the next ten years the district prospered greatly. The opening out of the Báring thanas by Santáls which had barely commenced in 1876,\* made great strides, especially in Gajol and Old Malda. There was also a great growth of population along the south of the district which was attributed to the advent of Musalman cultivators from Murshidabad, on the other side of the Ganges. Since 1891 the general health of the

\* In the Statistic Account of Malda, which was issued in this year, it is stated that "some efforts are being made to reclaim the borders of the jungle. But little progress, however, has been made, for the ravages of wild beasts of all kinds cause great devastation, and the population is both scanty and unprogressive."



district has not been satisfactory. Cholera was rife in several years, and in 1900 there was a specially bad outbreak in English Bazar. Malarial fever generally breaks out on the cessation of the rains, and in six years out of the last ten the district has been amongst the six with the greatest reported mortality from fever; in 1899 it headed the list with a recorded fever mortality of 44·7 per 1,000. In spite of this, the vital statistics for the last nine years show an excess of births over deaths of nearly 20,000. The crops on the whole have been good and there has been no famine. The cultivation of

THANAS.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1901-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>884,030</b>	<b>+ 8·5</b>	<b>+ 14·5</b>
Gumastapur	61,316	+ 6·6	+ 7·0
English Bazar	94,449	- 0·2	+ 13·5
Nawabganj	78,393	- 1·6	+ 12·3
Kaliachak	143,201	+ 14·2	+ 12·0
Sibganj	127,906	+ 11·2	+ 12·5
Kharba	70,810	+ 10·4	+ 8·5
Batua	68,743	+ 7·8	+ 33·0
Tulsihatta	49,134	+ 3	(a)
Old Malda	72,348	+ 22·9	+ 15·2
Gajol	79,776	+ 25·0	+ 17·6
Manikchak	47,955	- 1·2	(b)

(a) Included in Kharba.

(b) Included in Batua.

jute is extending, and the agricultural community is well off.

139. The increase in the population during the decade has been 8·5 per cent. The thanas that have grown most are Old Malda and Gajol in the Báring where Santáls are still settling in large numbers. In 1891 there were 19,457 immigrants from the Sonthal Parganas, and there are now no less than 42,575. The number of Santáls in the district is 52,126, compared with 20,989 ten years ago. There were then only 7,369 female immigrants and there are now 21,180. In spite of the great development that has taken place during the last twenty years, these two thanas are still the most sparsely inhabited in the district, and unless something unforeseen happens, they will probably continue to grow rapidly for many years to come. The next most progressive thanas are Kaliachak and Sibganj in the south-west of the district where new *chars* have attracted a number of Muhammadan cultivators from English Bazar and Nawabganj and from Murshidabad on the other side of the river. English Bazar shows a considerable decrease which is attributed partly to declining trade, partly to unhealthiness, including several outbreaks of cholera, and partly to migration to the adjoining thanas. The slight falling off in Manikchak and Nawabganj is due probably to diluvion. Since 1891 the immigrants have increased from 86,124 to 97,887, while the number of emigrants has fallen from 32,699 to 26,764. If allowance be made for deaths amongst the migrants enumerated in 1891 the district would appear to owe considerably more than half of its total increase of population to immigration, and the amount to natural growth is probably not quite 4 per cent.

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	497,839	446,391	369,917	415,093
Immigrants	55,070	42,517	40,793	36,331
Emigrants	13,220	12,644	16,845	15,854
Natural population	365,769	417,118	366,669	394,328

140. The Kuch Bihar State is a lowlying waterlogged plain, the whole of which has at one time or another been subject to fluvial action. Major Colvin, the Superintendent of the State, says:—

“It is intersected by several large rivers, but except in the cold weather when they are at their lowest, it is impossible to get any fall from the surrounding country to the rivers. Even in the cold weather the fall to the bed level of the rivers is very small, and any attempt to cut drainage channels to the rivers would lead in the rains to an inundation rather than to the drainage of the area they might be constructed to serve. The State generally is in fact hopelessly waterlogged. In the rains it is not uncommon to see the walls overflowing. .... There can be no doubt as to the general unhealthiness of the State.”

The census of 1881 disclosed a gain of 13·1 per cent., but much of this seems to have been owing to improved methods of enumeration. The census of 1872 was taken by the Settlement Department and was spread over more than three months. Ten years later there was a loss of 3·9 per cent., due mainly to the unhealthiness of the climate, and, to a smaller extent, to emigration. The only thana that showed an increase was Fulbari in the north-east of the State. There was a severe epidemic of cholera in 1891, and fever has always been



present. The condition of the people in other respects is satisfactory. They get three crops a year, and if one falls short, they have the others to fall back upon. There was scarcity in 1892 and 1897, but it did not amount to famine, and in other years the outturn has usually been good. The opening of the Kuch Bihar State Railway and the Bengal-Duars Railway has done much to develop the resources of the country and has greatly facilitated the disposal of produce of all kinds.

141. If only the climate were more salubrious, a rapid expansion might be expected, but, as matters stand, the unhealthiness of the climate has more than counterbalanced the productiveness of the soil, and the recent census

Thanas.	Population 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>STATE TOTAL</b>	<b>566,974</b>	<b>-2.05</b>	<b>-3.9</b>
Kotwali	121,609	-4.4	-4.0
Dinhat	141,900	-2.0	-5.5
Mekliganj	50,203	-1.0	-2.2
Haldibari	37,641	+0.9	-1.7
Mathabhanga	146,183	-0.5	-0.7
Fulbari	78,438	-1.5	+3.7

quarters thana, where it is due not only

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	301,382	265,592	308,427	276,411
Immigrants	27,284	16,203	27,000	19,219
Emigrants	16,761	15,789	24,002	21,159
Natural population	290,259	264,415	290,420	278,201

persons. These variations which have occurred are therefore due mainly to natural causes.

142. Sikkim has been described as the catchment area of the head-waters of the Tista. It lies between the Singilela and the Chola Ranges, and is bounded on the west by Nepal,

#### SIKKIM.

on the north and north-east by Tibet, on the south-east by Bhotan, and on the south by the district of Darjeeling. By the treaty of Titalya in 1817, the independence of Sikkim, which the Gurkhas had begun to menace was guaranteed, and the settlement of Nepalese in Sikkim was thus prevented from that date until 1889. In the latter year the aggression of the Tibetans led to a war which was succeeded by the more active intervention of the British Government. A Political Officer was appointed; communications were greatly improved by the construction of roads and bridges, and the settlement of Nepalese was permitted in certain parts of the State. These measures were followed by a rapid development of the country. Settlers from Nepal flocked in and the land revenue, which was Rs. 29,294 in 1891, rose to Rs. 61,879 ten years later. The census of 1891 indicated a total population of 30,458, and this has now grown to 59,014, an increase of 93.7 per cent. The enumeration of 1891, following as it did so soon after the introduction of British methods of administration, was admittedly incomplete, and some of the increase must be

CASTE OR TRIBE.	TOTAL NUMBER IN—	
	1901.	1891.
Khambo	9,569	3,953
Limbu*	5,356	3,356
Murmi	3,267	2,867
Gurung	4,503	2,031
Khas	8,200	820
Kami	2,438	1,070
Magar	2,443	901
Newar	1,618	729
Damal	838	287

\* The Limbus are natives of Sikkim as well as of Nepal, but they are shown in this category as their increase is probably due mainly to immigration from the other side of the boundary.

ascribed to the greater accuracy of the present census. The two main indigenous castes, Lepchas and Bhotias, now number 7,982 and 8,184 (including 7,253 Sikkim-Bhotias), as compared with 5,762 and 4,894, respectively, in 1891. The climate is good; there have been no serious epidemics; the people have been prosperous, and they are naturally very prolific, the crowds of children being a very striking feature of every Sikkim hamlet. But even so, it is impossible that these tribes should have developed to the extent the above figures would indicate in the short space of ten years. The bulk of the total increase, however, is in the immigrant population. Of the total inhabitants, no fewer than 22,720 or 38.5 per cent. were born in Nepal. There was no return of birthplace in this State in 1891,



but there can be no doubt that the majority of these immigrants must have come in since that year. The caste return at that census was very rough, but a comparison of the figures for some of the main Nepalese castes shows how greatly they have increased in number. There is still a great quantity of waste land fit for cultivation, and it is probable that for many years to come the population will continue to grow at a very rapid rate.

### EAST BENGAL.

143. The Dacca district is one of the most favourably situated in Bengal.

Dacca.

Lying between the Jamuna and the Megna, and, watered by numerous other streams, it is blest with a pure and abundant supply of water. The greater part of the district lies low and is flooded every year; but after the rains the flood water is drained off, and leaves the land enriched with a thick deposit of silt, while in the absence of large stagnant marshes it is very free from malaria. Jute is very extensively grown and yields a handsome profit to the cultivators. North of Dacca, towards the Mymensingh border, the character of the country changes. The surface rises and becomes undulating, and a stiff clay takes the place of the alluvium. This part of the district is still somewhat sparsely populated, but it is now rapidly being opened out by various Mongoloid tribes: the main crop here is the winter rice and, unlike other parts of the district,

its success is dependent solely on the rainfall. More than three-fifths of the people are Musalmans, who are hardier and more prolific than their Hindu neighbours. A large proportion of the population derives a livelihood from fishing in the great rivers which adjoin the district, and boatmen from Dacca are to be found on every waterway in the Province. The Bikrampur pargana in Munshiganj, where Ballála Sena once held his Court, is the great home of many respectable and well-to-do families, and its sons are to be found all over Bengal and Assam, holding appointments under Government or in private service, or practising as pleaders in the courts. The jute industry attracts numerous natives of Bihar and the United

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1891.	1891-1901.	1891-1907.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ... ..	<b>9,649,532</b>	<b>+10·6</b>	<b>+14·3</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ... ..	<b>881,517</b>	<b>+11·4</b>	<b>+13·8</b>
Kotwali ... ..	93,082	+ 12·0	+ 4·3
Keraniganj ... ..	296,801	+ 10·7	+ 13·7
Kapasia ... ..	174,425	+ 22·3	+ 18·0
Nawabganj ... ..	170,866	+ 9·1	+ 9·7
Sabha ... ..	235,964	+ 13·7	+ 15·3
<b>Narayanganj Subdivision</b> ... ..	<b>660,712</b>	<b>+15·0</b>	<b>+22·0</b>
Narayanganj ... ..	167,803	+ 14·2	+ 33·3
Rajpura ... ..	270,487	+ 15·7	+ 18·0
Rupganj ... ..	222,822	+ 14·0	+ 20·1
<b>Munshiganj Subdivision</b> ... ..	<b>638,351</b>	<b>+ 9·9</b>	<b>+16·7</b>
Munshiganj ... ..	300,008	+ 10·2	+ 20·2
Silimgar ... ..	337,769	+ 9·3	+ 13·7
<b>Moulviganj Subdivision</b> ... ..	<b>468,942</b>	<b>+ 4·5</b>	<b>+ 4·6</b>
Moulviganj ... ..	207,772	+ 2·9	+ 8·4
Sesloo Aircha ... ..	159,929	+ 7·6	+ 3·4
Harirampur ... ..	101,240	+ 1·1	...

Provinces, and many of the domestic servants, street coolies, palki-bearers, &c., also come from up-country.

144. In these circumstances a rapid growth of the population is but natural. In 1881, and again in 1891, an increase of more than 14 per cent. was recorded, and this has now been followed by a further gain of 10·6 per cent. The slight diminution in the rate of progress is not to be attributed to any falling-off in the prosperity of the people or in the healthiness of the district. The crops and the public health have alike been good during the decade; even in 1897 there was no crop failure, and the only sufferers were people with small fixed incomes who felt the pinch of the high prices caused by the famine in other parts of the Province. The riparian tracts are subject to changes by the action of the rivers, especially those on the Padma, in the manner described in paragraph 135. There is thus from time to time a considerable movement of the riparian population from one side of the river, where land has been diluviated, to the other, where new *chars* have been thrown up. Since 1891 the Padma has cut away a considerable area along the western boundary of the district, especially in Nawabganj and Harirampur, and has thus checked their growth. Moreover, the population in some parts is already so dense that further progress at the rapid rate which prevailed prior to 1891 is impossible. Munshiganj thana,



which showed an advance of 20·2 per cent. in 1891, has now grown by only 10·2 per cent., but even this rate of expansion is extraordinary, having regard to the fact that the thana has a density of 1,526 persons to the square mile. Narayanganj, with 1,362 persons to the square mile, has increased 14·3 by per cent., compared with 33·2 per cent. in 1891. The circumstances of Raipura, Rupganj, and Srinagar are very similar. The rate of increase is considerably less than in 1891, but even now it is very high, having regard to the great density of the population, which, in Srinagar, reaches the extraordinary average of 1,787 per square mile. In the part of the Manikganj subdivision, south and west of the Dhaleswari the quality of the land is said to be deteriorating.

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,312,417	1,597,105	1,187,730	1,307,601
Immigrants ...	66,767	29,638	68,903	31,938
Emigrants ...	94,846	34,846	80,508	27,966
Natural population ...	1,360,402	1,842,215	1,199,322	1,307,700

The district has also lost by migration. Immigrants now number only 85,399, compared with 101,841 ten years ago, while the number of emigrants has risen from 108,300 to 128,381. This would indicate a net loss of nearly 45,000 if the whole of the migration were of a permanent nature, but the great excess of male emigrants seems to indicate that the majority of them are only temporarily absent.

145. Until the beginning of the last century the main channel of the Brahmaputra flowed through the middle of the

Mymensingh. Mymensingh district, and although it now passes along the western boundary and the old Brahmaputra has shrunk to a mere fraction of its former volume, there is still a marked difference between the country on either bank. The people to the east of it resemble those of Sylhet in their dialect, social customs, and observances, while those to the west are like the inhabitants of Pabna, Faridpur and Dacca.\* To the east the country is intersected by marshes or *háors* where large herds of buffaloes are grazed in the cold weather. In the rains the whole country is submerged, except the crowded village sites which are artificially raised above the ordinary flood level. The general elevation of the country west of the old Brahmaputra is higher, and it contains a great part of the formation known as the Madhupur jungle, which

stretches northwards from the boundary of the Dacca district almost as far as the town of Mymensingh. The climate is generally salubrious, and the Durgapur thana at the foot of the Garo Hills alone has a bad reputation for its unhealthiness. The soil is rich and large areas are under jute, the most profitable of all the main crops. The great majority of the inhabitants are prolific Muhammadans. The census of 1881 showed an increase in the population of 29·9 per cent.; but a great deal of this must have been due to the inaccuracy of the enumeration of 1872. The next decade resulted in a further gain of 13·4 per cent. Since 1891 there has been no crop failure. In 1896 the rice crop was short, but this was compensated for by a good yield of jute. The public health has been fairly good.

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>5,915,068</b>	<b>+12·8</b>	<b>+13·6</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>977,476</b>	<b>+14·6</b>	<b>+14·6</b>
Nasirabad ...	364,753	+14·4	+10·4
Phulbari ...	110,947	+19·0	+26·0
Ghatarganon ...	162,454	+14·8	+19·1
Nandail ...	115,773	+9·2	+8·6
Iswarganj ...	160,840	+12·1	+17·7
Phulpur ...	163,650	+17·7	+22·1
<b>Netrakona Subdivision</b> ...	<b>574,771</b>	<b>+7·1</b>	<b>+11·3</b>
Netrakona ...	271,037	+8·6	+20·3
Kendua ...	189,421	+10·6	+9·2
Durgapur ...	114,313	+1·2	+0·6
<b>Jamalpur Subdivision</b> ...	<b>673,598</b>	<b>+16·1</b>	<b>+16·2</b>
Jamalpur ...	282,477	+15·0	+16·2
Nalita-bari ...	99,333	+10·0	+24·5
Idwanganj ...	145,167	+11·0	+29·0
Sherpur ...	146,609	+21·2	+1·6
<b>Tangail Subdivision</b> ...	<b>970,959</b>	<b>+12·9</b>	<b>+14·9</b>
Tangail ...	467,730	+10·6	+18·2
Kalibail ...	230,867	+10·4	+26·3
Goyalpur ...	271,702	+19·4	+4·4
<b>Kishoreganj Subdivision</b> ...	<b>719,194</b>	<b>+11·8</b>	<b>+11·1</b>
Kishoreganj ...	297,378	+10·1	+19·3
Katiadi ...	164,597	+11·0	+13·5
Bajitpur ...	257,219	+14·2	+9·4

Cholera was more prevalent than in the previous decade, and there was a comparatively high death-rate in 1895, 1899 and 1900, but even in these

\* Under the Muhammadans the tract west of the old Brahmaputra belonged to Sirkar Barua, which included also portions of Rajshahi, Bogra and Pabna, while that to the east of this river was included in Sirkar Silhat.



years the births outnumbered the deaths. The average of the returns for the decade shows a yearly excess of births over deaths amounting to 10 per 1,000.

146. The result of these favourable conditions is a further addition to the population, exceeding that of the preceding decade, though it represents a slightly smaller percentage of increase. The only tract which has not shared in the general advance is the swampy terai in Durgapur, the unhealthiness of which has already been alluded to. This thana was slightly decadent in 1891, and the small increase of 1881 appears to have been due to the inaccuracy of the previous census. The adjoining thanas in Sylhet are equally unhealthy. Further west the country at the foot of the Garo Hills seems less injurious to health, though it is more suited to the residence of people of Gáro origin than to that of the ordinary Bengali. The thanas in this tract all show a great development, especially Sherpur, which has a larger proportional increase than any other thana in the district. Then comes Gopalpur on the Padma, where the growth may be due partly to the formation of new *chars*, and then the sparsely populated thanas in the Madhupur jungle, Ghafargaon and Phulbaria, where the Koch Mande and other aboriginal tribes are pursuing their congenial task of converting the forest into cultivated fields.

There has been an increase of 13,020 immigrants, and of 5,785 emigrants since 1891. The former include

Population.	1891.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	2,614,863	1,990,953	1,755,616	1,683,570
Immigrants	22,760	22,559	76,793	28,207
Emigrants	45,971	34,504	43,577	31,203
Natural population	1,979,618	1,902,007	1,753,410	1,901,566

36,891 persons from the United Provinces, and 18,604 from the Patna Division. A large proportion of these are merely temporary visitors, employed in earth-work, palki-bearing, domestic service, and the like. They form their matrimonial connections in their

own country, and have no permanent effect upon the population of the district. The net gain by migration since 1891 has been less than 17,000 and forms an inappreciable proportion of the total variation in the population.

147. The whole of Faridpur is an alluvial formation. To the north

#### FARIDPUR.

and east the land is comparatively high, but in the south the whole country is one vast marsh intersected by strips of high land along the banks of the numerous rivers that once flowed through the tract. The inhabitants are mostly Chandáls (Namasudras), who build their houses on the river banks or on mounds from twelve to twenty feet in height laboriously thrown up during the dry months when the water disappears. The main crops are jute and a long-stemmed variety of winter rice which grows as the flood increases and will thrive in any depth of water provided that it does not rise too suddenly. Subject to this condition the higher the water rises the better; the silt deposit is proportionately increased, the sewage and other impurities which collect in the cold weather are more completely removed, and there is less difficulty in obtaining potable water during the winter months. These marshes are slowly but steadily being silted up, and a constantly growing area is being reclaimed for cultivation. The Padma forms the northern and north-eastern boundary of the district and here changes are constantly taking place. Sometimes large areas are diluviated, while at other times extensive accretions are formed. In recent years accretions have been the order of the day, and several thanas, notably Sibchar and Bhangs, are believed to possess an area considerably in excess of that with which they are credited in the records of the Survey Department. The western boundary is formed by the Gorai and its continuation, the Madhumati, which affords an outlet for much of the water brought down by the Padma during the early part of the monsoon, when the comparatively high level of the Brahmaputra prevents an exit by the ordinary channel. The population has been growing steadily since the time of the first census. "The material condition of the people" says the Magistrate, Mr. K. C. De, "is very good. Wealth is very equally distributed, and there are no very rich or very poor people. The majority live by cultivation or by fishing. The land is very fertile and yields rich harvests with very little toil. The rivers and other inland waters are richly stocked with fish and it would be a very abnormal state of things that could cause a famine."



The health of the district does not appear to be so satisfactory as its material condition. Malarial fever is prevalent especially in the north-western thanas. The years 1892, 1899 and 1900 were very unhealthy, particularly 1900, when special steps were taken to afford medical aid to the sufferers. In the district as a whole the vital statistics indicate an excess of 61,144 births over deaths, but in the Goalundo subdivision and the Bhushana thana the deaths outnumbered the births by 32,709.

148. The census of 1901 shows a net increase of 6·2 per cent., but this

THANA.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,937,646</b>	<b>+ 6·2</b>	<b>+ 9·9</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>712,296</b>	<b>+ 6·8</b>	<b>+ 6·6</b>
Faridpur	106,459	+ 9·6	+ 5·5
Bhanga	214,064	+ 13·9	+ 11·4
Maksudpur	191,801	+ 8·8	+ 13·4
Awanpur	104,171	+ 3·3	+ 2·6
Bhushana	95,545	- 6·5	- 4·9
<b>Goalundo Subdivision</b>	<b>319,283</b>	<b>- 9·2</b>	<b>+ 9·0</b>
Goalundo	120,226	- 5·3	+ 18·9
Balakandi	88,532	- 9·4	+ 50·2
Pangsa	110,525	- 11·9	- 15·8
<b>Madaripur Subdivision</b>	<b>906,133</b>	<b>+ 19·5</b>	<b>+ 13·0</b>
Madaripur	218,345	+ 12·8	+ 16·6
Palang	220,819	- 1·2	+ 8·8
Sibchar	180,840	+ 38·9	+ 12·9
Gopalganj	110,837	+ 14·3	+ 13·4
Kotalipara	91,228	+ 15·9	+ 19·5

is the outcome of very different figures for the various thanas. The north-western part of the district, including the whole of the Goalundo subdivision and Bhushana thana in the head-quarters subdivision, which marches with the decadent thanas of Kumarkhali in Nadia and Magura and Muhammadpur in Jessore, has lost heavily, and Awanpur which adjoins this area is practically stationary. The decrease in the Bhushana thana has been continuous since 1872. Pangsa showed an increase in 1881, but in 1891 it lost more than it had gained in the previous decade. In Goalundo thana the decline is to some extent apparent only, the popu-

lation having been swollen at the time of the previous census by a great number of pilgrims from the districts further east who had visited Calcutta for the Ardhodaya Yoga and happened to be at Goalundo on their way home on the date when the census was taken. There is another decadent tract in the Palang thana to the west of the Madaripur subdivision which has also suffered much from malarial fever. The decrease would here have been greater but for the additions to its area owing to alluvion. The other thanas in Madaripur all show a great increase due, in the case of Sibchar, to new settlements on alluvial accretions, and in the rest of the subdivision, to the natural growth of the population. The climate is here more healthy, the inhabitants are prolific, the soil is fertile and the gradual reclamation of the swamps still affords ample room for expansion. Trade also is developing, and the boat traffic with Calcutta now passes this way, and not, as formerly, by channels further north. The increase in the Bhanga and Faridpur thanas, like that in Sibchar, is probably due in part to immigration to new *chars*.

149. The total number of immigrants is about the same as in 1891, but

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	970,164	967,482	908,594	917,121
Immigrants	44,473	28,970	41,687	31,065
Emigrants	54,190	21,020	43,807	23,712
Natural population	977,081	969,292	925,764	914,189

the number of females is nearly 5,000 less, which seems to indicate a considerable decrease in the number of permanent settlers from other districts. It must however be remembered that many of the foreign-born enumerated in the district in 1891 were pilgrims on

their way home from the Ardhodaya Yoga, amongst whom the females far outnumbered the males. The number of emigrants, both male and female, is far smaller than it was ten years ago. The district may have gained slightly by the movements of the people during the decade, but not sufficiently to materially affect the variation in the population which has taken place. By far the greater part of increase must be ascribed to natural causes.

150. Khulna was formed into a district in 1882. Prior to that date the

#### KHULNA.

head-quarters and Bagerhat subdivisions belonged to Jessore, and Satkhira to the 24-Parganas. The northern part of the Satkhira subdivision is a densely populated tract, resembling in its general physical characteristics the adjoining thanas of Jessore; the drainage is bad and there are numerous swamps, and malaria is always present. The other northern thanas are also lowlying, and *bils* are large and numerous,



but the country is more open and there is less jungle, while the stagnant pools and tanks, which are so common in North Satkhira, are rarely to be seen. In these thanas there is still room for expansion and much of the *bil* land is capable of reclamation. The southern thanas include large areas in the Sundarban forests where there is an immense quantity of fertile land awaiting the axe and the plough. The jungle is steadily being pushed back, and every year more land is being brought under cultivation. A great deal of the work of reclamation is carried out by persons whose permanent homes are elsewhere, but the number of regular settlers is gradually growing. The only thanas which showed a decrease between 1872 and 1881 were the Sundarban thanas, Asasuni and Morellganj, for which the sale of the Morell Estate, which led to the abandonment of many of the clearances, was held responsible. During the next ten years both thanas recovered their losses and there was a general advance throughout the district, save only in Kalaroa and Baitaghata, where there was a slight falling-off, which was attributed by the Magistrate to the fact that the population had reached the limit which the soil was capable of supporting.

The health of the people during the decade ending in March 1901 has

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,255,943</b>	<b>+ 6.4</b>	<b>+ 9.0</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>401,735</b>	<b>+ 17.7</b>	<b>+ 10.0</b>
Khulna ...	153,009	+ 8.4	+ 11.5
Dumuria ...	82,268	+ 4.1	+ 6.3
Baitaghata ...	40,659	+ 9.3	- 1.2
Paikgachha ...	124,809	+ 30.7	+ 18.2
<b>Bagerhat Subdivision</b> ...	<b>363,041</b>	<b>+ 6.6</b>	<b>+ 15.3</b>
Bagerhat ...	155,009	+ 2.8	+ 10.1
Mollabhat ...	82,460	+ 5.6	+ 17.1
Rampal ...	61,637	+ 19.7	+ 11.8
Morellganj ...	63,135	+ 15.4	+ 18.1
<b>Satkhira Subdivision</b> ...	<b>489,217</b>	<b>- 1.5</b>	<b>+ 5.7</b>
Satkhira ...	101,819	- 1.7	+ 7.3
Kalaroa ...	71,743	- 10.1	- 2.0
Mugura ...	91,536	+ .3	+ 10.7
Asasuni ...	55,327	- 11.9	+ 14.6
Kaliganj ...	105,102	+ 6.1	+ 2.3

cally confined to two thanas, Kalaroa and Asasuni. In Kalaroa it is due to the prevalence of malaria and to repeated attacks of fever. In this thana the vital statistics show a considerable excess of deaths over births, while in the district at large the number of births reported exceeds that of the deaths. There has also been some emigration to the clearances in the Sundarbans where there is a great demand for labour, and wages are two or three times as high as in Kalaroa. Asasuni, which also shows a large decrease, has a very fluctuating population. The cause of the falling-off has not been clearly ascertained. For some reason the extension of cultivation in the Sundarbans is proceeding far more slowly in this subdivision and in Bagerhat than in the adjoining thanas of the 24-Parganas, and of the Khulna head-quarters sub-

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	680,470	509,373	617,951	489,071
Immigrants ...	43,097	32,020	31,523	23,997
Emigrants ...	14,668	11,815	13,765	19,580
Natural population ...	628,841	469,568	573,963	446,288

division. Satkhira itself, which shows a slight decline, has suffered from the diversion of the boat traffic between Calcutta and East Bengal to channels further south; the health of the people has also been unsatisfactory. The growth of the Bagerhat subdivision is normal and calls for no special comment. Cultivation is being steadily extended into the shallow *bils* which form so marked a feature of this part of Bengal. In the district head-quarters the most noticeable item in the statistics is the increase in the population of Paikgachha thana which has grown by nearly 50 per cent. during the decade. This is owing to the

not been specially good, but no serious epidemics have been reported. The crops were short in 1896 and 1897 owing to drought, and in 1900 a great part of the winter rice was destroyed by the disastrous down-pour in September of that year. The cultivators, however, seem on the whole to have been fairly prosperous.

151. The census of 1901 shows that the population has grown by 8.4 per cent., compared with 9 per cent. in the previous decade, and 3.1 per cent. in the nine years prior to 1881. This is the net result of an increase of 17.7 per cent. in the head-quarters subdivision, and of 6.6 in Bagerhat, coupled with a falling-off of 1.5 per cent. in Satkhira. In the latter sub-

division again the decrease is practi-



progress made in pushing back the jungles of the Sundarbans, and to the settlement of cultivators on the new clearances, which attract cultivators not only from other parts of the district, but also from Nadia, Jessore, Faridpur and other districts. The total number of immigrants has fallen off considerably since 1891 but they are more numerous by nearly 27,000 than they would have been, had no fresh settlers come in to the district. Taking the ebb and flow together, the district seems to have gained by the movements of the population during the decade to the extent of from 20,000 to 25,000 persons. It should be noted, however, that many of the Sundarbans cultivators are not permanent settlers, but continue to reside in their old homes and only visit the Sundarbans when ploughing or harvesting operations are in progress.

152. Backergunge lying between the Haringhátá and the Megná is an unmistakable part of the true delta, and its surface nowhere rises much above high water-mark.

#### BACKERGUNGE.

The whole district is intersected by innumerable rivers and water-channels, whose banks, being comparatively high, are lined with village sites. To the north the country is full of low swamps like those of South Faridpur, where the Namasudras live an almost amphibious life; here much land is still too low to be cultivable, but the process of reclamation is steadily going on as fresh deposits of silt gradually replace water by mud. To the south there are extensive areas of waste land covered with forest, part of which has never yet been brought under the plough, while part was formerly cultivated, but was devastated by the Maghs during the early part of the 18th century. At the present time cultivation in this direction is being rapidly extended, chiefly by Muhammadans, who are constantly throwing out new colonies further and further into the jungle.

Between these two tracts, the marshy swamps on the north and the Sundarban forests in the south, a strip of comparatively high land intervenes which has been longer settled. The population has here attained a density that does not permit of further rapid growth, save only in the east, in the Bhola and Barmuddin thanas, where the effects of Magh incursions have not yet altogether passed away, and there are still considerable stretches of cultivable waste land. The main crop is the long-stemmed winter rice. The land is everywhere most fertile and owing to the extensive areas of waste and the independent character of the cultivators, especially of those who are Muhammadans, they have succeeded in making very favourable terms with their landlords. They are thus exceptionally prosperous even for this part of Bengal. Thanks to the strong winds of the south-west monsoon, fever is far less prevalent than further inland. The water-supply, however, is bad during the winter months and epidemics of cholera are not uncommon.

153. The district is most fortunately situated in every way but one; it is peculiarly exposed to the devastating effects of cyclones, and from time to time, when an exceptionally strong south wind happens to coincide with the bore or tidal wave which sweeps up the Megná at the time of the full and the new moon, storm-waves break over the country, drowning men and cattle and destroying crops and houses. Nor is the harm done by these storm-waves confined to the immediate loss which they cause. The inrush of salt-water renders the water of the rivers undrinkable and the people have resort to stagnant tanks and *bils*. This and exposure inevitably lead to disastrous epidemics of cholera and other diseases. The worst of the recent calamities of this nature was in 1876, when a tidal wave submerged a great part of the district to a depth of from 10 to 45 feet. Nearly 74,000 persons in the Backergunge district alone were drowned, and the cholera epidemic which followed carried off nearly 50,000 more. The census of 1881 showed a nominal increase, but it seems probable that this was due to the inaccuracy of the previous census, and that there had in reality been a considerable loss of population. During the next decade the district made a rapid recovery and added 13·3 per cent. to its population. The increase was enormous in Galachipa, Barmuddin and other thanas that had suffered most seriously from the storm-wave. By 1891, therefore, it may be said that the district had fully recovered from the disaster of 1876.

During the last decade the crops have been uniformly good, but there have been three cyclones, in October 1893, October 1895, and June 1898,



which though not in any way comparable to the terrible disaster of 1876, did a considerable amount of damage, especially in the Bhola and Barmuiddin thanas, where they were accompanied by floods of salt-water. These cyclones were followed as usual by epidemic diseases, but in spite of this the average reported birth-rate was nearly 43 per 1,000 compared with a death-rate of rather less than 37. The decade, in the district as a whole, may therefore be held to have been fairly healthy, but some parts suffered from fever, especially the Bauphal and Matbari Police Circles; in the former the reported deaths exceeded, and in the latter they very nearly equalled, the births.

154. The census of 1901 shows a net gain of 6·4 per cent., or

THANA.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>2,291,752</b>	<b>+6·4</b>	<b>+13·3</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision.</b> ...	<b>945,567</b>	<b>+7·5</b>	<b>+7·9</b>
Barisal ...	143,873	+7·7	+8·1
Gournadi ...	238,034	+14·5	+13·9
Mobiltiganj ...	160,675	+8·2	+7·9
Jhalakati ...	171,184	+6·3	+14·0
Nalchiti ...	80,400	+2·5	-9·7
Backergunge ...	140,595	+2·1	+3·1
<b>Pirojpur Subdivision</b>	<b>553,494</b>	<b>+6·5</b>	<b>+16·2</b>
Pirojpur ...	130,536	+5·9	+5·8
Sarupkati ...	300,113	+13·7	+13·9
Matbari ...	114,106	-4·3	+24·3
Bhandaria ...	102,301	+8·0	+29·2
<b>Patuakhali Subdivision.</b>	<b>522,658</b>	<b>+5·2</b>	<b>+16·4</b>
Patuakhali ...	127,383	+1·4	+11·9
Bauphal ...	110,583	-8·4	+16·8
Amtali ...	124,030	+11·3	+15·4
Galachipa ...	60,162	+13·8	+33·9
<b>Dakhin Shahbazpur Subdivision.</b>	<b>270,233</b>	<b>+4·6</b>	<b>+21·7</b>
Bhola ...	150,485	+4·3	+17·2
Barmuiddin ...	119,748	+5·0	+25·1

almost exactly the same as that indicated by the vital statistics of the district. There has been a decline in the Matbaria thana which has suffered from fever, but the other two Sundarban thanas—Amtali and Galachipa—have grown rapidly, as also have the *bil* thanas, Gournadi and Sarupkati. The remaining thanas all show a fair rate of increase, with the exception of Nalchiti, Backergunge, Patuakhali, and Bauphal in the centre of the district, the population of which is almost stationary. This appears to be due, to a great extent to migration to the waste lands in the north and south of the district, and, in Bauphal to a high rate of mortality. The eastern thanas in the Dakhin Shahbazpur subdivision would doubtless have shown a much greater increase

but for the damage done by cyclones.

There has been a considerable falling-off in the number of female

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,173,903	1,115,849	1,104,443	1,049,522
Immigrants ...	51,985	5,690	51,735	15,588
Emigrants ...	24,535	14,477	20,173	15,058
Natural population ...	1,149,353	1,131,462	1,081,901	1,031,592

immigrants, while amongst emigrants the decline is chiefly in the number of males who have left the district. The immigrants greatly outnumber the emigrants, but this is due to a large excess of males who, when not accompanied by females, are usually only temporary settlers. So far as

permanent migration is concerned, the balance seems to be against the district, and the natural increase of the population is probably somewhat greater than the variation in the actual population would indicate.

155. The Noakhali district comprises a tract of mainland, the whole of

#### NOAKHALI.

which, with the exception of a narrow strip in the extreme east, where it borders on Hill Tippera, is low-lying alluvium, and several islands in the mouth of the Megná, the largest of which are Sandip and Hatiya. The houses are built, as in many other parts of East Bengal, on mounds of earth. Each house stands in the middle of its occupant's fruit trees and cultivation, and there are few of the crowded village sites so common further west. The district is still being added to by alluvion, and though parts are occasionally washed away, its area is steadily growing. The Megná, which once flowed past the town of Noakhali has now receded to a distance of more than eight miles. The country is intersected by numerous water channels. The soil is an alluvial clay and is extraordinarily fertile; as long ago as 1625 the island of Sandip was described by Sir Thomas Herbert as "one of the fairest and most fruitful spots in all India." It is estimated that in normal years the district produces twice the quantity of rice required for local consumption. Large quantities of betel-nuts and cocoanuts are also grown for export. The health of the people is generally fair, but the water-supply is very inferior; it is usually derived from the shallow tanks or



ditches from which earth has been taken to raise the land on which the houses are constructed. The district is liable, like Backergunge, to inundation from the bores or tidal waves which sweep up the Megná at the full and new moon, especially at the time of the equinox, and when assisted by a strong south wind occasionally submerge the islands and considerable areas on the main land. Noakhali suffered even more than Backergunge from the bore of 1876; its recorded decrease of 2·3 per cent. between 1872 and 1881 probably represents only a small portion of the actual loss of population, but even according to the census figures the islands of Hatiya lost a quarter and Sandip a sixth of its inhabitants. During the next ten years, everything was favourable to a rapid increase of the population, and the census of 1891 showed an increase of 23·0 per cent., which was wholly due to natural growth, a remarkable instance of the way in which a community can recover from the effects of a catastrophe of the kind without any assistance from outside, and a proof that in some way or other, positive or preventive checks on the growth of population in India, operate to a far greater extent than is usually imagined. It is possible that to some extent the deaths from drowning and disease occurred mainly amongst the old and feeble, i.e., the part of the population whose share in the reproductive process was already at an end, and whose loss would be noticeable only for the few years which would otherwise have elapsed before their decease. But other causes also must have operated. It is often the case that a severe epidemic is followed by a cycle of healthy years when the death-rate is much below normal. Moreover the great reduction in the population must have relaxed the pressure on the land, thereby enabling young men to set up separate establishments at an earlier date and encouraging the Muhammadans, who comprise three quarters of the population, to accept in their harems the widows of their deceased neighbours, who in leaner years would have remained unappropriated and infertile.

156. During the last ten years the crops have been uniformly good and communications have been greatly improved. As stated by the Magistrate, Mr. Cargill:—

The district has rapidly advanced in the scale of civilisation during the decade. Telegraphic communication to Noakhali has been introduced. Roads have been improved. Steamer communication has been opened up between various parts of the district and Backergunge. The Assam-Bengal Railway, which runs through the east of the district, has been constructed. These improved communications have facilitated exports and the standard of living has thus been raised. An ordinary raiyat wearing a shirt and a pair of shoes with an umbrella over his head, is a common sight.

The district was visited in 1893 by a cyclone which destroyed a fifth of the rice crop and up-rooted nearly half the betelnut trees. The loss caused by the destruction of these valuable trees has not yet been made good, but in other respects the people soon recovered from their losses.

The health of the district is said to be deteriorating, but this conclusion seems to be based on the gradually growing number of deaths reported by the police, which in 1900 reached a ratio of 42·1 per 1,000 calculated on the population of 1891. The gradual increase, however, seems attributable rather to improved reporting and, if the ratio be calculated as it should be, on the population of 1901, it falls to 37·2 per 1,000, which, if correct, is considerably below the estimated actual death-rate in the province as a whole. That the reporting is now very accurate seems to be proved by the extraordinary number of births shown in the return for 1900 which represent a ratio of 59·3 per 1,000 on the population of 1891 or 52·3 on that of the present census.

157. The growth of the population during the last decade has been 13·1 per cent., and the whole of this has been due to natural development.

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	508,777	572,351	508,777	500,960
Immigrants	10,775	8,889	10,775	7,741
Emigrants	26,130	7,444	21,409	2,636
Natural population	584,141	571,427	519,390	500,940

The volume of migration has not varied to any great extent, and so far as it goes, the balance is against the district. The amount of permanent movement to and from the district is about equal, but amongst temporary migrants the number of persons born in Noakhali who were absent from the district was far greater than that of



persons born elsewhere who were found there at the time of the census; it was also considerably in excess of the corresponding number in 1891. The fact already alluded to, viz., that three quarters of the inhabitants are Muhammadans is no doubt largely accountable for the continued rapid growth of the population. An examination of the details reveals a decrease only in one thana, Companyganj, where the Megná, or Bamni as it is here called, has cut away a considerable area of land, and has caused many people to move to other parts of the district. The increase is moderate in Sudharam where there has probably been some diluvion, and in the eastern thana, Chhagalnaia; it is somewhat greater in Fenny and in the islands of Sandip and Hatiya, and is greatest of all in the north-west of the district, in the Beganganj, Ramganj and Lakhmipur thanas. These thanas escaped the cyclone of 1893; their climate is particularly good, and they adjoin the thanas in the Tippera district where the greatest development in that rapidly growing district has taken place. They have also benefited by the great expansion in jute cultivation

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,141,738</b>	<b>+13.1</b>	<b>+23.0</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>622,891</b>	<b>+14.4</b>	<b>+24.2</b>
Sudharam	130,942	+ 8%	+ 18.7
Companyganj (old thana Bamni).	45,168	- 8.1	+ 17.7
Lakhmipur	108,820	+ 18.0	+ 23.3
Beganganj	180,000	+ 18.8	+ 24.0
Ramganj	110,073	+ 20.4	+ 23.0
Sandip	115,137	+ 14.0	+ 39.3
Hatiya	65,390	+ 12.3	+ 22.4
<b>Fenny Subdivision</b> ...	<b>318,837</b>	<b>+ 9.7</b>	<b>+20.0</b>
Chhagalnaia	135,316	+ 8.9	+ 13.7
Fenny	183,521	+ 10.4	+ 26.4

which has taken place since 1891.

158. Tippera is bounded on the west by the Megná, and on the east by the native State of Hill Tippera. The greater part of the district is a low alluvial flat, with a light and somewhat sandy, but very fertile soil. Towards the eastern boundary the surface becomes undulating and gradually rises; the soil is here a deep alluvium, alternating with bands of clay and sand. The great majority of the inhabitants are Muhammadans, who are known to be more prolific than their Hindu neighbours. The district was still very sparsely inhabited at the time of the first census in 1872, but since that date it has enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity and its population has grown rapidly. Between 1872 and 1881, the increase was only 7.8 per cent., but during the next decade it rose to 17.8. The growth was greatest in the Chandpur subdivision, which added nearly 31 per cent. to its population in the course of the ten years, a result which was at the time thought impossible, in the absence of any marked immigration from outside, except on the hypothesis that the count of 1881 were defective.

Since 1891 the harvests have been good in seven years, poor in two, 1895 and 1896, and bad in one, 1893, when heavy floods destroyed a great part of the crop and drowned many cattle, and relief works on a small scale were found necessary. The peasantry soon recovered from this temporary calamity, and they are now, says the Magistrate, as prosperous as any in India. The construction of the Assam-Bengal Railway, which traverses the district from north to south and has a branch running westwards through the southern part of the district to Chandpur on the Megná, has greatly improved the communications, and has assisted in the rapid development of the jute trade, which is the other main feature of the decade. The Civil Surgeon reports that the health of the people has not been satisfactory, but here, as elsewhere, the gradual rise in the reported death-rate appears to be due to the greater accuracy of the vital statistics rather than to a growing unhealthiness. And even now the reported death-rate is extraordinarily low, that in 1900 being at the rate of only 28 per 1,000 of the population according to the present census. The recorded birth-rate in the same year was 39.4 per 1,000. According to the returns, the net excess of births over deaths during the nine years preceding the year 901 was 215,933.

159. The actual increase as shown by the census is 335,056, or 18.8 per cent. This great development has taken place entirely through the procreative capacity of the people living in the district without any aid from migration. The number of immigrants slightly exceeds that of emigrants,



but whereas the former stand at almost the same figure as in 1891, the latter have increased by more than 10,000. The number of women, and therefore of permanent migrants, is also considerably greater amongst those who have left the district than amongst the new arrivals. As on previous occasions the growth is greatest in the south

of the district and the Chandpur subdivision now possesses considerably more than twice as many inhabitants as it had in the year 1872. The rapid spread of jute cultivation, the formation of new accretions along the bank of the Megná, and the development of trade in Chandpur town account in part for the exceptionally rapid rate of progress in the Chandpur thana.

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	1,053,949	1,033,093	911,790	871,130
Immigrants ...	27,005	19,657	57,005	18,697
Emigrants ...	30,367	25,162	26,196	15,802
Natural population ...	1,079,587	1,037,587	900,633	871,531

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATIONS.	
		1901.	1891—1901. 1891—1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>2,117,991</b>	<b>+18.8</b>	<b>+17.8</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>957,699</b>	<b>+16.6</b>	<b>+16.7</b>
Comilla ...	177,458	+ 13.4	+ 13.3
Daudkandi ...	296,414	+ 19.3	+ 20.7
Moradnagar ...	204,715	+ 15.7	+ 16.1
Chandina ...	110,707	+ 18.6	+ 18.5
Chaudagram ...	133,558	+ 14.5	+ 13.1
Lakshmi ...	124,547	+ 19.7	+ 19.0
<b>Brahmanbaria Subdivision</b> ...	<b>677,084</b>	<b>+14.7</b>	<b>+11.9</b>
Brahmanbaria ...	300,904	+ 14.4	+ 11.2
Kasba ...	143,638	+ 12.9	+ 11.5
Nabinagar ...	232,542	+ 16.3	+ 13.6
<b>Chandpur Subdivision</b> ...	<b>483,208</b>	<b>+30.0</b>	<b>+30.8</b>
Chandpur ...	202,944	+ 30.3	+ 33.6
Matlab Bazar ...	135,654	+ 28.9	+ 34.3
Hajiganj ...	144,610	+ 26.8	+ 22.5

room for further expansion. In view of the fact that the present rate of progress has been continuous since 1872, too much stress cannot be laid on the improvement of communications during the decade, and the main reason for the increase which has taken place is doubtless the fact that the tract is very fertile and is capable of supporting a much larger population than it possessed in 1872, and that it has enjoyed great prosperity unbroken by any serious crop failure or wave of unhealthiness. To the east and north of this area of maximum development the rate of growth gradually diminishes. It is least in Comilla and the thanas to the north of it which adjoin the Hill Tippera boundary. This is the oldest part of the district; there is less room for further expansion, the soil is not so well adapted to the cultivation of jute, and there is a tendency to migrate to Hill Tippera where a considerable amount of cultivation is already carried on by persons resident in the adjacent parts of the Tippera district. It seems probable also that there has been some migration from these thanas to those in the south of the district.

160. Chittagong differs from the portions of Eastern Bengal hitherto dealt

#### CHITTAGONG.

with in that it is not, in the main, alluvial. It consists of a long narrow strip of coast, valleys and low ranges of hills, lying between the Bay of Bengal and the Hill Tracts. Its average breadth is about 15 miles and its length about 165 miles. The general trend of the hills is north and south. The islands of Maskhal and Kutubdia, a small tract opposite to them in the centre of the district and a very narrow line along the coast are the only parts of the district where the soil is alluvial. The people generally are prosperous. They get two crops of rice yearly and building materials are cheap and easily procurable. The poorer classes obtain remunerative employment in Arakan during the paddy harvest when they earn a rupee a day. The south of the district is occupied largely by Maghs who took refuge there in the latter years of the 18th century after the conquest of Arakan by the Burmese. In Chittagong town the climate is feverish, but in most parts of the district it is fairly healthy. As in Noakhali and Backergunge so also in the alluvial part of Chittagong, the great scourge of the country are the inundations of sea water which occasionally take place. The tidal wave of 1876 afflicted Chittagong almost as much as Backergunge and the



census of 1881 would have disclosed a decrease of population but for the omissions that took place in 1872. The next ten years were healthy and prosperous and a considerable increase of population was recorded in 1891.

In the earlier years of the last decade the crops and the public health were good, but in 1896 and 1897 the outturn of rice was considerably below the average. The opening of the Assam-Bengal Railway not only vastly improved the local communications but also gave a great stimulus to the development of the Port of Chittagong, which has now become the natural harbour for South Assam and a great part of Eastern Bengal.

161. But on the 24th October 1897 the district was devastated by a cyclone worse than any that it had suffered from since 1876. The hurricane reached its maximum intensity in the small hours of the night when a series of storm waves swept over the islands of Kutubdia and Maskhal and the villages on the mainland near the coast, drowning many thousands of men and cattle, sweeping away homesteads and destroying the standing crops. The loss of life by drowning alone was estimated at 14,000 souls. But this was by no means all. The district had suffered from two bad seasons and the total loss of the rice crop in the tracts chiefly affected caused intense distress. The houses in which the people lived had been blown down and where the storm waves had passed, the very materials had disappeared. In his report on the disaster, the Magistrate says that in some places, only the stumps of broken fruit trees and, here and there, the remnants of the posts of houses remained to show that a village had ever existed. Active relief operations were taken in hand immediately and it is believed that there was no direct loss of life from starvation. But want and exposure must have lowered the general health and rendered the people liable to the attacks of disease. The country was covered with corpses of men and animals and the water-supply was polluted. Cholera broke out with appalling intensity, and in Kutubdia alone it was estimated that 1,300 persons, or more than 11 per cent. of the population, died during the epidemic. The total number of deaths from cholera in the district in 1897 and 1898 aggregated 21,001 against 4,234 in the two preceding, and 1,340 in the two following, years. The excess over the average of these two periods or about 18,000 deaths may not unreasonably be ascribed to the effects of the cyclone.

To fully appreciate the effect of this catastrophe on the population of the affected tracts it is necessary not only to compare the figures for the recent census with those for 1891 but also to note the progress made during the previous decade. These tracts form the most fertile part of the district and in 1891 the Maskhal thana, which includes the island of that name and Kutubdia, showed an increase of 29·5 per cent. Banskhal increased by 25·4 and Chakaria by 20·3 per cent. It may be assumed that, but for the cyclone, an equally rapid rate of progress would have occurred between 1891 and 1901. Maskhal however shows a decrease of 7·3 per cent. and the other two thanas are practically stationary. The difference between their present population and that which they would have attained if they had continued to grow at the same pace as in the previous decade is about 54,000. The whole of this difference

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,355,250</b>	<b>+4·9</b>	<b>+15·9</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>1,153,081</b>	<b>+4·6</b>	<b>+13·5</b>
Chittagong	90,340	+10·8	+10·8
Mirpur	102,209	+0·3	+21·8
Shakund	74,048	+0·0	+16·0
Haithbari	64,571	+5·8	+0·1
Phatikchhari	112,308	+2·4	+4·7
Raojan	164,501	+2·0	+13·0
Patiya	231,575	+7·1	+14·5
Satkania	126,613	-1·1	+7·3
Banskhal	128,165	+0·3	+25·4
<b>Cox's Bazar Subdivision</b>	<b>200,169</b>	<b>+6·5</b>	<b>+16·8</b>
Cox's Bazar	75,900	+0·0	+10·2
Maskhal	34,901	-7·3	+20·3
Chakaria	47,288	+1·5	+20·3
Teknaf	45,000	+21·3	+13·3

may be laid to the account of the cyclone. There has been some loss in other thanas also, due partly to damages caused by the cyclone and partly to subsequent emigration to Kutubdia and Maskhal which has concealed to some extent the true extent of the loss sustained by the latter tracts. It is probably to these causes that the decline in the population of the Satkania thana must be ascribed.

162. The net increase during the decade in the district as a whole is 63,083 or 4·9 per cent. It seems probable that this is only about half of that which would have taken place but for this disastrous

cyclone. The greatest growth has occurred in the thanas along the coast which



escaped the brunt of the cyclone, *vis.*, Teknaf and Cox's Bazar in the south, and Chittagong, Sitakund and Mirsarai in the north. The two former are still very sparsely inhabited. In the three latter, the soil is more fertile and there is a much smaller proportion of uncultivated waste than in the inland thanas, and they are now traversed by the railway.

There is very little immigration to Chittagong and the emigration which takes

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ... ..	641,308	711,858	615,508	674,800
Immigrants ... ..	7,029	4,310	7,824	3,879
Emigrants ... ..	88,804	20,233	78,093	24,087
Natural Population ... ..	729,533	737,761	680,077	684,514

place is to a great extent of a temporary character. Such emigrants are mostly men who leave their wives in Chittagong and go for a few months to Arakan to cut paddy or serve as laskars on steamers. Owing to the poor rice crop in 1900-1901, the number of these tem-

porary emigrants was greater than usual from Satkania thana which furnishes the greater number of these harvest labourers. The number of females amongst the Chittagonians enumerated elsewhere, however, shows that there is also a good deal of permanent emigration, especially to Arakan, where nearly 14,000 of the total number were found. Most of these are Maghs, whose ancestors sought refuge in the district a century ago and who are now gradually finding their way back to their old home. The Magistrate reports that a number of families left the district to settle permanently in Arakan after the cyclone of 1897. The net loss by the movements of the people during the decade would be about 37,000 if all were permanent migrants, but as so many of them are only temporary, the real loss is much less, possibly not more than from 20,000 to 25,000.

163. The Chittagong Hill Tracts lie to the east and north-east of the

#### CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.

regulation district of Chittagong of which they formed part until 1860. The greater part of the country consists of hills and ravines covered with dense tree-jungle. The main rivers are the Karnaphuli, Sangu, and Mamori. The inhabitants are Maghs, Chákmás, Tiparas, and Kukis. They build their houses on bamboo platforms raised ten feet from the ground, and cultivate on the *jhum* system; that is to say, they make clearances in the jungle, and when the trees and undergrowth they have cut down become sufficiently dry, they burn them; then after the ground has been softened by rain, they dibble in seeds of rice, cotton, maize, melons, and yams, all mixed together. The ashes of the trees furnish a rich manure, and the cultivator thus obtains a bountiful return from the various seeds sown. After one or two years, cultivation becomes impossible on account of the choking weeds that spring up, and the cultivator moves on to a fresh clearance. The district is divided into three circles, each under its own chief or rájá,—the Bohmong in the south, the Chákmá in the centre and north, and the Mong in the north-west. The Chákmá Circle is inhabited mainly by Chákmás, the Bohmong by Maghs, and the Mong by Tiparas. The settlement of the Maghs dates from the Burmese occupation of Arakan, rather more than a century ago. During the decade preceding the census of 1891 the district showed a net gain of 5·2 per cent. There was a great decrease in the Mong Circle, and a still greater increase in the Bohmong, whither many families had migrated from the Mong Circle, but the differences are so great that it seems doubtful if the areas of the two circles were the same on both occasions. The Chákmá Circle showed an increase of 6·6 per cent.

164. Since 1891 the history of the district has been quiet and uneventful.

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901, 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ... ..	<b>194,762</b>	<b>+16·3</b>	<b>+ 5·3</b>
Chakma ... ..	45,780	+ 7·1	+ 8·5
Mong ... ..	31,895	+ 40·4	- 47·3
Bohmong ... ..	44,075	+ 12·9	+ 88·3

The crops have been good, there have been no widespread epidemics, and the population has grown rapidly, especially that of the Bohmong Circle in the south, where the increase exceeds 40 per cent. This is due probably to migration from other circles or to differences in the dividing line as drawn at the two enumerations. The district lost about

1,500 persons by the adjustment of the Lushai boundary in 1893. But for this the net increase would have been 17·7 per cent. This is due entirely to natural



development, coupled perhaps with a more accurate enumeration. The number of immigrants is slightly less than in 1891. On both occasions males greatly preponderated over females; many of the former were temporary visitors who had come to cut timber in the forests or to serve in the local police force. The emigrants are slightly more numerous than they were ten years ago, but even now their number is very small. Two-thirds of the total number were found in Hill

Tippera. Thirty years ago there was a considerable movement from that State to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, but since then the pendulum seems to have swung in the other direction, and the present tendency is to leave these hills and settle in Hill Tippera.

165. The State of Hill Tippera comprises several ranges of low hills running from north to south and the narrow valleys between them. The country, covered for the most part with dense jungle, resembles very closely the Chittagong Hill

Thanas.	Population 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE.	
		1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>173,328</b>	<b>+26.1</b>	<b>+43.8</b>
Agartala ...	65,615	Not available.	
Belonia ...	27,343		
Bonamara ...	39,329		
Kailashpur ...	30,673		
Khawal ...	19,295		
Dharmagram ...	19,170		

Towards the north the valleys become wider, and along the northern and western boundary there is a strip of comparatively low, level land very similar to the adjoining parts of Noakhali and plains of Tippera. In the hills the *jhum* system of cultivation prevails, but in the lowlands the plough is used and the land is held permanently. Here cultivation is rapidly extending, and the waste land is being

brought under cultivation by immigrants from British territory, including, it is said, absconding coolies from the tea gardens of Sylhet. The census of 1872 was very inaccurate, and in 1881 also it is doubtful if a complete count was obtained. In 1891 the arrangements were less elaborate than in British territory, and less information was asked for but it is probable that so far as the bare numbers are concerned, the enumeration was very fairly accurate. On the present occasion the full schedule was used and the procedure differed but little from that laid down in the Census Code for Bengal. The increase of 43.8 per cent. recorded in 1891 was probably due, to a considerable extent, to the greater accuracy of the census in that year. The increase of 26.1 per cent. now recorded appears to be due mainly to the growing immigration from the neighbouring districts of Sylhet, Tippera, Chittagong, Noakhali and the Chittagong Hill

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	92,495	80,830	71,596	63,840
Immigrants ...	24,898	19,902	19,923	14,095
Emigrants ...	88	84	904	811
Natural population ...	67,745	61,228	50,769	48,934

Tracts. With a death-rate of 40 per 1,000 per annum, the total number of new settlers requisite to fill death vacancies in the foreign-born population of 1891 would be rather more than 13,000, and about the same number would be required to raise their strength to the number now returned. This leaves 10,000 or rather more than 7 per cent. to be accounted for by the natural growth of the population.

### SOUTH BIHAR.

166. The Patna district stretches along the southern bank of the Ganges. Except in the extreme south the land is a dead level and the soil alluvial. It is watered by various rivers, and practically the whole area is under cultivation; the western part is irrigated by the Sone Canals. Before the era of railways the trade followed the course of the Ganges, and its banks are lined



with towns that once thrived on the river traffic, but the trade has now been diverted and the towns are decadent. Twenty years ago the agricultural population had apparently already reached the limit which the land could support, and in 1891 the increase recorded was purely nominal. During the last decade the conditions were normal up to 1900. There was a heavy mortality in 1892, 1894 and 1896, but in other years the public health was fairly good, and the crops were on the whole satisfactory. There was a short outturn in several years, notably in 1891 and 1896, but even in the latter year, though the landless classes suffered from the prevalent high prices, the district escaped the stress of famine. The recorded births during the eight years 1892—1899 inclusive exceeded the deaths by 22,762, and but for the plague, which appeared in epidemic form in January 1900, there is no reason why the district should not have at least maintained its position.

But the plague wrought terrible havoc. It broke out in January 1900, and in the course of that month the number of reported deaths was 2,127. The recorded mortality rose to 4,461 in February and 8,486 in March. In April the epidemic began to subside, and only 3,229 deaths were reported. During the next few months the disease was comparatively quiescent, but on the advent of the cold weather it again began to assume serious dimensions. In November 814 deaths were recorded, and in December 2,886. The total reported mortality from plague during the year was 23,022. The deaths from all causes aggregated 86,996, and exceeded the births by 17,946. In January and February 1901 the epidemic continued to grow in virulence, and 11,510 deaths from plague were reported. The epidemic was at its height at the time when the census was taken. The inhabitants were in a wild state of alarm. Most of the people whose homes were in other districts had fled, and wherever the disease broke out, those who did not go away altogether removed *en masse* to temporary sheds in their fields. Even if the census staff had escaped the general panic and the ravages of the disease, the work of enumerating a population that was constantly on the move would have been a very difficult task. But they did not escape. Many of them were stricken, and many fled, often at the last moment when it was next to impossible to replace them and to prepare afresh the preliminary record, which as often as not had disappeared. Everything possible was done to overcome these difficulties, and in the places where the epidemic was worst, the census was taken in the day time instead of at night. At the same time it cannot be contended that the enumeration was as accurate as it would otherwise have been, and it is inevitable that some of the people who were absent from their own houses must have been left out of account.

167. The net result of the census was a decrease of 148,425, or 8·4 per cent.

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ... ..	804,583	839,402	868,028	905,394
Immigrants ... ..	32,382	50,178	57,408	78,024
Emigrants ... ..	73,982	68,334	78,717	69,327
Natural population ... ..	46,305	838,358	863,278	864,657

The decline was greatest amongst immigrants, who were fewer by 53,052, or 36 per cent., than at the previous census. It may be assumed that this result was entirely due to the plague scare which caused many of these temporary settlers to return to their homes. There does not

appear to have been any great exodus of the district-born and the number of such persons who were enumerated in other districts was almost the same as in 1891. After allowing for the loss due to the absence of a great part of the foreign-born population there is still a net decrease of 95,373 to be accounted for. For this it would seem, the plague is mainly to blame. There is no doubt that the general tendency in Bihar is to a diminished rate of reproduction, and it will be shown in another chapter that the proportion of children is slowly, but steadily, falling. But the fact remains that, until the plague epidemic, the vital statistics showed a slight excess of births over deaths, and even if we allow for deaths in other districts amongst the large number of Patna people who seek work elsewhere during the dry season, it is not likely that the total number of deaths would greatly exceed that of births. To what extent this decrease of more than 95,000 is to be ascribed to actual mortality, and how far it was due



to omissions from the Census Record, it is impossible to say. The total reported mortality from plague was less than 35,000, but a very great number of deaths must have occurred which were not included in the returns. The people feared the remedies that it was sought to apply almost as much as they did the plague itself, and it was often found that plague had been raging for

weeks in villages where no deaths had been notified. The reporting agency moreover suffered as much as the general population and, apart from wilful suppression, the reporting must often have been very incomplete, owing to the general disorganisation from which the district administration suffered. It is probable that at least half the plague deaths escaped notice, but even so, it must apparently be admitted that some 25,000 persons were omitted from the census returns.

The thanas which show the greatest decadence are all, with two exceptions, on the bank of the Ganges or the Sone. The greatest falling-off is in Malsalami, Fatua and Mokameh. The only inland police circles where there has been a marked decline are Masaudhi Buzurg and Chandi. Excluding Chandi, the Bihar subdivision, as a

Thanas.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATIONS.	
		1901.	1901-1901. 1881-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,624,385</b>	<b>- 5.4</b>	<b>+ 0.9</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>504,666</b>	<b>- 13.7</b>	<b>+ 0.7</b>
Pirbabor ...	27,053	+ 7.1	+ 4.0
Sultanpur ...	1,744	- 0.3	+ 11.1
Alamganj ...	25,322	- 14.5	- 4.7
Khwaja Kalan ...	36,000	- 10.0	+ 2.7
Chauk Kalan ...	23,619	- 10.7	- 12.0
Malsalami ...	27,741	- 20.3	- 3.6
Phulwari ...	60,830	- 0.0	+ 3.9
Bikram ...	163,612	- 0.4	...
Masaudhi Buzurg ...	100,228	- 11.4	+ 2.3
<b>Dinapore Subdivision</b> ...	<b>152,085</b>	<b>- 11.4</b>	<b>+ 6.6</b>
Dinapore ...	61,982	- 11.3	+ 6.6
Maner ...	97,103	- 11.6	- 3.4
<b>Barh Subdivision</b> ...	<b>565,327</b>	<b>- 10.5</b>	<b>+ 8.5</b>
Barh ...	105,820	- 4.4	+ 3.5
Fatua ...	72,000	- 18.7	+ 1.4
Mokameh ...	60,800	- 15.1	+ 21.6
<b>Bihar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>608,907</b>	<b>- 0.9</b>	<b>- 5.1</b>
Bihar ...	265,068	+ 0.8	- 6.7
Hilsa ...	90,629	+ 3.7	- 0.9
Chandi ...	70,765	- 8.5	...
Jalampur or Athasaria ...	70,482	- 3.5	+ 3.1
Nilso ...	88,964	- 1.0	- 1.6

whole, shows a slight increase. These variations follow very closely the course of the plague epidemic, and the greatest decline has occurred in the thanas where plague was most virulent.

168. Prior to 1865 the northern part of Gaya formed, with the south of Patna, the old district of Bihâr, while the southern part constituted, with part of Hazaribagh, the *zila* Ramgarh. The characteristics of the two tracts are quite distinct. The northern part, which extends southwards to about 10 miles beyond Gaya town, is fairly level, but has a slope sufficient to enable the water to be collected in reservoirs, which the people construct themselves and from which they irrigate their fields. In the west a considerable area is irrigated from the Sone Canals. The soil is fertile and the population is fairly dense. The southern part which still bears the name of Ramgarh, is imperfectly irrigated, the surface is more elevated, and the soil is comparatively barren; the population is here sparse and a great part of the area is still covered with forest. The proportion of landless labourers in Gaya is somewhat high, and many eke out their local earnings by working as coolies in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal Proper during the dry months.

The population is not progressive. Between 1872 and 1881 there was an increase of 9.1 per cent., but much of this must have been due to better enumeration. The following decade showed an increase of only 0.6 per cent. This was explained partly by the unhealthiness that had prevailed and partly by the loss sustained by migration. Since 1891 the conditions have on the whole been unfavourable. During the earlier years fever was very prevalent, and in 1892 and 1894 the number of reported deaths exceeded that of the births. Later on

there seems to have been less fever, but in 1897 a severe outbreak of cholera again caused the deaths to exceed the births. Taken as a whole, the births during the nine years ending with 1900, exceeded the reported deaths by about 60,000, but it must be borne in mind that a considerable proportion of the district population is absent for several months in

Population.	1901.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,011,271	1,018,002	1,040,011	1,060,320
Immigrants ...	18,575	27,229	21,715	32,220
Emigrants ...	96,530	74,339	114,349	108,536
Natural population ...	1,008,936	1,008,302	1,157,046	1,167,304

considerable proportion of the district population is absent for several months in



the year, and if the deaths that occur amongst them while away from home, which are registered in other districts, be added to those recorded in Gaya, the total number would equal, if it did not surpass, the recorded excess of births over deaths. There was scarcity in 1891-92 owing to the failure of the winter-rice and spring crops, and again in 1896-97, when the short outturn was aggravated by the high prices of food grains consequent on famine elsewhere. In the Nawada Subdivision, the Sakri river overflowed its banks in 1896, carrying away several villages and covering the land with a deposit of sand. The condition of the poorer classes during the decade has, on the whole, been unsatisfactory.

169. At the same time, but for the appearance of plague in the latter part of 1900, there seems no reason why the population of the district should have decreased, as it has done, by 3·7 per cent. The disease broke out in Gaya town in October and spread rapidly during the next four months. By the day of the census the recorded deaths from plague aggregated 3,775, and it is probable that the actual mortality was far greater. The people of villages where plague appeared left their homes and took refuge in temporary sheds constructed sometimes near and sometimes far away from the old village sites. The difficulties which the prevalence of the epidemic threw in the way of the census operations in the Patna district have already been described. The conclusion arrived at, which is applicable also to Gaya, was that the census results were affected in three ways; firstly, by a mortality far in excess of that indicated in the death returns, secondly, by the departure to their own homes of temporary settlers from other districts, and, thirdly, by an incomplete census, due partly to deaths and desertions amongst the census staff and partly to the failure to enumerate the whole of the panic-stricken fugitives from villages where plague had broken out. The loss due to the flight of natives of other districts may be taken as the difference between the present immigrant population of the district and that recorded ten years ago, or about 8,000. The rest of the decrease or about 70,000 must apparently be attributed partly to plague mortality and partly to a defective census in the plague-stricken parts of the district. The Magistrate, Mr. Oldham, points out that the Nawada Subdivision which was remarkably free from plague up to the date of census, shows an increase in every thana. As regards the extent to which the two factors mentioned have contributed to the falling off in the district-born population it is difficult to form any definite opinion. Mr. Oldham has gone into the subject with some fulness, and the following remarks are extracted from his report:—

"As soon as the first of the charge totals came in, the decrease attracted my attention. The very marked decrease in the case of the Tikari thana charge led me to seriously doubt the correctness of the figures reported, although I knew that plague had been particularly bad in that jurisdiction.

"I immediately ordered that all supervisors and enumerators were to be brought into Tikari with all schedules, both draft and final, and kept present from the morning of the 6th, when I would go out and inspect the books and examine the staff. As soon as the provisional district totals were despatched, I proceeded to Tikari and made a systematic inspection and enquiry. I found in this way that *more than eleven thousand persons* had in this jurisdiction alone left their houses since the preliminary record. We then proceeded to cross-question the enumerators, especially those in whose books the largest number of red ink cuttings had been made, as to each individual case. I read out each name that had been scored through and questioned the enumerator as to where the person had gone to. I found the enumerators were invariably able to give a satisfactory answer. The persons had either run away or had died of plague. When the person was reported to have fled to another village in the same jurisdiction, I got out the schedule book of that village, and made sure that he had been entered in red ink in that village. In this way we checked a large proportion of the red ink cuttings, and I was agreeably surprised to find the general care and precision with which the work had been done and the general accuracy of the books."

170. It would thus appear that the decrease was due more to the deaths that occurred than to the disorganisation of the arrangements, but where such large numbers of persons were on the move it seems impossible that all could have been accounted for by the census staff. Even without the complication of plague, absentees are more readily noticed than new arrivals, and the final revision on the night of the actual census tends to reduce slightly the real population. This tendency must be greatly exaggerated when



the absentees and new arrivals are exceptionally numerous, and when the people are overcome with fear and the enumerators are performing a thankless

Thanas.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>2,059,953</b>	<b>-3.7</b>	<b>+0.6</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>751,853</b>	<b>-9.7</b>	<b>-1.6</b>
Gaya ...	168,234	- 0.6	-10.9
Gaya Town ...	71,288	-11.3	+ 4.1
Tikari ...	148,181	-18.8	+ 4.3
Sherghati ...	182,023	- 1.4	- 1.3
Atari ...	105,309	-14.9	+27.9
Barachati ...	106,916	- 2.3	- 0.3
<b>Nawadah Subdivision</b> ...	<b>453,868</b>	<b>+3.2</b>	<b>-7.4</b>
Nawadah ...	296,609	+ 4.8	- 6.7
Rajauli ...	70,202	+ 0.5	-10.4
Pakribarwan ...	82,637	+ 1.0	- 7.9
<b>Aurangabad Subdivision</b> ...	<b>467,675</b>	<b>-1.0</b>	<b>+5.8</b>
Aurangabad ...	247,693	- 4.2	+ 8.1
Daudnagar ...	112,425	+ 6.1	+ 8.7
Nabinagar ...	107,467	- 0.6	+10.3
<b>Jahanabad Subdivision</b> ...	<b>386,535</b>	<b>-1.8</b>	<b>+2.2</b>
Jahanabad ...	267,870	- 3.9	- 1.6
Arwal ...	118,666	+ 3.2	+13.2

task under exceptional difficulties, and when many of them are new men, hastily appointed at the last moment, to replace others who have died or disappeared. When we turn to the statistics for individual thanas, the responsibility of the plague for the loss of population that has occurred becomes very apparent. Up to the date of the census the epidemic had wrought most havoc in Tikari, and this thana has sustained a loss of 19.8 per cent.; then come Atari, Gaya Town and Gaya thana, with decreases of 14.9, 11.3 and 6.5 respectively. The three thanas in the Nawadah Subdivision which escaped the epidemic all show a slight advance. The decadence in Ramgarh, i.e. in the southern thanas, is due partly to long continued general unhealthiness and partly

to emigration to the adjoining districts of Hazaribagh and Palamau. In Sherghati and Barachati the decrease has been continuous since 1881.

171. Shahabad, like Gaya, is divided into two distinct parts. The northern portion, comprising about three-fourths of the whole area, is a low-lying alluvial flat and is entirely under cultivation. It is extensively irrigated by canals and its crops are thus to a great extent protected from drought. The south of the district, comprising the greater part of the Bhabua and Sasaram thanas, is occupied by the Kaimur hills, an undulating plateau, unprotected by irrigation, and yielding poor and precarious crops. The population is here very sparse and much of the land is still covered with forest. The tenantry of Shahabad are sturdy and independent and enjoy a fixity of tenure which saves them from rack-renting. The proportion of landless labourers is small and the surplus inhabitants find ready employment in Bengal either in the police force or as peons and club-men under the zamindars; the district also supplies many recruits for the native army. The climate of the northern part of the district is said to be steadily deteriorating. There is no system of drainage and the surface is so flat and low that there is no outlet for the water which accumulates. The introduction of the canals is said to have raised the sub-soil water level and so encouraged malaria, but whether this be so or not, and the view is not supported by the results of recent research regarding the spread of malarial affections. The district has long been very unhealthy, and in 1891 a decrease was averted only by a large gain from migration. Fever began to make its ravages felt in 1879 and from that time the epidemic grew steadily worse until 1886, when the district was stigmatized as the worst in the whole province in respect of fever mortality.

172. During the last decade there has been no marked change in the condition of the people. There was a partial crop failure in 1896 but it resulted in famine only in the southern part of the district where irrigation affords no protection against deficient rainfall. Wages have risen, and the prices of food grains are higher than they were ten years ago. The district has maintained its reputation for unhealthiness. The worst year was 1894 when the recorded death-rate exceeded 53 per thousand and the mortality from fevers was greater than in any other district in the Province. From 1892 to 1900 inclusive, the vital statistics show an excess of deaths over births amounting to more than 25,000. It would probably be double this amount if allowance were made on account of the deaths registered in other parts of Bengal amongst the



natives of this district who were temporarily away from it. The district escaped the ravages of plague until shortly before the census, when it broke out in the head-quarters station. The number of deaths reported was small, but the alarm which the epidemic created sufficed to drive to their homes most of the temporary settlers from other districts

and the number of foreign-born males found in Shahabad at the time of the census was only 26,877 compared with 73,184 ten years previously. The movements of the population have resulted in a net loss to the district which is even greater than the figures would indicate, as there has been an emigration of 7,633 persons to the colonies, of whom the census necessarily took no count. Allowing for those who returned from the colonies, the net loss on this account may be placed at about 6,000.

173. The above adverse conditions have resulted in a decrease in the district population of 97,883 or 4·7 per cent.\* The falling off is most marked

THANA.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,962,696</b>	<b>- 4·7</b>	<b>+ 5·7</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>690,956</b>	<b>- 5·9</b>	<b>+ 8·5</b>
Arrah ...	314,168	- 9·4	+ 12·3
Shahpur (Belauti) ...	182,059	- 3·4	+ 1·5
Piara ...	197,729	- 1	+ 10·3
<b>Buxar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>416,704</b>	<b>- 5·0</b>	<b>+ 3·5</b>
Buxar ...	156,426	- 6·0	+ 2·0
Dumraon ...	260,278	- 3·4	+ 4·4
<b>Sasaram Subdivision</b> ...	<b>559,635</b>	<b>+ 1·2</b>	<b>+ 9·5</b>
Sasaram ...	166,350	+ 1·3	+ 5·3
Bikramganj ...	136,482	+ 2·3	+ 1·4
Dehri ...	90,167	+ 8·1	+ 5·7
Kharghar ...	90,736	- 6·6	- 1·0
<b>Bhabhua Subdivision</b> ...	<b>306,401</b>	<b>- 11·2</b>	<b>+ 6·8</b>
Bhabhua ...	105,758	- 8·0	+ 5·8
Mohania ...	140,673	- 13·7	+ 8·2

in the head-quarters subdivision, which borders on this tract and has also a plentiful supply of canal water, is practically stationary.

174. Rather more than a third of the Monghyr district is on the north bank of the Ganges, and is a low but fertile alluvial plain which supports a dense population and differs

but little from the adjoining portions of Darbhanga and Bhagalpur. The south of the district is also to a great extent alluvial, but the general level is higher and the surface is more undulating, and several ranges of hills, outliers of the Vindhyan series, enter the district from the south and gradually converge towards Monghyr town. The soil in the hilly tracts is comparatively barren and the inhabitants are few in number. Between 1872 and 1881 there was an increase of 8·5 per cent. in the population, and the next ten years showed a further advance of 3·3 per cent. The greatest gain was in the Beguserai subdivision. The north-eastern part of the Jamui subdivision, which had suffered a great deal from fever, lost heavily and the population of the subdivision as a whole was stationary.

During the last decade the public health has been fairly good, and in only two years, 1892 and 1894, did the deaths out-number the births. According to the returns the net excess of births during the nine years, 1892-1900, has been 126,872, but the Magistrate is of opinion that the reporting of the deaths of infants is very defective, and that the real difference between the birth and death rates is less than these figures would indicate. Plague broke out in January 1900, but subsided in May, only to reappear with renewed virulence in the ensuing cold weather. The total number of deaths from plague reported in 1900 was 2,052, and in the first two months of

\* All the districts of the United Provinces which adjoin Shahabad, viz., Mirzapur, Benares, Ghazipur and Ballia, show a heavy decrease.



1901 it was 2,433. As in other districts, so also in Monghyr, the disease was far more prevalent than the reports would indicate, and much of the mortality was concealed. The parts of the district which suffered most were Monghyr town and Shaikhpura Thana. The material condition of the people seems to have improved somewhat. The crops were short in 1891, especially in the northern part of the district, and relief works were opened for several months. In 1896-97 the people suffered from high prices consequent on famine elsewhere, but the crops were fairly good. In other years the general result of agricultural operations has been satisfactory, and the wages of ordinary labourers have risen by about 33 per cent.

175. The census of 1901 shows an increase of 32,783, or 1·6 per cent. The improvement is considerably less than the vital statistics would lead one to anticipate. Directly and indirectly, plague probably accounts for a loss of from 20 to 25 thousand persons, and in addition to this there is a large adverse balance on account of migration. Assuming all movements to and from the

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,011,380	1,057,224	967,072	1,043,040
Immigrants	37,294	48,545	42,517	35,797
Emigrants	98,544	67,670	105,221	89,097
Natural population	1,070,000	1,098,004	1,040,770	1,074,100

district to be of a permanent nature, it may be noted that the immigrants now number 86,069, or about 19,000 more than would have been the case had there been no new comers since the previous census, but the emigrants exceed by about 58,000 the estimated number of survivors amongst the emigrants of 1891. These figures indicate a net annual loss of about 4,500 persons. The whole of the migration however is not permanent and the real loss on this account in the decade may be roughly estimated at from 30,000 to 40,000 persons.

The fertile Begusarai subdivision, on the north of the Ganges, again

Thanas.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>2,068,804</b>	<b>+ 1·6</b>	<b>+ 3·3</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>874,611</b>	<b>+ ·4</b>	<b>+ 3·8</b>
Monghyr	129,084	- 0·3	+ 1·5
Gogri	305,913	+ 2·0	+ 4·0
Jamulpur	18,371	- 14·4	+ 0·4
Suraigarh	168,906	+ ·3	+ 1·3
Kharagpur	169,127	+ 0·8	+ 4·5
<b>Jamui Subdivision</b>	<b>551,227</b>	<b>- 0·5</b>	<b>+ 0·5</b>
Shaikhpura	181,897	- 7·3	- 1·3
Jamui	153,979	+ 8·8	+ 4·4
Sikandra	112,622	- 1·6	- 6·4
Chakai	122,729	+ 4·8	+ 7·0
<b>Begusarai Subdivision</b>	<b>642,966</b>	<b>+ 5·2</b>	<b>+ 5·9</b>
Begusarai	408,116	+ 3·7	+ 3·3
Tegra	234,850	+ 7·5	+ 7·9

shows the greatest growth of population. The head-quarters subdivision is stationary, owing mainly to the out-break of plague and the consequent mortality and confusion, but the removal of certain offices of the East Indian Railway from Jamalpur to Calcutta has also affected the population some extent. The only thana in this subdivision which shows a marked increase is Kharagpur, which at the time of the census harboured a considerable number of plague refugees from Monghyr. In the Jamui subdivision also, the population is practically stationary; the sparsely inhabited and hilly thanas in the south-east, Jamui and Chakai, continue to show steady development, while Shaikhpura and Sikandra, in the north-east, have lost ground. The decrease is specially marked in Shaikhpura, which adjoins the Mokameh Thana in Patna and, like it, has suffered greatly from the ravages of plague. Both Shaikhpura and Sikandra were decadent in 1891 also, when the prevalence of fever was blamed for the result.

#### NORTH BIHAR.

176. Saran is a fertile tract of rich alluvial soil lying between the Gogra and Ganges on the south, and the Gandak on the north and east. It is very densely populated and highly cultivated. It grows an unusual variety of crops, including opium and indigo. There is a great deal of irrigation, partly from canals but mainly from wells constructed by the cultivators themselves. The increase of 10·5 per cent. between 1872 and 1881 was attributed mainly to better enumeration and the same explanation was given of part of the increase of 7·4 per cent. during



the next decade. The district already contains a larger population than it can support and it sends its surplus inhabitants into every part of Bengal in search of employment. Most of them go only for a time and return home after intervals of one or two years. The improvement in railway communications has greatly facilitated their movements, and while on the one hand more people leave the district, on the other, they return home at more frequent intervals than formerly.\*

177. During the first half of the last decade the crops were fairly good, and the general condition of the people was satisfactory. The short rainfall of 1896 resulted in famine but, owing to the variety of crops grown, the district suffered less severely than its neighbours in North Bihar. The distress was greatest where the cultivation of rice predominated. The Gopalganj subdivision suffered most, but about two-thirds of the Siwan and half of the Sadar subdivision were also badly affected. Relief operations were commenced in November 1896 and continued for ten months, when the position was restored by a good *bhadoi* harvest (Indian corn and millets), and the prospect of a bumper crop of winter rice. The famine undoubtedly told severely on the people and there must necessarily have been some deaths amongst the aged and infirm owing to the want of proper nutrition, but it had no apparent effect on the reported death-rate for the district as a whole. The recorded mortality in 1897 was less by 11 per cent. than the average of the preceding three years. The birth-rate was also less, but only by 8 per cent. It may be argued that a diminution in both births and deaths points to defective reporting of vital occurrences in a season of special strain. But a reduction in the birth-rate, especially in the latter months of the year, would naturally result from the reduced vitality of the people. Moreover, defective reporting would reduce the returns for births and deaths in equal proportions so that even if it be assumed that the whole decrease in the birth-rate in 1897 was due to this cause, the fact remains that the deaths decreased in a greater proportion than the births, and that they were therefore really fewer in number than the average of the three previous years. Since the famine the harvests have again been good and by the time of the census the people had entirely recovered from its effects.

The decade was healthy up to 1899, when plague made its first appearance, and between 1892 and 1900 the reported births exceeded the deaths by 83,725.† The history of the plague is much the same as in Patna, but it was less widespread and the Gopalganj and Siwan subdivisions were very little affected. The disease assumed epidemic proportions during the cold weather of 1899-1900. It then gradually faded away, but appeared with renewed intensity in the succeeding cold weather. During the three months preceding the census 6,767 deaths from plague were recorded. The real number was doubtless far greater, and the epidemic had the usual effect of disorganising the arrangements for the census as already described in the case of Patna and Gaya.

178. There has been a loss of population during the decade of 57,968 persons or 2·2 per cent.‡ Owing to the unusual amount of emigration from this district it is very difficult to trace the causes of this most unsatisfactory result. At first sight it would seem that as immigrants have increased and emigrants have fallen off the district must have gained by the movements of the people, but this does not appear to be the case. There is of course no doubt that the district has gained by immigration. Just as prior to 1891 there had existed a

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,095,388	1,314,321	1,132,570	1,332,337
Immigrants ...	18,432	37,972	7,093	32,023
Emigrants ...	175,408	69,436	225,300	153,584
Natural Population ...	1,228,334	1,340,685	1,350,267	1,404,168

\* It is interesting to notice that the remittances by money order to the Saran district aggregated nearly 36 lakhs of rupees in 1900 compared with less than 17 lakhs in 1892-93. This may be due partly to an increasing use of the post office for the purpose of remitting money, but it must also be attributed in part to the larger number of Saran people who go elsewhere to earn a livelihood.

† From this excess at least half should be deducted on account of deaths amongst temporary emigrants registered in other districts.

‡ The neighbouring districts of the United Provinces—Ballia, Azamgarh and Gorakhpur—also show a loss of population.



strong flow of population from Saran to its neighbours, so during the last decade the tendency seems to have been in the other direction, especially in the case of the adjoining districts of the United Provinces, which have given 32,064 persons to Saran, compared with only 14,992 in 1891. But on the other hand, in spite of the superficial conclusion indicated by the figures, it seems equally clear that there has been an even greater loss by emigration. The decrease in the census figures occurs in the districts adjoining

District.	1891.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Shahabad ... ..	5,643	5,197	13,326	20,350
Muzaffarpur ... ..	7,991	9,646	7,900	6,000
Patna ... ..	4,181	4,741	7,634	10,884
Champaran ... ..	16,464	9,988	40,378	33,963
Gorakhpur ... ..	11,507	12,931	29,464	41,004
Balla ... ..	1,623	5,057	1,074	12,601
Azimgarh ... ..	157	177	27	242
Total ... ..	46,923	59,218	99,566	139,021

Saran where the migration may be held in the main to be of a permanent character. Prior to 1891, in addition to accidental migration due to marriage, there had evidently been a strong overflow of the surplus population of Saran into Champaran, Gorakhpur and Shahabad, where there was a greater quantity of land available for cultivation.\* Owing to bad crops and other causes the same

inducement for migration no longer exists and the movement has died out. The decrease in the number of Saran people now found in the adjoining districts seems to be due, not so much to these settlers having returned to their old homes, as to the fact that many of them have died since 1891, and their place has been taken by their children born in the districts to which they migrated. If so, it will appear that even in the case of Bihar districts there has been some loss by migration†, and in Bengal Proper, the emigrants from Saran now number 114,193 compared with 85,536 ten years ago. Another reason for the decline is that there has been a reduction in the birth-rate. This subject belongs properly to another chapter, but it may be noted here that there has been a marked falling off in Saran in the proportion of married people and also in the number of children brought into the world.

179. The net result of the last census is, as already stated, a decrease of

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>2,409,569</b>	<b>-5.2</b>	<b>+ 7.4</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>972,718</b>	<b>-5.5</b>	<b>+ 9.7</b>
Chapra ... ..	553,076	- 7.3	+ 5.9
Manjhi ... ..	159,660	- 3.4	+ 4.3
Parsa ... ..	233,208	- 4.9	+ 2.0
Mashrak ... ..	143,468	- 1.6	- 9.7
Sonpur ... ..	100,411	-10.3	- 6.1
<b>Gopalganj Subdivision</b>	<b>635,947</b>	<b>+ .1</b>	<b>+11.7</b>
Gopalganj ... ..	273,742	+ .3	+ 3.6
Mirganj ... ..	359,393	- .2	+ 10.9
<b>Siwan Subdivision</b> ...	<b>801,744</b>	<b>+ .2</b>	<b>+10.2</b>
Siwan ... ..	337,286	+ 1.1	+ 11.7
Darauli ... ..	230,820	- 2.3	+ 5.8
Basantpur... ..	233,638	+ 1.1	+ 14.0

the greater part of the decrease that has occurred in the southern part of the district.

180. In the east and south, Champaran closely resembles the adjoining districts; the land is level, fertile and highly cultivated, and the population is dense. Towards the north-west the surface becomes more undulating and gradually rises as the Nepal frontier is approached. The population is here sparse and cultivation gives

\* In the case of Champaran most of the immigrants took up land in the sparsely populated northern thanas, Bagaha, Shikarpur and Adapur. A similar movement within Saran itself was observed between 1881 and 1891 in the case of Mirganj, where the existence of more waste land there than in other parts of the district attracted settlers from other thanas.

† The decrease in the number of Saran-born persons enumerated in the Sonthal Parganas from 15,145 to 1,370 is probably fictitious. I have already had occasion to point out that the Sonthal Parganas return of birth-place in 1891 is untrustworthy. No less than 18,238 persons enumerated in the Sonthal-Parganas were shown as born in Gaya compared with 1,545 on the present occasion.



way to grassy plains and extensive tracts of forest, amongst which the scattered clearances of the aboriginal Tharus afford the only evidence of human occupation. The Gandak now forms the south-western boundary of the district, but it formerly flowed through the centre, along the course indicated on the maps as the Buri Gandak. The whole of the tract between the new and the Buri Gandak has been subject to fluvial action within comparatively recent times, and the soil is here light and sandy. On the other or north-eastern side of the Buri Gandak the prevailing soil is the *bhangar* or older alluvium, a stiff clay requiring irrigation, which is provided mainly from tanks and wells and by damming up the hill-streams. The rainfall in Champaran is heavier than in other Bihar districts, and the moisture of the atmosphere, the presence of numerous stagnant lakes formed in old river beds, and the proximity of the hills combine to give the district a far more unhealthy climate than any other part of Bihar. The census of 1881 showed an increase of population amounting to 19·5 per cent., due partly to improved enumeration and partly to immigration from the adjoining districts to the sparsely inhabited thanas in the north of the district. The next decade showed a further advance of 7·9 per cent., which was due mainly to a continuance of the stream of immigration; the total number of persons born elsewhere but censused in Champaran having reached the unprecedented number of 248,511.

181. Since 1891 the district has suffered from a succession of lean years. The harvest of winter-rice in 1891 and the spring crop of 1892 were poor and prices rose, causing the people to feel the pinch of scarcity. In 1892 the winter-rice crop was again below the average. The crops of 1893 and 1894 were fair, but they were followed by bad harvests in 1895, and the spring of 1896, and a general failure of the winter-rice crop in the autumn of that year. The general distress then deepened into famine. Practically the whole district was affected. The Dhaka thana suffered most of all, and next to that, the whole of the Bettiah subdivision, except a narrow strip on the banks of the Gandak. The relief operations were on a larger scale than in Saran, but their duration was about the same. The efforts of Government to save the people from starvation appear to have been successful, and the number of deaths reported was lower than the average of the three preceding years. The birth-rate fell in about the same ratio, but as already explained, a low birth-rate is a necessary sequel of a famine, and the number of births during the latter part at least of 1897 would naturally be below the normal. It follows that even if the reporting agency did their work less efficiently during the famine than at other times, there is no reason to suppose that there were more deaths in 1897 than in the average of the three preceding years. The death-rate which was low in 1897 was still lower in 1898 while, on the other hand, more births were reported in 1899 than in any other year since the registration of births was introduced. In 1898 and 1899 the people enjoyed better harvests, but it was not until the end of 1900 that their prosperity was generally restored.

It was reported in 1891 that the district was gradually losing its reputation for unhealthiness, but unfortunately the improvement has not been maintained. There have been frequent epidemics of cholera, and fever also has been very prevalent. In five of the nine years ending in 1900 the reported deaths have exceeded the births, and the net result is an excess of 1,059 deaths.\*

182. The census of 1891 shows a decrease of 69,002 persons, or 3·7 per cent.

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	885,607	904,550	934,125	923,530
Immigrants	25,047	51,734	140,928	107,219
Emigrants	16,443	19,631	40,800	19,285
Natural population	847,002	872,757	816,059	895,099

The result is directly attributable to the short crops and unhealthiness from which the district has suffered. Not only has the arrival of new settlers ceased, but it seems probable that if the figures for 1891 are correct many of those who were then in the district must since have returned to

their former homes. Even if a death-rate of 50 per 1,000 be allowed on account of the great unhealthiness of the decade, there would still be nearly 150,000 survivors from amongst the settlers enumerated in 1891 even if their ranks

\* The Magistrate thinks it probable that deaths due to epidemics of cholera are not fully reported.



had not been swelled by the arrival of any new comers. The actual number of immigrants, however, is now only 106,781.\*

Part of the decrease may be due to the return home of some of the immi-

THANA.	POPULA- TION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901. 1891-1901
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,790,463</b>	<b>- 3.7</b>	<b>+ 8.0</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>1,040,599</b>	<b>- 5.4</b>	<b>+ 7.8</b>
Motihari ...	173,474	- 8.6	+ 0.4
Gobindganj ...	157,971	- 11.3	+ 5.4
Kesaria ...	177,917	- 3.1	+ 3.3
Madhuban ...	194,427	- 4.6	+ 4.1
Dhaka Ramchandra ...	255,895	- 4.0	+ 3.2
Adapur ...	167,842	+ .5	+ 20.8
<b>Bettiah Subdivision</b> ...	<b>749,864</b>	<b>- 1.3</b>	<b>+ 8.0</b>
Bettiah ...	338,750	- 1.6	+ 3.3
Shikarpur ...	207,083	- 1.3	+ 15.1
Bagaha ..	214,031	- .9	+ 9.3

grants who were enumerated in Champaran in 1891, but the falling off is due mainly to the unhealthiness of the decade and the diminished fecundity of the people consequent on a series of bad years. The emigration to other districts of persons born in Champaran does not appear to have greatly affected the figures. The number of female emigrants remains practically unchanged, but that of males, most of whom are temporary absentees, has decreased. The Magistrate is of opinion that there has been some movement across the Nepal frontier, but of this no statistics are available. The only thana that has not contributed its quota to the general result is Adapur. This thana enjoys the advantage of irrigation and an exceptionally fertile soil, and in part of it a full rice crop was secured even in 1896, when there was a disastrous failure elsewhere. The thanas that have suffered most are Gobindganj and Motihari, but the reason for this is not apparent. They suffered from the famine far less than Dhaka, where the proportional decrease is only half as great as in the thanas to the north-west, where there has been only a very slight loss of population.

183. Muzaffarpur is an alluvial plain, but the country north of the Baghmata is more marshy than that to the south of this river, and its climate is reputed to be less salubrious than the rest of the district, which is usually very healthy. The staple crop is rice. Between the Baghmata and the Buri Gandak the land though less marshy, is more liable to inundation. Further south again, in the Hajipur subdivision, the country is higher, but it is capable of irrigation from the numerous streams that intersect it. This part of the district is reputed to be the most fertile, and it has the further advantage of a variety of crops, so that it is less seriously affected by a failure of the monsoon rains. Prior to 1881 there was a considerable growth of population, which was attributed in part to the defects of the first census in 1872. There was a further increase of 5 per cent. in 1891; there was a falling off in Hajipur, but this was counterbalanced by a large increase in the northern subdivision of Sitamarhi. Since 1891, there have been crop failures in 1891-92, when relief operations on a small scale had to be undertaken, and again in 1896-97 when the whole district suffered from famine except the southern part of Hajipur. The Sitamarhi subdivision sustained the brunt of the distress. The relief operations were carefully planned and successfully carried out. The people, no doubt, suffered a good deal, but so far as can be gathered from the vital statistics returns, there was no loss of life directly attributable to want of food. The reported deaths fell short of the average of the three preceding years by about 25,000, while the deficiency of births was only 17,000. Thanks to a succession of good harvests, the effects of the famine were not long felt, and by the end of the decade the people had entirely recovered their normal condition. There were heavy floods in 1898, which caused considerable loss of cattle and damaged the standing rice crops, but no permanent injury resulted from them.

There were epidemics of cholera in 1892, 1894, 1896 and 1900, which carried off more than 76,000 persons, but in other respects the public health has been fairly good, and the returns for the nine years 1892-1900 show an excess of nearly 80,000 births over deaths.

\* The great reduction in the number of immigrants attracted my attention as soon as the figures were reported, and their number was again counted direct from the schedules. This fresh count, which was carefully checked, brought out a slightly smaller number of immigrants than the original return. The figures for 1891 appear to be extraordinarily high. They include 83,241 immigrants from Saran, 58,076 from Muzaffarpur, 52,186 from the United Provinces and 34,626 from Nepal.



184. The recent census discloses a slight increase of 41,933, or barely half the amount that the vital statistics returns would indicate.

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,518,547	1,436,243	1,306,027	1,406,893
Immigrants	32,260	55,502	27,803	55,185
Emigrants	86,507	67,680	121,547	82,642
Natural population	1,372,854	1,417,771	1,300,771	1,434,287

in the case of males. There is still, however, a heavy balance against the district and the figures do not include the persons who have migrated across the Nepal frontier.

It is a notable fact that every thana in the great rice-growing tract north of the Bāghmati, which suffered most severely from the famine, has shown a marked increase, while every thana south of that river, except Hajipur in the extreme south, has lost population. The former tract has been growing steadily since the time of the first census in 1872, and it attracts settlers both from Nepal and from the southern part of the District. The progress is greatest in the Sitamarhi and Shuihar thanas which march with the Nepal frontier. The Hajipur subdivision, which is now stationary, sustained a slight loss of population in the decade preceding the census of 1891. The decline in

Thana.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>2,754,790</b>	<b>+1.5</b>	<b>+5.0</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>1,050,097</b>	<b>-2.3</b>	<b>+4.8</b>
Muzaffarpur	540,534	-3.6	+5.3
Paru	301,717	-2.8	+5.7
Katra	297,776	+8.7	+2.1
<b>Sitamarhi Subdivision</b>	<b>986,589</b>	<b>+6.7</b>	<b>+10.4</b>
Sitamarhi	346,790	+0.0	+8.1
Shuihar	195,928	+7.2	+5.7
Pupri	244,554	+3.4	+12.4
Belsand	199,376	+4.1	+10.3
<b>Hajipur Subdivision</b>	<b>718,181</b>	<b>+0.6</b>	<b>-1.0</b>
Hajipur	370,029	+3.6	-5.3
Lalcabi	123,162	-1.0	-1.9
Mahuwa	224,990	-0.4	+0.6

the Muzaffarpur thana is said to be due to its having suffered most from cholera and to the fact that it is this tract which supplies the majority of the persons who emigrate to lower Bengal in search of work.

185. Darbhanga greatly resembles Muzaffarpur, to which it appertained until 1875. The northern and central part of the district is devoted mainly to the cultivation of rice, and the bulk of the inhabitants are dependent on the *aghani* or winter rice crop.

The south of the district possesses great natural fertility, and wheat, barley, oil-seeds, various kinds of pulses, indigo, and opium are grown. As in Muzaffarpur, the increase recorded in 1881 was attributed to a more accurate enumeration. In 1891 the district showed a further increase of 6.5 per cent.—a gain of 11.5 per cent., in the Madhubani subdivision in the north being to some extent counter-balanced by a loss of 2.3 in the southern or Samastipur subdivision. The decade preceding the present census has not been a prosperous one. In 1891, the crops failed over a considerable area in the sadar and Madhubani subdivisions, and relief operations were necessitated. In the next two years the crops were good and the people regained their prosperity, but in 1895 the harvest was again a short one, and this was followed by the great crop failure of 1896. This affected the whole district except two of the three thanas of the Samastipur subdivision; in the third thana, Warisnagar, the distress was less acute than in the rest of the district, and it was greatest in the western part of the sadar and Madhubani subdivisions. The number of persons requiring relief was greater in Darbhanga than in any other district, but the recovery after the famine was at least equally rapid. The Magistrate, Mr. Wheeler, says that "the end of 1897-98 saw the people almost restored to their normal condition." The prosperity of 1898-99 was marred by floods. There were floods in the south-west of the district in the following year also, but both then and in 1900, the crops were generally good.

The decade has not been a very healthy one. The mortality was exceptionally heavy in 1892, 1894, 1896 and 1900; in the three former years the



deaths out-numbered the births, but taking the period as a whole (excluding 1891 when births were not registered) the reported births exceeded the deaths by 65,918. Plague broke out in the Dalsing Serai thana about the beginning of December 1900 and in February 1901 the number of reported deaths was 420, but the real number, says the Magistrate, was undoubtedly greater. The disease subsequently spread to other thanas, but not until after the census.

186. The census shows that since 1891 there has been an addition to the population of 110,656 persons or 3·9 per cent. The movements of the people

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ... ..	1,416,474	1,496,137	1,370,965	1,436,270
Immigrants ... ..	33,473	57,107	34,381	47,799
Emigrants ... ..	58,443	55,009	56,328	53,922
Natural population ... ..	1,441,444	1,498,235	1,389,952	1,437,133

do not appear to have materially affected the result. So far as permanent movements are concerned the balance of the account is in favour of the district. The number of emigrant females is nearly 4,000 less than that of those who have come in from other districts, and while the former are slightly less numerous than in 1891, the latter have grown by more than 9,000. There has been a loss on account of the migration of males, but this is mostly of a temporary character. There were 3,000 fewer male immigrants at the time of the present census and 3,000 more emigrants than there were ten years previously, and the excess of the latter over the former now amounts to about 25,000 or some 6,000 more than in 1891.

On examining the details of the variations for individual thanas we again fail to find any correlation between them and the famine. The increase is slight in the Samastipur subdivision which was least affected by famine, while

THANA.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ... ..	<b>2,912,611</b>	<b>+ 3·9</b>	<b>+ 6·6</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ... ..	<b>1,065,595</b>	<b>+ 1·6</b>	<b>+ 8·0</b>
Darbhanga ... ..	425,423	- 1·4	+ 9·3
Behara ... ..	345,034	+ 2·7	+ 11·5
Rosecha ... ..	275,118	+ 5·1	+ 3·0
<b>Samastipur Subdivision</b> ... ..	<b>752,637</b>	<b>+ 1·9</b>	<b>- 9·3</b>
Samastipur ... ..	311,312	+ 2·0	- 0·3
Dalsingh Serai ... ..	279,270	+ 3·3	- 6·1
Warisnagar ... ..	162,055	- 1·1	+ 6·8
<b>Madhubani Subdivision</b> ... ..	<b>1,094,379</b>	<b>+ 7·8</b>	<b>+ 12·0</b>
Madhubani ... ..	553,655	+ 3·0	+ 12·7
Khatauli ... ..	247,389	+ 8·0	+ 25·6
Banipati ... ..	266,431	+ 3·8	- 1·0
Phulparas ... ..	226,904	+ 10·2	+ 10·9

it is greatest in Madhubani, where the distress was most severe both in 1892 and 1897. Nor do the vital statistics seem to account for the variations, and in the four unhealthy years, the reported death-rate was higher in Madhubani than any where else. The fact seems to be that while the other parts of the district have as dense a population as the land will support, there is still some room for expansion in Madhubani, where even now there are only 812 persons per square mile compared with 872 in the sadar, and 985 in the Samastipur subdivision. Madhubani, moreover is the great rice-growing subdivision, and although it is the rice crop which suffers most in seasons of deficient rainfall, it seems probable that it gives the greatest return to the husbandman when the seasons are normal. It would appear, therefore, that there has been some migration within the district from the more crowded thanas of the south to the rice-growing country in the north. The only thanas in the district that show a decline are Warisnagar and Darbhanga. In the former the death-rate was higher than the district average while the latter would have shown a slight increase but for the inclusion of the figures for Darbhanga town which, as explained elsewhere, has suffered a considerable loss of population. Dalsing Serai, where a decrease of 6·1 in 1891 was attributed to diluvion, would probably have shown a somewhat larger increase but for the advent of plague. The Ganges is still working its way further north, but not sufficiently so to appreciably affect the population.

187. Bhagalpur, like Monghyr, lies on both sides of the Ganges which divides it into nearly equal parts. The northern forms a continuation of the great alluvial plain of North Bihar, but it is reputed to be less fertile than the country further west. It is intersected with rivers and water channels which, except in seasons of very deficient rainfall, render irrigation easy, and rice is therefore the



principal crop. In the southern tract also, rice is the main staple. The riparian portion is fairly level but in some parts the surface is undulating, and here it is cleverly terraced and irrigated from reservoirs constructed on the higher slopes. In addition to rice, wheat, sugarcane, and other crops requiring a less ample and constant supply of water are extensively grown. Further from the river the surface has a greater elevation, and the soil becomes more shallow and rocky and comparatively barren. The inhabitants are fewer in number and their crops are scantier and more precarious. The growth of the population between 1872 and 1881 amounted to 7·7 per cent. In the next decade there was a further advance of 3·3 per cent., the out-come of a considerable increase in the western part of North Bhagalpur, and in Banka and Bhagalpur thanas in South Bhagalpur, combined with a decline in the Kishanganj and Bihpur thanas, due to the ravages of the Kosi, on the north bank, and in Sultanganj and Amarapur on the south.

Since 1891 the district has twice suffered from famine, in 1891-92 and again in 1896-97. The tract most affected was the western part of North Bhagalpur, in the Supaul and Bangaon thanas. South of the Ganges, the scarcity did not in either year amount to famine. Test works were opened early in 1897 but they failed to show any demand for labour. Since the last famine the crops, on the whole, have been good and the people have recovered from its effects. The vital statistics show an excess of births over deaths between the years 1892 and 1900, amounting to 76,604. The only year in which the deaths out-numbered the births was 1894. There was an epidemic of cholera which was especially bad in Amarapur, but the main cause of the high mortality was the excessive prevalence of fever which accounted for 42·23 deaths per 1,000 in Kishanganj and for 33·03 in the district as a whole. The healthiest years were the famine year, 1897, and the year immediately after it. In 1897, 13,000 fewer deaths were reported than the average of the three previous years, while the births were 7,000 above the same average.

188. The addition to the population

Thanas.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891.	1891-1891. 1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>2,088,953</b>	<b>+ 2·8</b>	<b>+ 3·3</b>
<b>Sador Subdivision</b>	<b>535,244</b>	<b>+ 6·0</b>	<b>+ 1·1</b>
Bhagalpur	168,980	+ 8·5	+ 0·3
Colgong	204,088	+ 8·0	+ 0·6
Sultanganj	95,116	+ 3·1	- 0·3
Bihpur	96,060	+ 2·7	- 3·0
<b>Banka Subdivision</b>	<b>453,499</b>	<b>+ 2·4</b>	<b>+ 0·5</b>
Banka	161,002	- 1·1	+ 21·8
Amarapur	152,053	+ 5·6	- 0·3
Katauria	118,944	+ 3·6	
<b>Madhipura Subdivision</b>	<b>559,310</b>	<b>- 2·8</b>	<b>+ 2·1</b>
Madhipura	276,402	- 3·8	+ 2·7
Kishanganj	110,647	- 6·9	- 7·5
Bangaon	160,311	+ 2·0	+ 0·7
<b>Supaul Subdivision</b>	<b>510,900</b>	<b>+ 6·1</b>	<b>+ 9·9</b>
Supaul	359,535	+ 3·6	+ 15·5
Pratapganj	151,365	+ 12·4	+ 3·9

brought out by the last census is 56,257 or 2·8 per cent. The general rate of increase is much the same as in the previous decade, but the figures for individual thanas vary greatly. Sultanganj, Bihpur, and Amarapur *cum* Katauria, which lost ground in 1891, now show an increase, while Banka which then was the most progressive thana in the district, is now slightly decadent. Madhipura has lost rather more than it gained in 1891. The two thanas of the Supaul subdivision and the Bangaon and Bhagalpur thanas show a continuous growth, and Kishanganj a continuous decline. Kishanganj suffers more from fever than any other part of the district, and it is liable to devastation from the sandladen floods of the Kosi. The same adverse conditions account also for the decline in Madhipura. The most progressive thana on this occasion is Pratapganj, which owes its access of population to the advent of the railway.

The number of settlers from other districts, and chiefly from the adjoining

Population.	1891.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,027,535	1,061,418	1,004,803	1,027,531
Immigrants	55,000	40,532	78,564	75,000
Emigrants	66,491	61,814	64,904	60,323
Natural population	1,016,044	1,039,700	991,105	1,012,154

The gradual westward movement of the Kosi, however, may have driven some of the settlers from Purnea back

portions of Darbhanga, Monghyr, and Purnea is far less than in 1891, but this is due probably to deaths amongst the original immigrants rather than to their subsequent return to their original homes. The gradual westward movement



to that district. The emigrants stand at almost the same figure as they did ten years previously but they include rather fewer females and rather more males. The district has thus sustained some loss by migration and it seems probable that, but for this, it would have shown an increase somewhat in excess of that recorded in 1891.

189. The part of Purnea east of the Mahánandá is more nearly allied to Bengal than Bihar, and the bulk of the inhabitants are of Rájbañsi Koch origin, though most of them are now converts to Muhammadanism. There are numerous swamps especially towards the south. The main crop is rice, but jute also is extensively grown. West of the Mahánandá the population is mainly Hindu, and the castes are the same as in the adjoining Bihar districts. A considerable portion of this latter tract, say from Purnea town westwards, has been greatly affected by the vagaries of the Kosi river, which is constantly changing its bed, and the soil, which elsewhere is a rich loam, is here very sandy, admirably adapted for pasture, but not so well suited for cultivation. The main crop is rice and though it seldom suffers from want of rain, there is constant danger of destruction by the floods from the Kosi.

Though their houses are poor and luxuries are rare, the inhabitants are not badly off. Rent is low and the people have as much food and clothing as they require. There are very few landless labourers, and unskilled labour has to be imported from outside. There was an increase of population between 1872 and 1881 amounting to 7·8 per cent., and a further increase of 5·1 per cent. between 1881 and 1891. The growth was most rapid in the great pastoral thanas, Dhamdaha and Matiari, which attracted numerous settlers from Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Darbhanga, and added a third and a seventh respectively to their population.

Since 1891 the crops have been fairly good. There was some scarcity in 1891-92 and again in 1896-97, but no famine. The communications have been improved by the construction of new railway lines. The district, however, is very unhealthy and the vital statistics show that the deaths outnumbered the births in every year except 1897, 1898 and 1899. The mortality was greatest in 1891 and 1900 when cholera was terribly prevalent; in the latter year, according to the returns, it accounted for no less than 46,240 deaths or 24 per 1,000, a rate of mortality which, with one solitary exception, was more than double that of any other district in any year of the decade. The total recorded death-rate in that year reached the appalling figure of 57 per 1,000. During the years 1892-1900 the reported deaths were more numerous than the births by 38,239. Statistics of births in 1891 are not available, but the year was a very unhealthy one, and it probably witnessed a considerable loss of population.

190. The result of this marked unhealthiness is reflected in the statistics of the present census which shows a decrease of 69,864 or 3·6 per cent. There

Population.	1891.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ... ..	958,452	916,542	906,400	951,168
Immigrants ... ..	89,032	88,973	88,313	61,935
Emigrants ... ..	39,615	16,803	40,680	30,508
Natural population ... ..	916,869	894,172	850,372	920,525

is a decrease both in the number of persons coming from, and going to, other districts, but the inter district movements appear to have been exceptionally great in the years preceding 1891; in 1881 the figures very closely resemble those of the recent census. At all three enumerations the number of

persons who have come to the district has greatly outnumbered that of those who have left it, but a great many of the former are only temporary visitors who bring their cattle in the cold weather months to graze in the splendid pasture lands on the left bank of the Kosi. The fact that the fees for grazing are now more strictly realised coupled with the extension of cultivation may, perhaps, account for the smaller number of persons who now come with their cattle from other districts. Where so much of the migration is of a purely temporary character it is very difficult to frame an estimate of the extent to which a district has gained or lost by the movements of the people. The immigrants have decreased to a greater extent than the emigrants and if they were all only temporarily away from their native districts, the figures would indicate a small net loss. If on the other hand, they had all changed their residence



permanently there must have been a considerable gain; the number of immigrants is greater by about 18,000 than it would be had there been no new arrivals while the shrinkage amongst emigrants is greater than deaths alone would account for, and it would seem as if some must have returned home since 1891.

The only thana in the whole district that shows an increase is Saifganj,

Thana.	POPULATION, 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,874,794</b>	<b>-3.6</b>	<b>+5.1</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>858,353</b>	<b>-2.6</b>	<b>+6.0</b>
Purnea	155,994	-0.0	+1.0
Kasbe Amur	119,185	-2.7	+0.0
Sondwara	190,308	-5.8	-0.4
Dhamdaha	144,661	-0.1	+30.9
Kadwa	132,621	-6.0	+3.8
Balarampur	78,174	-23.3	+7.0
Saifganj	98,280	+28.0	...
<b>Kishanganj Subdivision</b>	<b>619,476</b>	<b>-4.8</b>	<b>+2.7</b>
Kishanganj	140,979	-5.0	-2.2
Bahadurganj	208,381	-5.4	+0.6
Kalliganj	266,216	-4.3	+0.2
<b>Araria Subdivision</b>	<b>416,935</b>	<b>-5.6</b>	<b>+8.0</b>
Araria	301,028	-4.0	+5.3
Matinri	128,908	-2.4	+14.2
Baniganj	87,061	-2.9	+2.0

part of the district which, but for this, would doubtless have shown much better results.

## ORISSA.

191. Cuttack is divisible into three parts with very different characteristics. To the east, bordering on the Garjāts or Tributary States of Orissa, is a region of rocky hills and barren soil, supporting a scanty and semi-Hinduised population with a very low standard of comfort. To the west, on the seashore, is a low-lying tract of great natural fertility where protected from the action of the salt water. A great part, however, is unprotected and unfit for cultivation, and much of the rest is exposed to damage from storm-waves. The population is therefore sparse. Between these two extremes lies a fertile alluvial plain watered by three great rivers—the Mahānadi, Brahmani, and Baitarni—and protected from drought by an extensive system of canal irrigation. This tract is very highly cultivated and has in parts a density of population very little less than that of the most thickly inhabited parts of Eastern Bengal and Tirhut. It is this portion of the district which sends its surplus male population to Calcutta and other parts of Bengal in search of work as domestic servants, door-keepers, &c., and the local earnings from agriculture are supplemented by large remittances from relatives in service elsewhere. Thanks partly to these remittances the standard of comfort is a comparatively high one.

The censuses of 1881 and 1891 disclosed an increase of 16.3 and 7.8 per cent. respectively. The Magistrate thinks that the census of 1872 was incorrect and that the actual population exceeded the census figures by at least 100,000. This would reduce the rate of growth in the succeeding nine years to 13 per cent., which is about what might be expected during the period when the district was recovering from the terrible famine of 1866. The progress during the next decade would have been greater, but for the cyclone of September 1885 which destroyed 45 villages in Patamandi thana, most of whose inhabitants were either drowned or succumbed to fever and cholera which, as usual, followed in the wake of the flood.

\* Saifganj has been formed into a thana since 1891 and there may possibly have been some mistake in working out the population from the tabulation registers of the last census. At the same time the great growth of the railway centre at Katihar, seems quite sufficient to account for the recorded increase in its population.



192. Since 1891 the district has on the whole enjoyed good health. Cholera has seldom been absent, but it assumed serious proportions only in 1892, when it accounted for 21,289 deaths and in 1900 when the mortality was at the rate of 8·5 per 1,000. Since 1896 the birth-rate has been uniformly high, and in 1899 the number of births reported represents a ratio of nearly 50 per 1,000 on the population of 1891. During the nine years preceding the present census the reported births exceeded the deaths by 108,540. The excess would probably have been greater had the figures been available for 1891, which was a particularly healthy year. There was a cyclone in 1891 which did considerable damage along the coast, and in this year and again in 1900 there were floods throughout the district. The famine of 1897 was felt in Cuttack but slightly, but the high prices affected the non-agricultural community. The advent of the railway has greatly improved the communications; it has not been open long enough to affect the area under cultivation, but it has greatly stimulated migration. Natives of the district employed in Bengal return home at much more frequent intervals than formerly, but on the other hand the number seeking employment elsewhere has increased. But the greatest immediate benefit from the railway is the comparative immunity which the district has secured from the dissemination of epidemic disease by the crowds of pilgrims travelling to and from the temple of Jagannath at Puri who now go by rail instead of on foot. The fact that the work on the railway embankments did not attract labour from within the district shows that the people are too well off to care about serving as coolies. The recent settlement operations, though possibly irksome at the time, have done much to teach the peasantry what their rights are and to protect them from harassment and illegal exaction.

193. The result of the recent census is an increase of 125,087, or 6·5 per cent. This is rather greater than the vital statistics would indicate, but the latter do not include the figures for 1891, which, as already stated,

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	995,429	1,027,340	940,567	907,114
Immigrants	11,696	21,338	8,817	21,117
Emigrants	21,253	20,470	61,453	51,153
Natural population	1,003,096	1,051,487	903,192	1,027,190

was a particularly healthy year. The number of immigrant females is about the same as it was ten years ago; male settlers are more numerous, chiefly on account of the railway. The number of females who have left the district is considerably less than in 1891, chiefly on account of the figures

for the Orissa States, Singhbhum and the 24-Parganas, but that of males is nearly 20,000 greater. These males are mostly temporary absentees, but even so the district has suffered a net loss by the movements of the people since 1891 which is sufficient probably to account for the diminution in the rate of

Thanas.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891—1901	1891—1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>2,069,758</b>	<b>+6·5</b>	<b>+7·9</b>
<b>Souder Subdivision</b>	<b>1,635,975</b>	<b>+5·4</b>	<b>+8·5</b>
Cuttack	215,228	+5·6	+5·6
Banki	78,077	+7·4	+0·8
Salepur	128,091	+4·5	+8·2
Tirto	180,309	+5·5	+5·1
Jagatsinghpur	294,800	+5·4	+23·5
<b>Kendrapara Subdivision</b>	<b>467,081</b>	<b>+8·7</b>	<b>+10·0</b>
Kendrapara	230,197	+7·1	+15·4
Patamandi	122,545	+10·7	+1·4
Aul	111,339	+9·2	+11·1
<b>Jajpur Subdivision</b>	<b>566,402</b>	<b>+6·6</b>	<b>+5·5</b>
Jajpur	249,418	+4·5	+3·0
Dharmasala	290,983	+8·8	+7·5

growth that has taken place as compared with that in the previous decade. The general increment is shared by all parts of the district and the rate of development is remarkably uniform throughout. The growth of population has been least in the already densely inhabited thanas, Cuttack, Salepur, Jajpur and Jagatsinghpur and greatest in the fertile but sparsely inhabited thanas, Patamandi and Aul, on the sea coast, where the construction of protective embankments and the offer of easy terms of settlement have led to considerable reclamations of land thrown

out of cultivation by the salt water floods of 1885. Then follow the inland thanas which adjoin the Garjât States, Dharmasala and Banki, which have also a very sparse population, and then Kendrapara, where the population, though more dense, is less so than in the other central thanas.



194. Balasore consists of a long strip of land, mostly alluvial, between the Bay of Bengal and the Tributary States, very narrow in the centre but growing broader towards the north and south. Along the coast is a belt of land about three miles broad, which is impregnated with salt and unfit for cultivation. The western portion, which runs along the foot of the hills and borders on the Garjāts, is jungly and uncultivable. Between these two extremes lies the fertile, arable country which constitutes the greater part of the district. The climate is good, except in the north, whither malarial fevers have spread from the adjacent unhealthy thanas of Midnapore. Between 1872 and 1881 a great increase in the population was recorded, owing partly to improved enumeration and partly to a recovery from the losses caused by the famine of 1866. The next decade witnessed a greatly diminished rate of progress, and the general expansion was only 5·0 per cent. Jellasore, in the extreme north, had suffered from malaria and was stationary. Chandbali, in the south, with its scanty population and prosperous port, showed a rapid development. In the rest of the district the increase was very evenly distributed.

Since 1891 the north of the district has become less unhealthy. There have been frequent epidemics of cholera. The worst outbreak was in 1892 when this disease was responsible for a mortality of 15 per 1,000, a rate which was exceeded during the decade only in the terrible epidemic in Purnea in 1900. The reported deaths exceeded the births in this year and also in 1894 and 1896, when cholera was again prevalent, but in the nine years, 1892—1900, taken together, the births outnumbered the deaths by about 30,000. The people are fairly prosperous, and nearly every one has land of his own. The crops have been good, and the opening of the railway has greatly improved communications. The only disaster was a high flood in October 1900, which destroyed crops and cattle, though it caused very little loss of life. The area chiefly affected was in the Dhamnagar Thana.

195. The favourable conditions of the decade are reflected in the census

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	517,543	353,654	461,694	519,011
Immigrants	15,995	16,332	15,000	19,917
Emigrants	29,094	22,720	25,147	25,471
Natural population	503,332	540,161	491,693	518,515

figures, and in spite of some loss by migration the population of the district in 1901 is greater than that at the time of the previous census by 76,522, or 7·7 per cent. Amongst females emigrants and immigrants are both less numerous than in 1891, but the excess of the former over the latter remains about the same. The male immigrants are fewer and the emigrants more numerous than in 1891, and the latter now outnumber the former by nearly 16,000. The loss owing to the movements of the people may thus be roughly estimated at from 1 to 2 per cent.

The population of the Chandbali and Basudeb thanas shows the greatest development. They are on the sea shore; both contain much land fit for cultivation, and the absence of destructive cyclones has encouraged reclamation.

THANAS.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1891—1901.	1891—1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,071,197</b>	<b>+ 7·7</b>	<b>+ 5·2</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>592,544</b>	<b>+ 8·3</b>	<b>+ 5·1</b>
Balasore	122,594	+ 8·0	+ 4·6
Soro	229,263	+ 8·1	+ 7·2
Jellasore	59,721	+ 7·8	+ 0·5
Baliagari	100,831	+ 5·7	+ 5·3
Baata	80,127	+ 8·0	+ 4·0
<b>Bhadrak Subdivision</b>	<b>478,653</b>	<b>+ 6·9</b>	<b>+ 5·1</b>
Bhadrak	193,410	+ 9·0	+ 4·3
Basudebpur	83,129	+ 12·0	+ 4·0
Dhamnagar	127,508	— 4	+ 4·5
Chandbali	64,405	+ 11·3	+ 11·1

males and the female population is greater than in 1891. Throughout the rest of the district the rate of increase is uniform, varying from 7·9 per cent. in Jellasore to 9 per cent. in Bhadrak.



196. The Khurda subdivision of Puri is a Government estate. The country is above flood level while the numerous rivers that intersect it afford ample means for irrigation. The rest of the district is a low alluvial plain, through which the torpid rivers find their uncertain way towards the sea; their final exit is often impeded by ridges of sand thrown up by the strong monsoon currents, and their banked-up waters often burst the embankments that have been erected to restrain them and cause disastrous floods. The district has grown steadily since 1872, and at the last census an increase of 6·4 per cent. was recorded, part of which was attributed to defects in the previous enumeration.

The public health has not been very good since 1891. Cholera is imported annually by pilgrims, and fever is prevalent during the cold weather. The reported deaths exceeded the births in 1892 and 1897, but in the nine years, 1892 to 1900, there was, according to the returns, a net excess of 32,153 births over deaths. In 1891 the crops suffered greatly from insufficient rain at the commencement of the monsoon, and the damage was aggravated by a cyclone in the following November, which brought on an exceptionally heavy flood. Most of the embankments were breached, the standing crops were destroyed, and cholera, dysentery and other diseases spread all over the district. The year 1897 was equally disastrous. The crops of 1896 were short everywhere and this resulted in a general scarcity, though relief operations were necessary only in the neighbourhood of the Chilka lake and in parts of the Khurda subdivision. The country round the Chilka was again subject to scarcity in 1900, when the rainfall was scanty and ill-distributed. So far, therefore, as agricultural operations are concerned the conditions have not been satisfactory. On the other hand the opening of the railway has benefited the people greatly. Its construction afforded profitable employment to the labouring classes, and now that the district has been brought into easy communication with Calcutta, emigration in search of employment has been greatly facilitated and wages have risen in consequence. Prices of produce also have risen owing to the new markets that have been brought within easy reach.

197. The actual increase brought out by the present census is 72,286, or 7·6 per cent., but part of this is due to the fact that a great religious festival was in progress at Puri at the time when the census was taken, and the immigrant population thus exceeded that of 1891 by more than 13,000. The number of persons born in the adjoining districts who were

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	566,830	510,445	474,530	470,405
Immigrants	20,910	32,114	15,797	24,132
Emigrants	11,487	17,594	11,517	12,071
Natural population	497,407	495,835	447,226	445,707

enumerated in Puri was less than in 1891, and the addition to the population due to pilgrims must therefore have been greater than the above figures would indicate.\* The number of female emigrants has fallen off while that of males is about the same as it was ten years previously. But for these movements of the people the rate of growth would probably have been about the same as, or rather less than, that of the previous decade.

The Sadar and Pipli thanas show the smallest rate of progress. This

THANA.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1901-1901.	1891-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>1,017,284</b>	<b>+7·6</b>	<b>+6·3</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b>	<b>658,048</b>	<b>+7·2</b>	<b>+8·6</b>
Puri	217,135	+ 3·7	+ 6·8
Puri Town	40,334	+71·3	+13·1
Gop	142,439	+ 6·3	+15·3
Pipli	248,130	+ 5·2	+ 6·4
<b>Khurda Subdivision</b>	<b>359,236</b>	<b>+8·4</b>	<b>+2·3</b>
Khurda	254,255	+ 8·3	+ 8·4
Bhanpur	104,981	+ 8·5	+ 7·6

is due mainly to the fact that the embankment on the left bank of the Bhargavi river has been breached so often that it was decided in 1895 to leave it unrepaired, and the consequences, says the Magistrate, have been fatal to the prosperity of the country which this embankment had been designed to protect, and which was previously one of the richest and most populous parts of the district. The opening of the railway, moreover, has stimulated emigration in search of employment. Many of the

\* The number of pilgrims in Puri town on the night of the census exceeded 17,000.



poorer Brahmans who live in these thanas, have taken to the profession of pilgrim-conductors and large numbers were absent at the time of the census. Gop thana shows a greater increase than the rest of the head-quarters subdivision, as it is less developed, and there is more room for expansion. The Khurda subdivision is more favourably situated than other parts of the district, and its somewhat more rapid development is therefore only natural.

## CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

198. Hazaribagh, like the rest of Chota Nagpur, consists, to a great extent, of rock and ravine, and the cultivable area is comparatively small. On the north it rises somewhat abruptly from the Bihar plain, and a table-land is formed which stretches along the northern face of the district, having an average width of about 15 miles. South of this a further rise takes place and leads to a second plateau which occupies the west central part of the district. In the western part of the northern table-land the slope is towards the north and the rivers find an exit in the plains of South Bihar, but elsewhere there is a gentle declivity towards the south-east, and the drainage of the country converges on two main channels, the Barakar and the Damodar. The valleys of these rivers gradually become wider and in places highly cultivated and fairly extensive tracts of level alluvium take the place of the scattered and laboriously constructed terraces on the slopes of the hills which are to be seen elsewhere. The district is unprotected by irrigation. A large proportion of the inhabitants are Bhuiyás, Santáls and Kurmis, and other aborigines whose habits are migratory and who are in great demand as coolies on tea gardens. The first reliable census was in 1881, and between that year and 1891 there was an increase of 5·7 per cent. in the population. With the exception of the Hunterganj thana the whole of the north-west of the district lost ground, but this was more than compensated for by the increase elsewhere, especially in the Giridih subdivision. These variations were explained partly by the movement of the population within the district and partly by emigration to Assam and other parts of Bengal.

199. Since 1891 the district has suffered three times from short crops, the result of deficient rainfall. In 1895 the harvests were deficient, and in the following year they failed almost completely. Owing to the partial failure in the previous year, the distress thus caused was general and widespread. The thanas most affected were Barhi, Koderma, Bagodar, Gumia, Ramgarh, Mandu and Hazaribagh. Relief works failed to attract labour owing, it is said, partly to the unwillingness of the wilder tribes to engage in unaccustomed forms of labour, and partly to a fear that the acceptance of famine rates of payment would tend to lower wages permanently, but a good deal of employment was afforded by the District Board, and gratuitous relief was given to beggars and destitute travellers. Two good years sufficed to restore prosperity, and when, in the year 1899, there were again deficient harvests, the people were able, without serious distress, to tide over till better times. The decade was, on the whole, a fairly healthy one, and, according to the vital statistics returns, the births out-numbered the deaths by about 81,000. The unhealthy years were 1894 and 1897, especially the latter, when the deaths that were reported numbered 56,036, or 48 per 1,000. This was the famine year. The Sanitary Commissioner attributed the high death-rate to unhealthiness resulting from an excessive rainfall in 1896, but the Civil Surgeon of the district thinks that although fever and cholera were chiefly to blame, the high mortality was due partly to the indirect effects of the privations endured by the people. The tendency of the forest tribes who suffered most from the famine is to seek for sustenance in the jungles rather than go to the Government relief works. These jungle products when taken with other articles of food are not unwholesome, but as a sole dietary they are innutritious and indigestible. A long course of such food enfeebles the constitution and predisposes to disease. The birth-rate of 1897 and 1898 was very low, but in 1899 it suddenly rose to over 50 per 1,000. Plague appeared in several parts of the district in January 1901, but the total number of plague deaths reported prior to the census was only 309.



200. The recent enumeration shows a slight increase of 13,640, or 1·2 per cent., but the real growth of the population has been much greater than these figures would indicate. The balance of migration has gone heavily against the district. The immigrants are far fewer than in 1891, and the arrival of new settlers has, if anything, been more than

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	670,123	697,830	666,964	687,697
Immigrants ...	19,460	22,413	20,312	46,632
Emigrants ...	83,672	66,784	60,484	53,128
Natural population...	634,223	654,299	601,136	693,863

discounted by the return to their old homes of persons from other districts who were enumerated in Hazaribagh in 1891. On the other hand, the number of persons who have left the district has greatly increased, and 150,356 persons born in Hazaribagh, were enumerated elsewhere compared with only 113,622 in 1891. If we take the death-rate at 40 per 1,000, and assume that an equal number of persons left the district in each year of the decade, this would seem to indicate an annual emigration of about 9,111 persons, or 91,110 during the decennium.\* The real number is probably somewhat less than this, as the years when emigration was most active were in the latter part of the decade. But for this loss by migration the rate of increase would probably have been not less than 8 per cent.

201. The local variations follow the same general direction as in 1891.

THANAS.	Population, 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891—1901.	1891—1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,177,961</b>	<b>+ 1·2</b>	<b>+ 5·4</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ...	<b>760,264</b>	<b>- 1·3</b>	<b>+ 2·2</b>
Hazaribagh ...	92,963	- 8·3	- 1·3
Barhi ...	60,922	- 2·3	- 1·6
Bagodar ...	64,490	- 1·4	+ 8·9
Ramgarh ...	20,781	+ 1·4	+ 9·5
Kodarma ...	70,413	+ 2·2	+ 5·3
Kasmar ...	57,741	+ 13·5	+ 7·4
Nimaria ...	37,030	+ 3·7	- 1·0
Chorparan ...	60,838	- 3·8	- 10·6
Hunterganj ...	63,603	+ 5·9	+ 2·3
Gumman ...	29,513	- 2·7	+ 12·9
Mandu ...	30,008	+ 2·1	+ 2·6
Berkhagun ...	54,479	- 4·9	- 4·3
Chatra ...	67,777	- 5·9	- 4·3
<b>Giridih Subdivision</b> ...	<b>417,797</b>	<b>+ 4·0</b>	<b>+ 12·0</b>
Giridih ...	116,393	+ 8·8	+ 23·1
Kharagdiha ...	87,505	+ 1·0	+ 4·0
Dhanwar ...	71,392	+ 2·3	+ 17·0
Dumurhi ...	62,339	+ 3·0	+ 7·2
Ganwan ...	59,629	+ 4·1	+ 7·2

The decadent thanas include the whole western half of the district except Hunterganj in the extreme north-west, and Mandu, Ramgarh, and Kasmar in the south. It is in this part of the district that recruiting operations for the tea districts are most active. The great increase in Kasmar is due in part to its proximity to the Jheria coalfield and to the construction of the Jheria-Katras railway. All the thanas in the Giridih subdivision show an improvement, but the growth is most marked in the case of Giridih itself where the coal mines of the East Indian Railway attract a steadily increasing number of labourers. In Ganwan and also in Kodarma, in the head-quarters subdivision, mica mining

affords employment to many, and this has no doubt affected the population to some extent.

202. The greater part of Ranchi is an elevated undulating table land, where the terraces cut in the slopes of the depressions which lie between the ridges are almost the only places where permanent cultivation is feasible. Towards the west and south the surface becomes more broken; the hills are steeper and the valleys are replaced by ravines where no crops can be grown. The district is the great

\* The yearly number of deaths at 40 per 1,000 amongst the 113,622 persons enumerated elsewhere in 1891 would be 4,545, consequently 45,450 persons must have gone from the district during the decade to keep up the number of emigrants ascertained in 1891. The annual emigration necessary to produce the excess of 36,734 emigrants shown in the returns for 1901 is calculated thus:—

Let  $x$  = the number of emigrants in each year and '040 (i.e. 40 per 1,000) the death-rate. Then the number surviving at the end of one year will be  $x \times 960$ , at the end of two years  $x \times 960^2$ , and so on. Hence the total number of new emigrants at the end of the decade will be—

$$x (960^1 + 960^2 + 960^3, \text{ etc. } + 960^9) = 36,734.$$

$$\text{Hence } x = \frac{36,734}{8.044} = 4,566.$$

The approximate accuracy of this method is confirmed by a comparison of the results afforded by it with the statistics maintained under the Inland Emigration Act. According to these statistics 180,097 persons were imported to Assam as tea-garden coolies from Chota Nagpur Plateau during the decade. The number of persons enumerated in Assam but born in this tract was 209,068 in 1891 and 281,375 in 1901. At a death-rate of 40 per 1,000, the total number of emigrants needed to keep up the 1891 population would be 83,627, while to produce the excess of 72,307 shown in 1901, 89,765 new emigrants would be needed. The total of 173,392 falls very little short of the figure separately ascertained under the labour law.



recruiting ground for tea-garden coolies, and its aboriginal tribes, especially its Oraons and Mundas, are to be found on every tea-garden in Assam and the Western Duars. During the decade ending in 1891 the district added 6·7 per cent. to its population, in spite of a large and growing stream of emigration.

Since 1891 there have been four years of very deficient harvests, viz., 1891, 1895, 1896 and 1899. The crop failure was greatest in 1899, but the suffering was less than in 1896, partly because it came after two seasons of good crops, while the short harvest of 1896 followed immediately on that of 1895, partly because in the absence of general scarcity elsewhere prices never rose so high, and partly because the preparations for meeting the calamity were more complete. In 1897, as test works failed to attract labour, it was hoped that the people would be able to surmount their trouble without help from Government. The hope unfortunately was not realized, and great distress suddenly developed in the central part of the district, chiefly in the Toto, Sesai and Karra thanas. Relief operations were at once undertaken, but the acute stage of distress was of very short duration. Only three deaths from actual starvation were reported, but cholera broke out in epidemic form, and the mortality from bowel-complaints was also exceptionally high, owing, it is said, to the bad effects of eating *gondli* (*panicum miliare*) grain unmixed with rice on constitutions enfeebled by a low and insufficient diet of roots and fruits gathered in the forests. In 1899 the area that suffered most was much the same as in 1896. Relief works were opened in ample time, the attendance on them was far better than in the previous famine, and the distress that would otherwise have ensued was thus to a great extent averted.

203. The decade is reported to have been an unhealthy one, but if so, vital statistics returns must be exceptionally inaccurate. The returns show an average birth-rate of 38 and a death-rate of 29 per 1,000 and a net excess of births over deaths of 110,191. The mortality was highest in 1897, when it exceeded the average of the decade by 50 per cent. It is to be feared, as in Hazaribagh, that the famine was indirectly responsible for much of this mortality. In Bihar, as we have seen, the famine had no apparent effect on the mortality. Not only was the death-rate lower than usual during the famine year, but the census shows that the tracts which suffered most are precisely those where the greatest increase of population has taken place. The reason why the result should have been different in Chota Nagpur is explained as follows in the Government Resolution on the famine:—

“A considerable part of the food-supply consists of the edible forest products, which are resorted to largely everywhere as a supplement to the ordinary diet. The most important of these products is the flower of the *makua* tree, but a large variety of jungle fruits and roots are eaten, both cooked and raw. This diet, though sufficient to sustain life, is deleterious if unaccompanied by rice or other grain, yet the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes, who form a considerable portion of the population, are content to eke out a scanty subsistence upon it in their native jungles rather than do anything in the nature of a “task” upon relief works. Consequently, though the numbers on relief in the division were at no time large, there was more anxiety felt on its account than elsewhere. The inaccessible character of the country and the range of prices, which here reached a higher level than in any other portion of the Province, combined with the scattered character of the population and the restless and independent nature of the forest tribes, gave rise to great fears lest the food supplies should fail and the people die in the jungles rather than resort to relief works; and although only a few actual deaths from starvation are reported to have occurred, yet there is reason to apprehend that the sufferings of the poorer classes have been greater in this Division than elsewhere.”

It should, however, be mentioned that in 1900, when famine conditions again prevailed, the reported death-rate was below the average for the decade.

204. The short harvests greatly stimulated emigration, and recruiting for the tea gardens of Assam and the Duars was very active.\* The balance of

\* The number of emigrants to Assam registered at Ranchi during the decade was 47,764 of whom nearly 20,000 were registered in the two years 1897-98 and 1899-1900. These figures do not include all emigrants to Assam but they may probably be taken to show the relative strength of the tendency to emigrate in these two years. The total number of Ranchi-born persons enumerated in Assam in 1901 was 91,794 compared with 70,049 in 1891 which would represent a total emigration of about 55,000 assuming an equal number of emigrants to have left yearly.



migration was heavily against the district in 1891 and it is still more so at the

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ... ..	577,150	610,745	431,873	577,613
Immigrants ... ..	17,038	15,090	12,529	12,973
Emigrants ... ..	140,970	152,341	110,100	126,892
Natural population ... ..	700,000	728,009	629,557	690,560

NOTE.—Ranchi and Palamau formed one district until the 1st January 1892 and the statistics of migration collected in 1891 refer to the two districts combined. For the purpose of this and similar statements it has been assumed that the immigrants and emigrants were then distributed between them in the same proportions as at the present census.

migrants and for the excessive emigration of 1897 and 1900 it would still seem that the true increase in the population must have been about 13 per cent., instead of 5·2 per cent. which is the actual variation in the number of persons enumerated in the district. It will be seen, when dealing with Palamau, that some of the emigrants from that district have probably been credited to Ranchi, but it is impossible to frame any estimate of their number.†

205. The variations in individual thanas cannot always be clearly ascer-

THANAS.	Population 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ... ..	<b>1,187,925</b>	<b>+5·9</b>	<b>+6·7</b>
Toto ... ..	45,553	-4·1	+8·3
Khunti ... ..	113,600	+17·3	---
Mandar ... ..	75,307	+8·1	+10·3
Bishenpur ... ..	19,445	+1·2	---
Kurdeg ... ..	26,918	+22·0	Included in Chainpur.
Palkot ... ..	67,006	-3	Included in Kochdega.
Ranchi ... ..	173,585	-40·1	+4·3
Tamar ... ..	111,747	+9·3	+22·7
Karra ... ..	90,846	-6·5	+9·2
Silli ... ..	75,843	-9	-11·0
Kolebira ... ..	27,738	+25·1	+11·3
Basia ... ..	40,782	+3·6	---
Bano ... ..	29,520	+20·7	+4·7
Kochdega ... ..	84,903	+15·7	+10·0
Lohardaga ... ..	100,049	+1·3	+1·0
Sisai ... ..	63,490	-6·7	Included in Toto.
Chatepur ... ..	40,784	+20·9	+1·1

been a good deal of migration within the district from the older thanas, where the landlords are very powerful, to the more jungly thanas along the south of the district, and this probably accounts for a good deal of the increase in Kurdeg, Kochdega, Kolebira, Bano, and Khunti, and for the slight decline that has taken place in Palkot‡. The only thanas that show a more than nominal decrease are Toto, Sisai and Karra which suffered most from the famines of 1897 and 1900 and so furnished a specially large quota of emigrants to Assam as well as to the more favoured tracts in the south of the district.

206. Palamau was separated from Lohardaga, now called Ranchi, and formed into a separate district in 1892. Unlike Ranchi and Hazaribagh, there is here but little table-land and the face of the country is wilder and more broken by rock and jungle. The only level areas of any extent are in the north of the district, on the right bank of the Sone, and in the valleys of the North Koel and Amanat rivers, where permanent rice cultivation is carried on by people of the same castes as are met with in the adjoining plains districts. Elsewhere the inhabitants are mainly forest tribes who eke out their precarious crops of oil-seeds, maize and cotton with the blossoms of the *mahuá* tree and other

\* The method of arriving at this figure has been explained in the foot-note on page 102.

† There was also some confusion in 1891, due to the system of working out the results in the districts instead of in Central offices. The work was generally well done but in a few offices it was not properly supervised. In Hooghly for instance, the birthplace return shows no persons born in Hazaribagh, Ranchi or Singhbhum and 2735 in the Chota Nagpur States. This figure clearly refers to persons born in all parts of Chota Nagpur except Manbhum.

‡ The Deputy Commissioner thinks that in the jungle thanas to the south of the district and in Chainpur on the west, the census of 1891 was not altogether accurate.

present census; emigrants now outnumber immigrants by 213,195 compared with 220,517 ten years ago. Assuming all these to be permanent migrants and assuming also that the volume of migration was the same in each year and that the annual death-rate was 40 per 1,000, these figures indicate a net loss to the district during the decade, of about 116,000 persons.\*

After allowing for temporary changes in jurisdiction that have taken place since 1891, and to the fact that the corrections made in the population according to the census of that year were in some cases rough estimates based on the assumption that the density of population was uniform throughout the thanas affected. This circumstance probably accounts for the great apparent increase in Chainpur, Kurdeg, Kolebira and Bano. The last two thanas with Bassia all formed one thana in 1891. In the three together the increase is 23·3 per cent. which is still sufficiently striking. There has



products of the jungle. The district is not a healthy one. Malarial affections are prevalent, and also bowel-complaints, due to the unwholesome food on which the people live. The decade ending in 1891 disclosed an increase in the population of 8·3 per cent.

The district suffered like its neighbours from short crops in 1895, 1896 and 1899. The crop failure of 1896 resulted in severe distress, culminating in famine in a broad tract stretching across the centre of the district from east to west. In 1899 the Mahuadanr thana in the south-east of the district suffered most but, judging from the numbers on relief, the famine that ensued was less than a third as widespread as that of 1897. Both in 1897 and 1900 the recorded mortality was above the average, but while the death-rate in 1897 had been exceeded in 1892 and 1894, that of 1900 was by far the highest of the decade and reached the unprecedented rate of 48 per 1,000. Fever was very prevalent, and there was a severe epidemic of cholera. The reported birth-rate in 1899 had been exceptionally high (53 per 1,000), and a high rate of mortality is usual amongst infants. It is possible that the famine was, to some extent, responsible for the high mortality but probably not to any marked extent.

207. In the decade as a whole, the returns indicate an excess of births over deaths aggregating 21,099. This corresponds very closely with the result of the recent census, which shows an increase of 22,830 persons, or 3·8 per cent. The returns of migration are given in the margin.

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	306,203	313,327	294,320	302,450
Immigrants	19,809	18,000	19,361	16,147
Emigrants	14,689	17,621	12,351	16,792
Natural population	300,903	311,979	287,220	300,005

statistics of emigration are reliable. The district is a new one, and it is not impossible that its emigrants often described themselves as having been born in Lohardaga, and have thus been credited to Ranchi in our returns. It is certain that there was a good deal of emigration during the recent lean years, but this does not seem to be reflected in the census figures.

The increase of population is greatest in the northern part of the district,

THANAS.	Population, 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891-1901.	1881-91.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b>	<b>619,600</b>	<b>+3·8</b>	<b>+8·3</b>
Daltonganj	105,479	+1·9	+33·5
Latehar	41,932	-1·9	-3·5
Balumath	61,712	-2·9	+2·0
Banks	26,101	+5·7	-27·3
Mahuadanr	26,009	+3·2	+36·8
Chhatarpur	43,437	+5·8	+11·4
Rusainabad	119,744	+7·0	+8·3
Garbwa	65,258	+7·1	+9·6
Patan	87,014	+6·1	+4·0

where there is the greatest proportion of land fit for permanent cultivation, and where the inhabitants belong to castes that do not emigrate to tea-gardens or readily leave their homes. The only thanas which show a decrease are Balumath and Latehar in the south-east, where the conditions are very similar to those in the decadent part of Hazaribagh that adjoins them. The Balumath thana is co-extensive with the estate Tosi which has suffered much from mismanagement and has recently been brought under the provisions of the Chota Nagpur Encumbered Estates Act.

208. Manbhum occupies the declivity between the Chota Nagpur Plateau and Western Bengal. It is far more open than the districts hitherto dealt with; the area under cultivation is greater, and the inhabitants are more civilised. Towards the east there is but little to distinguish it from the adjacent parts of Burdwan and Bankura.

In the uplands the soil is a ferruginous gravel which changes in the lower levels to a rich alluvium. The district is a healthy one and its population has grown rapidly since the first census, thirty years ago. The last decade has witnessed a marked improvement in the material condition of the people. The crops were bad in several years, as in the rest of Chota Nagpur, but the failure was not so great, and the people enjoyed advantages which, in the decade as a whole, more than compensated for their losses on account of bad harvests. The Bengal-Nagpur Railway traverses the headquarters subdivision from north-east to south-west, and the branch line to Katras has opened out



the Gobindpur subdivision, and caused a rapid development of the mining industry in the Jheria coalfield. The death-rate has been low and the birth-rate comparatively high. The return is no doubt still very defective, but a comparison of the births and deaths shows an excess of 107,744 births between 1892 and 1900.

209. According to the census there has been an increase of 108,036 persons or 9·1 per cent. during the decade. In spite of the attraction of the coal mines the district has lost by migration. The number of female immigrants is slightly greater than in 1891 and there are about 14,000 more

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ... ..	655,336	646,028	593,169	600,199
Immigrants ... ..	37,301	24,728	23,729	25,383
Emigrants ... ..	64,015	71,057	69,354	59,530
Natural population ... ..	630,660	604,307	623,834	636,816

thus appear that there has been a net loss of about 30,000 persons by migration, and if these be added, the natural increase in the district comes to between 11 and 12 per cent.

THANAS.	Population.	Percentage of Variation.	
	1901.	1891-1901.	1891-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ... ..	<b>1,501,564</b>	<b>+ 9·1</b>	<b>+12·9</b>
<b>Sadar Subdivision</b> ... ..	<b>1,024,949</b>	<b>+ 5·4</b>	<b>+12·7</b>
Purulia ... ..	549,039	+ 11·8	+ 12·1
Barabhum ... ..	130,530	+ 4·9	+ 12·9
Manbazar ... ..	56,063	+ 10·4	+ 21·2
Chandil ... ..	69,710	+ 0·8	+ 14·0
Chas ... ..	101,266	+ 7	+ 13·7
Raghunathpur ... ..	119,929	+ 2·6	+ 7·5
Gaurandi ... ..	52,741	+ 2	+ 14·7
Para ... ..	42,654	+ 2·1	+ 9·2
Baghmandi ... ..	40,583	+ 5·4	+ 15·2
Jhalda ... ..	193,009	+ 7	+ 11·6
<b>Gobindpur Subdivision...</b>	<b>477,122</b>	<b>+25·1</b>	<b>+19·6</b>
Gobindpur ... ..	38,183	+ 4·4	+ 14·6
Tuna ... ..	30,778	+ 4·1	+ 6·0
Jheria ... ..	26,003	+ 79·1	+ 5·4
Topchanchi ... ..	69,337	+ 50·2	+ 20·1
Niraha ... ..	62,533	+ 7·1	+ 15·9

ing business and an important railway station. The relatively high increase in Manbazar is due mainly to the fact that its inhabitants are for the most part Hindus, belonging to castes that do not emigrate to tea gardens.

210. The general level of Singhbhum is high, but the country is fairly open except towards the south-west, where the undulating uplands give way to a mountainous tract clothed in virgin forest. The population is very sparse, and there are large areas capable of reclamation, especially in Ghatsila and the Kolhan. The district has shown a continuous and rapid growth since 1872. The climate is healthy and the inhabitants are prolific, but at the same time it is probable that a great part of the apparent increase prior to 1891 was due to the imperfection of the earlier enumerations. Since that year the people have been fairly prosperous. The recent resettlement of the Kolhan has resulted in a revenue demand twice as great as that previously assessed, but the people have paid it with ease. There was scarcity in 1897 and in 1900, especially in the Kolhan, where the inhabitants are chiefly improvident Hos who spend all they get and never trouble to save. At the same time they are better able than their Hindu neighbours to endure the want of proper food and can subsist, without great suffering, on various kinds of roots, fruits and leaves gathered in the jungles. The opening of the railway through the district has done much to develop trade and wages, and the prices of grain have risen considerably.

\* More than half the emigrants from Manbhum were enumerated in Assam.



211. According to the vital statistics of the district the births during 1892—1900 outnumbered the deaths

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	302,425	311,154	271,417	274,071
Immigrants ...	18,526	18,944	19,535	19,774
Emigrants ...	31,295	32,627	21,824	21,707
Natural population ...	310,156	325,657	275,798	278,094

by 56,604. The actual increase between 1891 and 1901, according to the census, is 68,091, or 12·5 per cent. The progress would have been much greater but for the adverse balance of migration. Immigrants are fewer by nearly 3,000 while

emigrants exceed by about 20,000 the number recorded in 1891.\*

But for this loss by emigration the increase would probably have been

THANAS.	Population, 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891—1901.	1891—1901.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>613,579</b>	<b>+12·5</b>	<b>+20·2</b>
Chaibasa ...	250,404	+ 9·3	+ 16·1
Chakradharpur ...	102,568	+ 18·9	+ 19·7
Ghatsila ...	230,258	+ 13·3	+ 17·3
Manarpur ...	40,349	+ 12·7	+ 100·0

about 18 per cent. The tracts that show the greatest development are Chakradharpur and Manoharpur through which the railway runs. Then comes Ghatsila which has also, but more recently, been tapped by the railway. The Kolhan which shows the least progress is away from the line of railway and

has probably sent out more emigrants than any other part of the district.

212. The Sonthal Parganas comprises (1) a narrow strip of flat alluvial country running along the loop line of railway;

(2) a belt of hill and forest stretching from Sahibganj southwards beyond Naya Dumka, the greater part of which is included in the Damin-i-Koh, or reservation originally intended for the benefit of the Malé, but now also extensively occupied by Santáls, and (3) a rolling, open country stretching south and west from the Damin-i-Koh, resembling in its general features the neighbouring districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum.

The district is for the most part healthy, and the Santáls, who are the most numerous tribe, are remarkable for their fecundity; there is much waste land available for cultivation, and rents are light. The district showed a rapid growth of population in 1881 and again in 1891, but on both occasions improved enumeration accounted for a great part of the increase. The first reliable census was that of 1891. Since that year the district has enjoyed good health, except in parts of Rajmahal, where malaria is prevalent. The vital statistics returns are, however, too inaccurate to be worthy of examination. Two months before the census, plague broke out in Sahibganj. Two hundred deaths were reported, and there was a great efflux of population. The crops have been fair on the whole, but there was a serious failure in 1896, which resulted in famine in the Deoghur and part of the Jamtara subdivisions in the south-west of the district. In September 1899 a heavy storm burst over the northern slope of the Damin-i-Koh in the Godda subdivision. The precipitation of the rain was so great that the streams quickly overflowed their banks and flooded the valleys through which they flowed. Whole hamlets were washed away, and over sixteen hundred human beings besides thousands of cattle and goats were drowned. The flood subsided as quickly as it came, and the crops escaped with comparatively slight damage.

213. The recent census shows a net increase of 55,962, or 3·2 per

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	300,373	313,364	270,304	283,411
Immigrants ...	58,191	68,334	77,326	73,591
Emigrants ...	115,894	119,114	61,678	53,464
Natural population ...	242,670	252,584	231,002	253,538

cent., a surprisingly small rate of development for a healthy district with a prolific population. The statistics of migration supply the necessary explanation. The number of persons born in the Sonthal Parganas but enumerated elsewhere was 117,142 in 1891, and their number has now risen to

226,008, an increase of 108,866. Most of these have left the district permanently for the Bárind and other parts of Bengal, or for Assam. If the death-rate amongst emigrants be assumed to be 40 per 1,000, an annual exodus of 4,685 persons would be needed to maintain the emigrants of 1891 at their

\* Most of the emigration is to the Orissa States, Assam and Jalpaiguri.



original strength, and a further exodus of 13,534 would be required to raise it to the figure recorded at the recent census.\* In other words, at least 182,190 persons must have left the district during the decade. The immigrants are about half as numerous as the emigrants. Most of the latter also are permanent, but it is impossible to ascertain how far they have affected the population, as the figures for 1891 are open to doubt. It may, however, be taken as certain that the advent of new comers has been on a very much smaller scale than the departure elsewhere of persons born in the district. If the proportion be taken roughly as one-third, and it was probably much less, the loss due to migration during the decade would be about 120,000. If so, the natural increase must have been at least 10 per cent.

214. The population of the Damin-i-Koh is stationary or decadent except

THANAS.	Population, 1901.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL</b> ...	<b>1,809,737</b>	<b>+ 3.2</b>	<b>+ 11.8</b>
<b>Deoghur Subdivision</b> ...	<b>297,403</b>	<b>+ 4.7</b>	<b>+ 12.8</b>
Deoghur ... ..	144,838	+ 2.0	+ 10.2
Madhupur ... ..	76,611	+ 4.2	+ 10.6
Sarath ... ..	75,954	+ 5.6	+ 12.7
<b>Godda Subdivision</b> ...	<b>390,323</b>	<b>+ 1.4</b>	<b>+ 10.2</b>
Godda ... ..	137,906	+ 12.3	+ 12.4
Mahagama ... ..	93,894	+ 6.2	+ 13.3
Poreya ... ..	58,324	- 2.3	+ 11.2
Portion of Damin-i-Koh ...	90,299	- 12.3	+ 5.0
<b>Pakaur Subdivision</b> ...	<b>233,643</b>	<b>+ 3.6</b>	<b>+ 12.2</b>
Pakaur ... ..	73,871	+ 8.2	+ 10.6
Mohespur ... ..	99,253	+ 2.1	+ 17.2
Portion of Damin-i-Koh ...	60,524	+ 1.1	+ 6.6
<b>Rajmahal Subdivision</b> ...	<b>276,763</b>	<b>+ .1</b>	<b>+ 9.6</b>
Rajmahal ... ..	93,351	- 6.7	+ 7.5
Sahibganj ... ..	19,691	- 2.5	+ 47.6
Portion of Damin-i-Koh ...	163,721	+ 4.8	+ 7.1
<b>Dumka Subdivision</b> ...	<b>416,861</b>	<b>+ 3.1</b>	<b>+ 11.0</b>
Dumka ... ..	386,391	+ 6.5	+ 12.2
Portion of Damin-i-Koh ...	30,470	- 26.6	+ 3.2
<b>Jamtara Subdivision</b> ...	<b>189,729</b>	<b>+ 9.2</b>	<b>+ 10.0</b>
Jamtara ... ..	189,729	+ 9.2	+ 10.0

the part that lies in the Rajmahal subdivision, where the collection of *sabai* grass (*Ischaemum angustifolium*) for the paper mills affords profitable employment. Elsewhere emigration has been busily at work, especially amongst the Santals, who chafe under the restrictions imposed by the Forest Department on the indiscriminate felling of timber. Outside the Damin-i-Koh the only tracts that show a decline are Rajmahal, Sahibganj, and Poreya. In the first-mentioned tract it is due to migration across the Ganges, while in Sahibganj the plague epidemic is alone to blame; but for that an increase would probably have been recorded. Poreya is a poor and barren tract and, like the Damin-i-Koh, it has lost by emigration.

The most fertile and densely-populated thanas are Mahagama, Godda, and Pakaur, and these all show a marked improvement. So also do the thanas in the south

of the district. The reason seems to be that there are here extensive areas covered with forest while there is no system of conservancy to prevent the people from destroying it. Although therefore there is some emigration in search of work there is none in order to find land for cultivation. The soil in these thanas is more fertile than that in the hilly tracts in the centre of the district.

215. The Chota Nagpur States include seven Tributary States—

#### CHOTA NAGPUR STATES.

Chang Bhakar, Korea, Sirguja, Udaipur, Jashpur, Gangpur, and Bonai—which are wedged in between Chota Nagpur Proper and the Central Provinces, and the two Political States of Kharsawan and Seraikela which lie within the district of Singhbhum. The earlier enumerations were here very inaccurate and no useful purpose would be served by considering the variations disclosed by them. The country is for the most part an irregular mass of hill ranges and broken plateaux covered with dense jungle, but there are occasional patches of fertile land, such as the valley of the Mand river in Udaipur and parts of the Gangpur and Jashpur table-lands. The population is exceedingly sparse and in spite of the generally inhospitable character of the country there is still ample room for expansion. The conditions of the last decade are very similar to those already described in the case of the adjoining districts of Chota Nagpur. The people are improvident aborigines and as they spend whatever they earn, they are at once affected by a deficient harvest. On the other hand

\* The method of arriving at this figure has been explained in the foot-note on page 102.



they can subsist without much difficulty on jungle products eked out with a modicum of rice. Their condition since 1891 has, on the whole, been good. There was scarcity, not amounting to famine, in 1897, and 1900 and in the former year cholera raged with unusual virulence. The Bengal-Nagpur Railway, which runs through the whole length of the Gangpur State and passes near the boundary of Bonai and Udaipur, was opened ten years ago, and has done

Population.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ... ..	508,759	464,670	449,683	433,676
Immigrants ... ..	54,345	50,331	75,039	74,381
Emigrants ... ..	12,603	11,759	29,433	18,065
Natural population ... ..	465,017	409,089	420,227	378,250

much to develop this part of the country. There has been a falling off in migration both to and from the States since 1891. In that year there were 97,240 settlers from Ranchi and Palamau, but now there are only 38,620. Allowing for deaths at the rate of 40 per 1,000 per annum, 64,647 of the

States.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901.	1891-1901.
<b>TOTAL</b> ... ..	<b>1,001,429</b>	<b>+13.4</b>	<b>+30.3</b>
Changbhak ... ..	19,648	+ 5.5	+ 33.3
Korea ... ..	36,113	+ 3.1	+ 22.8
Sirguja ... ..	381,011	+ 8.1	+ 20.0
Udaipur ... ..	46,391	+ 50.9	+ 12.4
Jashpur ... ..	132,114	+ 10.3	+ 20.0
Gangpur ... ..	238,806	+ 24.5	+ 37.3
Bonai ... ..	38,377	+ 19.5	+ 13.9
Kharsawan ... ..	36,540	+ 3.0	+ 31.5
Seraikela ... ..	194,639	+ 11.4	+ 31.5

the decade, but probably the ebb and flow have been fairly equal.

216. The States taken together show an increase of 13.4 per cent., of which some part is doubtless due to a more accurate enumeration. The greatest development is shown by Gangpur which has been opened out by the railway, and then come Udaipur and Bonai which have also been rendered more accessible. The only other State that shows a large increase is Jashpur, where the proportion of arable land is fairly high and where the people have benefited by the introduction of sugarcane and wheat cultivation, and roads have been constructed from the capital to the borders of Ranchi, Sirguja, Udaipur and Gangpur. Korea alone shows a decrease. The country is here very wild and barren, and the inhabitants are for the most part migratory aborigines.

217. The Tributary States of Orissa comprise a succession of hill ranges, the eastern outliers of the Sâtpuras. The country is generally mountainous, but there are several fine valleys, notably those through which the Mahânadi, Brâhmani, Baitarani, and Burâbalang rivers find an exit to the Orissa plains. There are in all seventeen states, but many of them are very small, and Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar alone contain half the total area, and nearly half the total number of inhabitants. The population is very sparse, but becomes greater on the lower levels as the plains of Orissa are approached. As in the Chota Nagpur States the earlier enumerations were very defective, and the large increase brought out by each successive census is due in a great measure to improvements in the arrangements for counting the people. At the same time there is no doubt that the population is growing rapidly under the ægis of British rule. The greater part of the country is very healthy; the inhabitants are hardy and prolific, and there is ample room for expansion. There is no registration of births and deaths in the Tributary States. It is reported that the last decade has been a healthy one generally, but the State of Baud, in the south-west, has suffered from epidemics of cholera and small-pox, and malarial affections are common there. Cholera was especially bad in 1900.



POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	800,973	977,929	840,450	947,900
Immigrants	60,300	70,692	78,590	85,225
Emigrants	21,203	36,194	18,709	22,699
Natural population	924,968	937,931	794,509	790,324

without much suffering. In only a few instances were regular relief operations undertaken.

218. The census of 1881 disclosed a surprising amount of immigration, and no fewer than 199,895 persons born elsewhere were enumerated in these states, inclusive of Angul. In 1891, excluding Angul, the number of immigrants had fallen to 161,785, and there are now only 142,392. The volume of immigration is thus declining, but it is still very considerable. At the estimated death-rate of 40 per 1,000, the foreign-born population of 1891 would, in the absence of fresh settlers, have shrunk in the course of the decade to 107,560, and the excess over this number indicates an annual settlement of over 4,000 new comers. The number of emigrants has risen from 36,407 to 57,489 during the last decade, and to

STATES.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1901.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,947,800</b>	<b>+14.8</b>	<b>+20.3</b>
Athgarh	43,784	+ 19.2	+ 17.6
Talcher	90,402	+ 14.7	+ 48.3
Mayurbhanj	510,393	+ 14.7	+ 37.3
Nilgiri	66,460	+ 14.3	+ 10.3
Koonjhar	283,729	+ 15.3	+ 14.2
Pal Lahara	22,351	+ 18.3	+ 33.2
Dhenkanal	379,008	+ 14.9	+ 14.7
Athmalik	40,723	+ 29.3	+ 43.3
Hindol	47,190	+ 24.3	+ 19.9
Naranghpur	30,613	+ 17.00	+ 8.6
Baramba	29,800	+ 17.6	+ 8.4
Tigaria	29,033	+ 10.1	+ 3.4
Khandpara	60,450	+ 9.7	+ 4.1
Nayagarh	140,779	+ 19.4	+ 2.9
Ranpur	40,075	+ 14.9	+ 10.0
Daspalla	51,987	+ 14.0	+ 9.5
Baud	89,250	- 1.4	+ 20.7

accuracy of the enumeration. To what extent the latter factor has contributed to the result it is difficult to say, as I have been unable to trace any detailed record of the procedure in 1891, but it probably does not account for more than 2 or 3 per cent., and if so, the natural growth stands at about 12 per cent.

219. The greatest increase is in the sparsely inhabited State of Athmalik, which has gained by immigration from Baud and the Central Provinces, and in Hindol, which has also received an accession of new settlers; in both these States, however, it is probable that the recent census was more complete than that of 1891, and that part of the increase is due to improved enumeration. With the exception of Tigaria, Khandpara, and Baud, the other States show an improvement varying from 13.5 to 19.6 per cent. The comparatively slow rate of increase in Tigaria and Khandpara is explained by the fact that the population is already much more dense than elsewhere. Tigaria has 492 inhabitants to the square mile compared with 285 in Baramba, which stands next to it in this respect, and Khandpara has 284 persons to the square mile compared with only 92 in its next door neighbour, Daspalla. With these easily explained exceptions, the growth of the population has been greatest along the borders of the Orissa Division, where the level is comparatively low, and the proportion of arable land is relatively high. The construction of the railway through Orissa, and of feeder roads in connection with it, has greatly improved the communications and raised the prices of produce in this tract. Baud alone shows a falling off, which is due, as in the case of the adjoining Khondmals subdivision of Angul, partly to the prevalence of epidemic disease and general unhealthiness and partly to the emigration of the migratory Kandhs during the scarcity of 1900.

\* That is to say, 1,466 to replace death vacancies and 2,628 to produce in the course of the decade the 21,682 additional emigrants recorded at the census of 1901.



220. Angul is surrounded on all sides by the Tributary States of Orissa and the Central Provinces. It was itself a Tributary State until 1847 when it was confiscated owing to the rebellion of the Chief. The Khondmals subdivision lies between Ganjam in Madras and the State of Band, whose Chief ceded it to Government in 1885 owing to his inability to suppress a rebellion. The two tracts were

SUBDIVISION.	Population in 1901.	VARIATION.	
		1891-1901.	1881-1891.
ANGUL ... ..	191,911	+12.8	+5.7
Kandh ... ..	127,987	+23.1	} not avail. able.
Khondmals ... ..	64,214	- 8.2	

formed into a regular district in 1891. Their physical features differ in no respect from those of the surrounding States. Angul, however, is more open and better watered, and the climate is less unhealthy than that of the Khondmals where hill and jungle reign supreme. The latter tract is so unhealthy that outsiders fear to visit it, and many of the enumerators sent up from Cuttack to assist in taking the census were prostrated by fever. Cholera made its first appearance in the Khondmals, at least for many years, in 1900. It was introduced by persons fleeing from an epidemic in the adjoining States of the Central Provinces and spread with appalling rapidity. There are no statistics of births and deaths in these wild hills, but it is known that the loss of life was very great. In some villages syphilis is extraordinarily prevalent and almost all the inhabitants are suffering from the disease in one stage or another.

In Angul the rents are very low. In the Khondmals no rent is charged, but the people pay a contribution of three annas a plough towards the cost of improving communications. The inhabitants of the latter tract are mostly Kandhs, but the comparatively small Hindu population has succeeded in obtaining possession of the best rice lands. The Kandhs grow oil seeds and turmeric. They are indolent, improvident, and fond of drink. The people in both tracts are usually prosperous, but their powers of endurance have been severely tried by several lean years in the latter half of the last decade. There were short crops in 1896 and again in 1899. In Angul the cultivators were able to tide over the bad times with the aid of loans, but in the Khondmals relief operations were necessary.

221. The recent census shows a great increase in Angul, but in the Khondmals there has been a loss of 3.2 per cent. This is amply accounted for by the adverse conditions of the latter part of the decade, viz., the prevalence of cholera and other diseases and the scarcity, which stimulated emigration amongst the Kandhs. There was very little im-

POPULATION.	1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	95,093	95,070	86,768	84,200
Immigrants ...	9,203	12,100	4,900	4,500
Emigrants ...	2,894	4,184	008	1,971
Natural population ...	88,901	87,001	81,407	80,992

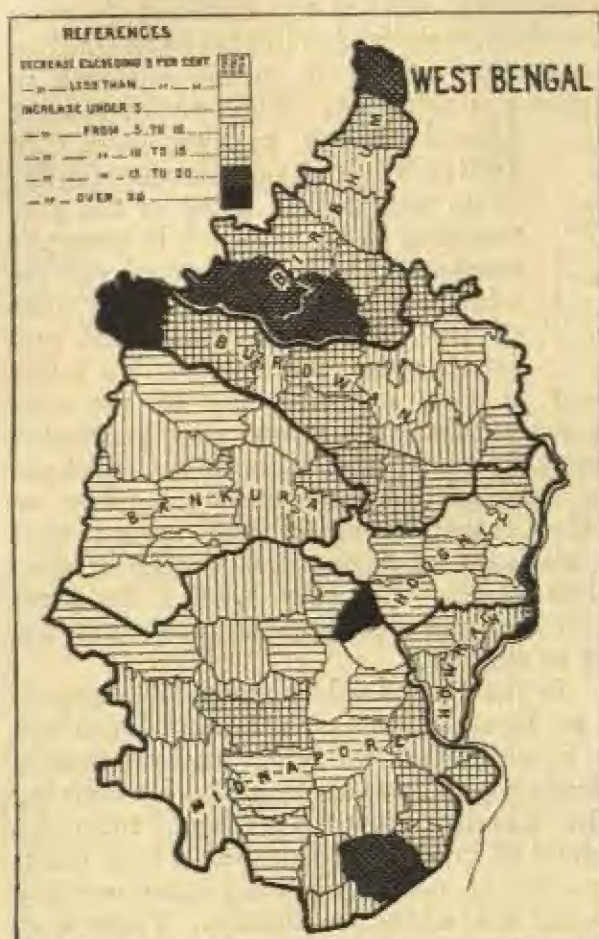
migration to the Khondmals except from Ganjam in Madras. In Angul, on the other hand, the comparatively favourable circumstances have attracted settlers from the adjoining States. In the two tracts together, the number of immigrants has risen from 9,508 in 1891 to 21,532. There were 12,753 immigrants from the Tributary States (all but 1,109 to Angul), and 3,599 from Madras, of whom all but 93 were found in the Khondmals. The emigrants number 6,482 compared with 1,939 according to the previous census, but the return of emigration in 1891 was not very accurate, as Angul was constituted a separate district just about the time of the census.

## SUMMARY.

222. We are now in a position to reconstruct the figures and to glance at the variations for the groups of districts which comprise the eight Natural Divisions into which the Province has been divided. West Bengal, which is coterminous with the Burdwan Division, has grown since 1891 by 7.1 per cent. The variations in the population of districts taken as a whole have been indicated in the map of Bengal on page 39. But the circumstances of different parts of a



district often vary greatly and it is, therefore, desirable to display the



changes for smaller units. The map in the margin shows the variations in the population of each thana in the districts of West Bengal. The most progressive district is Birbhum which has added 13 per cent. to its population. This result is due mainly to natural growth. The increase is most marked in the south of the district, where it represents a recovery from the unhealthiness of the previous decade, and in the extreme north, where there has been a considerable settlement of Santals. Howrah, which comes next, owes its development to the presence of a large manufacturing town and to its proximity to the metropolis. No less than 17 per cent. of its inhabitants are immigrants attracted by the mills and other forms of remunerative employment obtainable in Calcutta and in Howrah city. Excluding the Municipalities of Howrah and Bally, the rate of increase ranges from 5 to 10 per cent., except in the north-east corner which is wedged in between decadent tracts in Midnapore and Hooghly, where

it is only 2·4 per cent. Burdwan, which follows close on Howrah with a gain of 10·1 per cent., also owes a great part of its expansion to immigration, especially in the westernmost thana, Asansol, where the coal mines have created a demand for labour far in excess of the supply available locally, and nearly one-third of the inhabitants are foreign-born. The central part of the district, having escaped from the clutches of the Burdwan fever, has also grown with more than average rapidity, and the jungly and ill-drained western tract which slopes back from the banks of the Bhāgirathi, is alone stationary or decadent. The increase of 5·9 per cent. in Midnapore is the resultant of a rapid growth of the population along the sea-coast and the estuary of the Hooghly, and a fair natural development in the healthy but barren and sparsely inhabited up-lands in the west of the district, combined with stagnation or decline in the ill-drained depression that intervenes between these two extremes. The district has lost slightly by migration, but not to the same extent as Bankura, where the increase of 4·3 per cent. represents less than half of that which would have been registered had none of its inhabitants sought a more hospitable home elsewhere, or gone to eke out their local earnings by working in the metropolitan districts during the cold-weather months. The number who were temporarily absent at the time of the census was greater than usual owing to the short harvests of the preceding year. The southern part of Bankura has suffered most by this exodus of the people, and in the extreme south it has been sufficient, not only to retard progress, but to actually reduce the population. The eastern part of the district resembles the adjacent part of Burdwan and, like it, has grown with fair rapidity now that it is no longer subject to the ravages of the 'Burdwan fever.'

Hooghly remains to be mentioned. This district suffers from the same insanitary conditions as the west of Burdwan and the central part of Midnapore. It contains the busy and growing town of Serampur which affords employment to numerous immigrants, and if the figures for this town were excluded, the small increase of 1·4 would disappear, leaving the population almost exactly at the figure at which it stood ten years ago.

223. Central Bengal, or the Presidency Division excluding Khulna, shows an increase of 5·1 per cent. This result is due

mainly to the figures for Calcutta and the 24-Paraganas. Calcutta has grown by 24·2 per cent., but here the greater accuracy



of the present enumeration has obscured the true growth. The expansion of 9·8 per cent. shown by the 24 Parganas is due mainly to the rapid progress which is being made in the reclamation of land for cultivation in the Sundar-



bans, and to the opening of new mills on the banks of the Hugli. Between the riparian tract and the Sundarban area there is a strip of country where the conditions are unfavourable to the growth of the population. These adverse conditions are especially marked in the north-central part of the district, where the village sites are buried in dense jungle, and the drainage is obstructed and the drinking water unwholesome. Here, as in the adjoining parts of Nadia and Jessore, the population has declined. The only other district in Central Bengal which shows a fair rate of progress is Murshidabad where the gain of 6·5 would have been slightly greater had not the emigration of Muhammadans from the country east of the Bhágirathi to the adjoining part of Malda exceeded the immigration of Santáls to the undulating uplands west of that river. The growth of East Murshidabad which is low and alluvial is only 3·1 per cent. while that of West Murshidabad which belongs to an older formation and has a healthier climate, is 12·9 per cent. The

central portion of the latter tract, which is still very sparsely inhabited, has added more than a quarter to the population recorded in 1891. The other two districts of Central Bengal, Nadia and Jessore, are a region of moribund rivers and obstructed drainage. In Jessore the village sites are old and are surrounded by rank jungle. Except in the south and the extreme north-east, where the conditions resemble those of Jessore, Nadia is more open and, its soil being more sandy, there are fewer stagnant swamps. The result is that while Jessore has lost ground to the extent of 4·0 per cent., Nadia has registered a slight improvement of 1·4 per cent., the decadence in the south being more than counterbalanced by the moderate growth that has taken place in most of the other police circles of the district. The country round Bogula, on the Eastern Bengal State Railway, which showed a decrease in 1891 on account of the damage done by floods, and a small tract in the extreme west which adjoins the progressive part of Murshidabad, are the only parts where the growth of the population has been at all rapid. In Jessore the decadence is general, and the south-eastern corner is the only tract which shows even a nominal improvement. The loss of population is greatest in the country running west and south-west from the Muhammadpur thana on the eastern boundary, which possesses the evil reputation of having been the matrix both of epidemic cholera and of the 'Burdwan fever.' It will be seen, in dealing with East Bengal, that this unhealthy zone stretches eastwards and southwards beyond the Jessore boundary, and includes the north-western part of Faridpur and a small area in the north-west of Khulna.

224. North Bengal, which includes Malda and the Native States of Kuch Bihar and Sikkim, as well as the districts of the Rajshahi Commissionership, has added 5·9 per cent.

to its population in the course of the decade. Excluding Sikkim, where part of the apparent expansion is attributable to the greater accuracy of the present census, the most rapid rate of increase is found in the great tea district, Jalpai-guri, where it amounts to 15·6 per cent. This district is not a healthy one, and almost the whole of the increment as compared with 1891 is due to immigration to the Duars, *i.e.*, the eastern portion of the district which was taken from Bhotan in 1865. The tea gardens are the great attraction,



but there has also been a considerable extension of ordinary cultivation. The



proportion of the foreign-born population is high throughout the Duars, and varies from 28 to 55 per cent. West of the Tista the little immigration that exists is more than counterbalanced by the tendency of the people to move eastwards and take up land in the Duars, and the population in this part of the district is decadent. The second place in point of development is held by Darjeeling, which is more populous by 11·5 per cent. than it was in 1891. The greatest expansion is in Kalimpong, which was annexed at the same time as the Western Duars, and which owes its rapid growth to the advent of cultivators, mainly from Nepal. The headquarters and Kurseong subdivisions have also grown, the former very considerably and the latter only slightly, while the unhealthy Terai at the foot of the hills, in spite of the growth of its tea gardens, shares in the loss of population sustained by the western part of Jalpaiguri which it adjoins. Bogra, with 11·7 per cent., shows almost the same progress as Dar-

jeeling, but the increase is more evenly distributed and there is no part of the district where it falls below 6 per cent. The greatest expansion of the population is in the north-west corner. This tract rests on the laterite formation known as the Bārind which extends over the adjoining parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Malda. It was once highly cultivated but at some period, possibly about five or six centuries ago, it relapsed into jungle, and remained desolate and uninhabited until the Santāls, who have been steadily pushing their way to the north-east, ever since the beginning of the last century, arrived on the scene, and set themselves to the task of reclaiming it. The east of Bogra which is on the bank of the Jamuna and is a great centre of jute cultivation, also shows an unusually rapid development.

225. Malda with a net growth of 8·4 per cent. has great local variations. The east-central part of the district lies in the Bārind and has shared in the rapid increase which is the present characteristic of that tract of country. The south-western portion is washed by the Ganges and, having gained considerably by alluvion, has attracted numerous settlers from other parts of the district and from Murshidabad, on the other side of the river, which has suffered a corresponding loss of territory. North and south of this progressive area, diluvion has been followed by emigration, and a slight decrease has occurred, while the centre of the district, which is low and swampy and has been very unhealthy of late years, has suffered a still greater loss of population. About half the net gain in this district seems to be due to immigration and half to natural growth. The increase in Dinajpur is 5·7 per cent. of which nearly three-quarters is due to migration. The south of the district lies in the Bārind and is very progressive. Further north the notorious unhealthiness of the climate has prevented more than a very slight growth of the population but, with the exception of one police circle, the district is free from the decadence which characterises the adjacent parts of Purnea on the west and of Jalpaiguri on the north-east.

Pabna (4·3 per cent.) and Rangpur (4·3 per cent.) which lie respectively to the south and north of Bogra, show approximately the same rate of growth. The north of Pabna which comprises the Serajganj Subdivision and is largely given up to the cultivation of jute, is progressive, and there has been a gain of 9·4 per cent., while the south, which is water-logged and unhealthy and has suffered from floods and diluvion, has lost 2·1 per cent. Prior to 1891



Rangpur had a long history of unhealthiness and in that year, as well as in 1881, a loss of population was recorded. Its increase at the present census appears to be due largely to immigration, but apart from this there has been a slight natural increase, and it would seem that the tide has at last turned. In the estimation of the people also, the district has become more salubrious, and it may be hoped that the small increment now recorded is only a harbinger of more rapid progress during the next ten years. The greatest improvement at the present census is in the south, along the boundary of Bogra. There is a considerable area in the centre of the district where the population is still retrogressive.

The increase of 1·5 per cent. in Rajshahi is the net result of a considerable growth of population in the extreme north, in the Báring, and a slight improvement in the rest of the northern half of the district, combined with a decline in the southern part, where the drainage is obstructed to almost as great an extent as in Jessore and malarial fevers are very prevalent. The State of Kuch Bihar forms the eastern extremity of the unhealthy belt of country which stretches westwards as far as the Kosi and shares in the loss of population which has been sustained by Purnea, the Darjeeling Terai and the west of Jalpaiguri. The decrease at the present census is 2·0 per cent. compared with 3·9 per cent. in 1891.

226. East Bengal with an increase of 10·4 per cent. is at present by far

#### EAST BENGAL.

the most progressive part of the Province. The climate is generally healthy, the people are most prosperous and a very large proportion of them are prolific Muhammadans. The whole tract shares in the general result but the greatest apparent

development is in Hill Tippera where the population is greater by 26·1 per cent. than it was in 1891. The present enumeration is possibly more accurate than its predecessor, but the statistics of birth-place show that the State has gained largely by the overflow of population from the neighbouring districts and especially from Sylhet and Plains Tippera. Natural growth accounts for less than a third of the total increment. The British district of Tippera comes next with an advance 18·7 per cent. which is attributable solely to natural growth and affords a remarkable illustration of the rate at which the human race can multiply itself when all



the conditions are favourable. The soil is very fertile and there is still room for expansion, the crops have been good throughout the decade, and the district has been remarkably free from disease of all kinds. The most rapid growth is in the south where there has been a great extension of jute cultivation. In the rest of the district the improvement is most marked along the bank of the Megna; the country further east is somewhat less fertile and has suffered slightly from emigration. Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts which shows an increase of 16·2 per cent., attributable to a more accurate enumeration and to the natural growth of a very sparse population, Noakhali, with a growth of 13·0

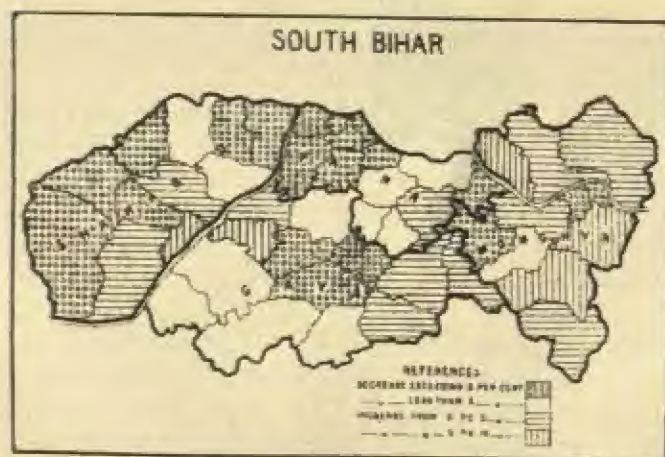


per cent. stands next to Tippera. There has been some loss by migration and the real increase is slightly greater than would appear from the census figures. The most progressive part is in the north, along the Tippera boundary, but the whole district has contributed its quota to the increment except a small tract at the mouth of the Feni river where there has been a good deal of diluvion. Mymensingh, with an increase of 12·7 per cent., follows close on Noakhali. There has been some gain by migration, but not enough to materially affect the result. The western half of the district is more progressive than the eastern. The latter is low and contains numerous large hollows which are filled with water in the rains, while to the north the climate is unhealthy and a slight loss of population has been sustained. Dacca has gained 10·6 per cent. since 1891. The increase is greatest in the north-east, where extensive clearances have been made in the Madhupur jungle, and least in the south-west, where the population is already very dense and the Padma has diluviated a considerable area. This district has lost somewhat by migration.

227. The three districts of East Bengal which lie to the west of the Padma and of the united channel of that river and the Megna, viz., Khulna, Backergunge and Faridpur, show a remarkably uniform rate of growth amounting respectively to 6·4, 6·4 and 6·2 per cent. In Khulna the result is the outcome of a very rapid extension of cultivation in the south-central and south-western portion of the district and a steady but less rapid growth in the *bil* country to the north-east, on the confines of Faridpur, combined with a decrease in the north-western corner which projects into Jessore, and in a narrow strip of country running from it first in a southerly and then in a south-easterly direction; fever is here very prevalent. Backergunge shows a rapid growth in the *bil* country to the north and in the Sundarbans to the south. The progress is least in the part between these two extremes. The centre of the district has been long settled and its population is already so dense that many of its inhabitants are fain to seek a home in the more thinly inhabited tracts to the north and south. The western part of this central tract has also sustained damage from cyclones on more than one occasion since 1891. Faridpur has gained most in the central part of the tract bordering on the Padma, where new alluvial formations have attracted fresh settlers, and in the south where the *bils* are gradually being reclaimed for cultivation. The north-western portion which borders on the most unhealthy part of Jessore is decadent. In Khulna migration accounts for nearly a quarter of the total increase, but in Backergunge and Faridpur, it has not appreciably affected the result.

The least progressive tract in the whole of Eastern Bengal is Chittagong, where there has been an increase of only 4·8 per cent. Its soil is only to a small extent alluvial, but the comparatively slow development is due mainly to the havoc wrought by the cyclone of October 1897, and to the emigration which followed it. But for this the growth of the population would probably have been twice as great as it has actually been.

228. South Bihar includes all the plague districts except Saran, and its decrease of 3·6 per cent. is mainly attributable to the direct and indirect losses caused by the epidemic, viz., a very heavy mortality, the flight of a great part of the immigrant population and, in some parts, the failure of the census staff to effect an exhaustive enumeration. Except in the west of Shababad, the areas of greatest decadence exactly coincide with the areas which have suffered most from plague, and tracts that have been free from the disease have, as a rule, added to their population. Prior to the census the epidemic had been most virulent and most widespread in Patna, where the population has declined by 8·3 per



cent. as compared with 1891. The loss is greatest in the thickly populated urban and semi-urban country on the bank of the Ganges, where the mortality due to plague was greatest. The southern part of the district which suffered least from plague has almost held its ground.



Gaya, with a net decrease of 3·6 per cent., has sustained the greatest loss in the central police circles where plague has been most prevalent. There is also a slight decadence, for which plague is not to blame, in the south-west of the district, where the land is high and barren and the crops are scanty and uncertain. The Nawadah subdivision in the east, and a small tract which benefits by irrigation from the Sone in the north-west, have added to their population; both these tracts had escaped the ravages of plague up to the time of the census. Shahabad has lost 4·7 per cent. of the population recorded in 1891. The whole of the western half of the district, which has long been very unhealthy and marches with an extensive decadent area in the United Provinces, shows a comparatively heavy decrease, and so also does the north-eastern portion on the Patna border, where the result is attributable mainly to the appearance of plague shortly before the census. Three of the four police circles of the Sasaram subdivision, where the area under irrigation is greatest, alone show an increase. Monghyr, with a slight gain of 1·6 per cent., is the only district in South Bihar which has escaped a loss of population, and even here the result is due to the fact that part of the district lies on the north bank of the Ganges; the portion south of that river has sustained a small net loss an increase in four police circles having been more than obliterated by a heavy loss in four others where plague had appeared, viz., the town of Monghyr and its environs and two police circles in the west whither the epidemic spread from Mokameh in the Patna district.

229. The population of North Bihar stands at almost exactly the same figure now as it did ten years ago, and the question that immediately occurs to one is how far the unprogressive state of this tract is attributable to the famine of 1896-97. I have



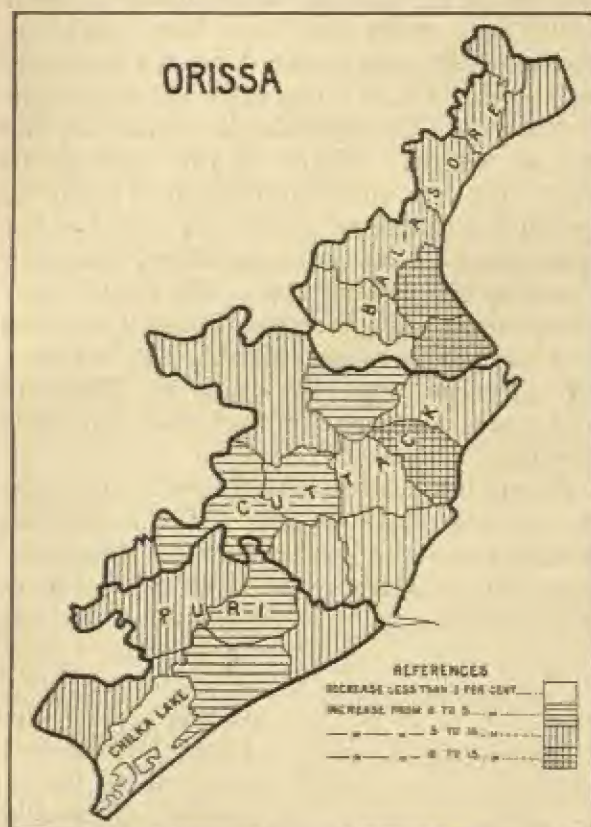
shown in the notes on the Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts that the real, as well as the reported, mortality was less than usual in the famine year, and that no connection can be traced between the relative severity of the famine and the variations in the population in the different parts of these districts; but it may be as well to review briefly the salient points

in the argument, so far as it depends upon the census figures, from a more general stand point. The stress of famine was greatest in Darbhanga, but this district shows the largest gain of population (3·9 per cent.). Purnea escaped the famine altogether, but it has sustained a loss of 3·5 per cent. or exactly the same as Champaran where the decline is greatest in the very tract that suffered least from famine. Saran, which has a decrease of 2·2 per cent. was far less severely affected than Muzaffarpur, which has gained 1·5 per cent., and its loss of population is amply accounted for by the plague epidemic which was more virulent there than in any other district except Patna. The Gopalganj subdivision, where the famine was worst has added slightly to its population. In Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga the great rice-growing tracts under the Nepal frontier, which suffered most in the famine year, show the greatest growth of population. The decadent tracts in Muzaffarpur and Bhagalpur either escaped the famine altogether, or suffered from it only in a minor degree. The true causes of the decay in parts of North Bihar must, therefore, be sought elsewhere. Champaran and Purnea are well known to be unhealthy and have suffered since 1891, not only from malarial affections but also from severe epidemics of cholera. The outbreak of this disease in Purnea in 1900 was of unparalleled severity and no fewer than 46,240 deaths were laid to its account in the annual returns of mortality. The part of Bhagalpur that has



lost population borders on Purnea and shares the unhealthiness of which that district is the victim. In Saran, as already noted, plague fully accounts for the decrease which is greatest where that disease was most prevalent.

230. The Orissa Division has enjoyed a placid period of peaceful development and the rate of growth is remarkably uniform throughout. Cuttack has added 6·4 per cent. to its population, or slightly less than Balasore and Puri, both of which show an



increment of 7·6 per cent. The increase is wholly due to natural growth and would have been slightly greater, but for a small adverse balance on account of migration. Throughout the greater part of the Division the rate of progress ranges between 5 and 10 per cent. It exceeds 10 per cent. only in two fertile but sparsely inhabited tracts, the one in the south-east of Balasore and the other in the east of Cuttack, both on the sea coast. The rate of increase is less than 5 per cent. only in the more densely populated parts of Cuttack and in a strip of country running north and south through the centre of Puri where considerable damage has been caused by floods. There is a decrease only in one small area, in the south of Balasore, and here, too, floods are blamed for the result. The loss of population is little more than nominal, and is not of a permanent nature; it is

due to a large part of the male population having gone away temporarily to seek work near Calcutta, in order to recoup themselves for the loss of their crops.

231. The true increase in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which includes the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur, the Sonthal Parganas and Angul, has been obscured by the extraordinary amount of emigration that has taken place. The census

District.	Estimated loss by emigration.
<b>TOTAL ... ..</b>	<b>398,000</b>
Bazaribagh ... ..	61,000
Ranchi ... ..	128,000
Manbhum ... ..	50,000
Singbhum ... ..	20,000
Sonthal Parganas ... ..	139,000

shows a net increase of 7·8 per cent., but if there had been no emigration it would probably have been not less than 10 per cent. The rate of growth is greatest in the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur where it amounts respectively to 14·8 and 13·3 per cent. The whole of this tract is very sparsely inhabited, and although the proportion of unculturable land is high, there is still ample room for expansion. In a few States

where the increase is very great it is probable that improved enumeration accounts for a part of it, but even so, the actual growth during the decade is probably not less than 12 per cent. The only States which have lost population are Baud in the south, where it is due to unhealthiness and emigration after the scarcity of 1900, and Korea in the north, where it is due mainly to emigration.

Angul which lies in the midst of the Orissa States shows a net increase of 12·8 per cent., but while the head-quarters subdivision has gained more than 23 per cent., the Khondmals subdivision has lost rather more than 3 per cent. The latter tract has been affected, but to a greater extent, by the adverse circumstances that have reduced the population of Baud which adjoins it and to which it formerly belonged.

232. Next to Angul and the Tributary States, the greatest progress is shown by Singbhum which has suffered less from scarcity and has lost less by emigration than the other districts of the Chota Nagpur Division. The opening of the railway has benefited the district, and the tracts which show the greatest improvement are those through which the railway runs. The net increase is 12·4 per cent., while in Manbhum which adjoins it, it is 9·0 per cent.



The most progressive tract in the latter district is in the north-west where the rapid development of the Jheria coal field has created a great and growing demand for labour. In spite of this the district has sustained a net loss by migration, owing to the recruitment of coolies for Assam, and the true rate of increase must have exceeded the census figures by 2 or 3 per cent. Ranchi has lost by migration more than any district except the Sonthal Parganas, and its apparent increase of 5.2 per cent. represents less than half of the real growth of the population. More than 91,000 persons born in this district were enumerated in Assam. Apart from this vast emigration troubles between landlord and tenant have led to a movement of the population from the central plateau towards the west and south of the district. The migration statistics of Palamau show a slight balance in favour of the district, but the figures are not very trustworthy, and many of the ignorant emigrants probably returned Lohardaga (the old name for Ranchi) as their birth-place. The census shows an increase of 3.8 per cent., and even if we raise this to 6 per cent. to allow for a probable though unrecorded loss on account of emigrants, the rate of progress is still small for so sparsely inhabited a district. The decade has been unhealthy, and this is probably the reason why the growth of population has not been greater. The apparent increase in the Sonthal Parganas (3.1 per cent.) is rather less than in Palamau, but the real growth has been far greater. The district has sent out more than 180,000 emigrants as tea-garden coolies in Assam and Jalpaiguri and as pioneers of cultivation in the Bāring. But for this its rate of growth would have exceeded 10 per cent. There are two decadent tracts in the district. The Damin-i-Koh, which has lost by permanent emigration, and a narrow strip in the north-east of the district where plague broke out shortly before the census and caused the temporary flight of many of the settlers from other districts.



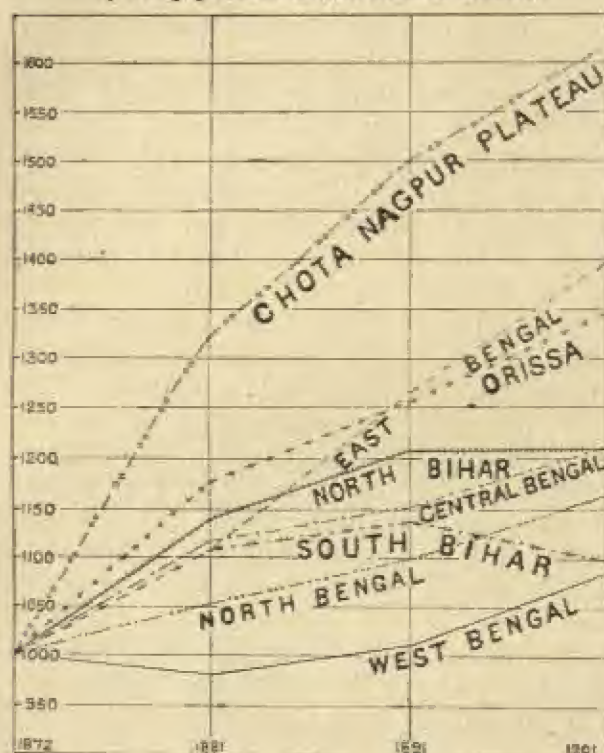
Hazaribagh with 1.1 per cent. has the lowest recorded increase of any district in the Chota Nagpur Plateau but here, as in the Sonthal Parganas and Ranchi, there has been a very heavy loss by emigration. It is probable that more than 90,000 persons left the district during the decade, and if so, the natural growth of population would be about 8 per cent. The central part of the district, where recruiting for tea gardens was most active, shows an actual decrease. In the Giridih subdivision and the Kasmar thana the coal fields have attracted labour, and the rate of expansion is more rapid than in the rest of the district.



233. In conclusion we may briefly notice the progress in the province as a

PROGRESS IN EACH NATURAL DIVISION COMPARED.

*Diagram showing the variation since 1872 per 1,000 of the population in each natural division.*



whole and in each natural division since 1872. The diagram in the margin shows the variation per 1,000 of the population of the different natural divisions at each successive enumeration. Between 1872 and 1881 the Chota Nagpur Plateau showed the greatest apparent improvement, but this was due mainly to the inaccuracy of the first census in a wild, remote and sparsely-peopled tract, where the difficulties in the way of a proper enumeration are exceptionally great. Orissa, which came second, had suffered a terrible loss of population in the great famine of 1866, and its rapid growth was the natural reaction from that calamity during a period of renewed prosperity. In North and South Bihar, as in Chota Nagpur, the census of 1872 was defective, and the increment brought to light in 1881 was thus to a great extent fictitious. The decline in

West Bengal was due to the Burdwan fever, which was then at its height. Between 1881 and 1891 the apparent rate of development in East Bengal and Chota Nagpur was about the same, but the latter tract again owed part of its increase to better enumeration, and the real growth was greatest in East Bengal. Then followed Orissa and North Bihar, then North Bengal, and then in order West Bengal, Central Bengal, and South Bihar. On the present occasion East Bengal again heads the list and is followed in order by the Chota Nagpur Plateau, Orissa, West Bengal, North Bengal, and Central Bengal. The population of North Bihar is stationary, while that of South Bihar has suffered a loss of 3 per cent.

234. The province as a whole, is now more populous by 25 per cent. than it was at the time of the first enumeration in 1872,

THE CENTRE OF POPULATION.

but the varying rate of progress shown by different districts, has caused the centre of the population to shift eastwards and southwards. If we take as the centre of population the point of intersection of two lines drawn, the one north and south and the other east and west, in such a way that the population on either side of each line is exactly equal, the position of this point in 1891 was 6.4 miles due west of the Rampur Hat railway station, whereas it is now 8.8 miles due south of it. In other words it has moved very nearly 11 miles in a south-easterly direction. This way of considering the subject, however, is defective as it fails to recognize all the movements that are in progress, and leaves out of account all changes which do not pass across one or other of the two dividing lines. If individual parts of the Province be considered it will appear that in Bihar the centre of population has moved to the east, in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and Central Bengal to the south, and in North Bengal to the north.

235. The general rate of growth shows a progressive decline. The census of 1881 brought out an increase of 11 per cent.; in 1891 it was 7 per cent., and on the present occasion it is only 5 per cent. This is due in part to the greater accuracy of each succeeding enumeration. The pioneer census of 1872 was admittedly very incomplete. A fresh count of part of the Darbhanga district taken only two and-a-half years later disclosed an excess of 25 per cent. over the population recorded in 1872. A similar revision of the figures for Madhubani in 1876 showed a gain of 20 per cent. The Nadia district suffered terribly from fever between 1872 and 1881, and in one year lost no less than 4 per cent. of its inhabitants, yet in spite of this the recorded population was greater in 1881 by more than 11 per cent. than it was in 1872. The present Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri estimates



that the population of that district was under-estimated in 1872 to the extent of at least 15 per cent. In 1881 the numbering of the people was carried out with far greater accuracy, and although it is impossible to gauge, even approximately, the extent to which this affected the comparative results of the two enumerations, it is quite certain that a very large proportion of the apparent growth must have been due to this cause. It would probably be quite safe to assume that, but for this disturbing factor, the excess of the figures for 1881 over those for 1872 would have been less than the increment disclosed by the present census as compared with 1891.

But although the census of 1881 was very much more complete than that of 1872, there were still tracts where the standard of accuracy fell considerably below that attained ten years later. In 1881 there were disturbances in the Sonthal Parganas, and in Darjeeling many of the ignorant hill men fled to Nepal to escape the imaginary dangers with which the census was associated in their minds. In the remoter tracts of Chota Nagpur the difficulties encountered were very great, and the success in surmounting them was less than that attained ten years later with the aid of the experience then gained. Speaking of the apparent growth of the population of the Chota Nagpur States, as disclosed by the census of 1891, Mr. O'Donnell says that "it is no doubt, two-thirds due to improved enumeration," and mentions that in Gangpur, two hundred villages were left out of account in 1881. It would probably be safe to estimate the gain due to the greater accuracy of the count of 1891 in these remote tracts at the difference between the increase

Orissa Tributary States	...	130,000
Chota Nagpur	"	130,000
Sonthal Parganas	"	130,000
Darjeeling	"	40,000
<b>Total</b>	...	<b>430,000</b>

then obtained and that disclosed by the present census, or at about 420,000 in all, to which may perhaps be added another 80,000 to allow for a fictitious improvement in Saran and other districts where the earlier enumeration was less complete than the later one. The standard of accuracy in

1891 had reached a stage which left but little room for further improvement and, as compared with that census, it is probable that the general gain on this account at the present enumeration does not, at the outside, exceed 100,000, while in the districts where plague was prevalent, the census of 1901 was less complete than its predecessor. Taking the gain and loss together, it may be concluded that there has been no appreciable improvement in the matter of accuracy at the present census.

If half a million be added to the population of 1881 to allow for omissions which did not occur at the succeeding census, the net increase comes to 4,636,858, which is still about 800,000 more than that of the decade preceding the census of 1901. This must be due either to (1) a lower birth-rate, (2) a higher mortality, or (3) an adverse balance of migration. The consideration of the birth and death-rates must be left to a subsequent chapter, but it may be noted here that the appearance, for the first time, of plague has added a new factor to the causes affecting mortality, and that the recorded number of deaths from this disease between the first outbreak in 1898 and the 1st March 1901, amounting to 65,884, probably represents less than half of the loss of life that actually occurred. The cyclone of 1897 in Chittagong, which is estimated to be responsible, directly or indirectly, for some 50,000 deaths, is another calamity of a special character that cannot be left out of account.

The record of migration between Bengal and other countries and provinces is incomplete as we have no information of the number of persons who go across the Nepal boundary. The figures so far as they go, show a considerable net loss, chiefly in the direction of Assam, but it does not appear that it has been greater during the last decade than it was in the preceding ten years. So far, therefore, as the causes affecting the relative rate of growth are concerned, migration may be left out of the reckoning. If 200,000 deaths be allowed for on account of plague and cyclone, there still remains a difference of about 600,000 between the increment in 1891-1901 and that during the previous decade, which is attributable either to a lower birth-rate or a greater general mortality.\*

236. Before closing this Chapter, there is one more point to which I should like to draw attention, viz., the comparative progress made by tracts of

\* The conclusions arrived at in the chapter on age are that the mortality has not increased but that the birth-rate has fallen. The reasons for the decline in the birth-rate vary. In Bihar it is due to the influence of bad seasons which has led to various preventive checks on the growth of the population while in Orissa and Central and West Bengal the birth-rate prior to 1891 was abnormally high owing to the recovery, in the one case, from the famine of 1866 and, in the other, from the ravages of Burdwan fever.



varying density of population. It is generally assumed that the tendency is for people to move from densely-inhabited tracts to those that are more sparsely populated. The extent to which this is actually the case will be seen by a reference to Subsidiary Table No. III. The greatest absolute increase has occurred in thanas with a density of less than 300 to the square mile, but this is mainly owing to the figures for the Chota Nagpur Plateau where the population is unusually prolific and where most of the police circles belong to this category. The proportional rate of increase in Chota Nagpur is not so great in these sparsely inhabited police circles as it is in some that carry a much greater population. North Bengal, which also contributes largely to the total growth of population in this group of thanas, does so owing to the reclamation of the Bárind and the development of the recently acquired tracts in the east of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. If Chota Nagpur and North Bengal be left out of account the greatest absolute addition to the population during the last decade has occurred in thanas with a density of 500 to 600 persons per square mile. In East Bengal the greatest absolute increment has taken place in thanas with 800 to 900 persons per square mile and the greatest proportional growth in those with from 400 to 500 and then in those with from 900 to 1,000. West Bengal has gained most, both absolutely and relatively, in the thanas with a density of from 400 to 500. The proportional growth in Central Bengal is greatest in the most sparsely inhabited thanas but the actual gain is insignificant compared with that in thanas with a population of 900 to 1,000 per square mile. In North Bihar also, though the proportional increase is greatest in the police circles of very low density, the actual increment is far greater in those with a population varying from 800 to 1,000 per square mile. In Orissa the greatest increase from both standpoints has taken place in police circles with a population of from 700 to 800 per square mile. It may, therefore, be concluded that, although sparsely inhabited tracts may grow at a very rapid rate in special cases where annexation or a successful experiment in colonisation may have brought about a change of circumstances and so encouraged immigration, the general tendency is for those tracts to grow most where the general conditions of life are favourable, irrespective of the existing density of population. In other words climate is still, as a rule, a more important factor than the density of the population in determining the growth or decay of the population. In Bihar it seems doubtful if the most thickly inhabited tracts are capable of sustaining a larger population than that which they already carry, but in East Bengal there seems to be no area where the inhabitants have reached the limit which the land can support.



## SUBSIDIARY TABLES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER II.

*Subsidiary Table No. I.*—Showing the variations in the population since 1872.

*Subsidiary Table No. II.*—Comparing the census variations with those indicated by the vital statistics returns.

*Subsidiary Table No. III.*—Showing the variations according to density of population.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—SHOWING THE VARIATIONS IN THE POPULATION SINCE 1872.

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-).			NET VARIATION IN PERIOD 1872-1901 INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-)	MEAN DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE.			
	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1872-1881.		1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>BENGAL</b> ... ..	+ 5.1	+ 7.3	+ 11.3	+ 25.9	413	393	366	328
<b>WEST BENGAL</b> ... ..	+ 7.1	+ 3.9	- 2.7	+ 8.3	591	551	539	545
Burdwan ... ..	+ 10.1	- .1	- 6.2	+ 3.1	570	518	518	555
Birbhum ... ..	+ 13.0	+ .3	- 8.9	+ 5.9	515	459	452	450
Bankura ... ..	+ 4.3	+ 2.7	+ 7.5	+ 15.2	420	408	397	360
Midnapore ... ..	+ 5.9	+ 4.6	- 1.1	+ 9.6	333	307	285	260
Hooghly ... ..	+ 1.4	+ 0.1	- 12.9	- 6.2	381	365	318	240
Howrah ... ..	+ 11.3	+ 13.1	+ 6.2	+ 35.7	1,668	1,497	1,324	1,318
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b> ... ..	+ 5.1	+ 3.1	+ 11.7	+ 21.3	773	736	714	639
24 Parganas ... ..	+ 9.8	+ 11.8	+ 6.2	+ 31.4	666	597	505	750
Calcutta ... ..	+ 24.2	+ 11.4	- 3.2	+ 30.9	42,390	34,115	30,015	31,650
Nadia ... ..	+ 1.4	- 1.1	+ 10.8	+ 11.1	297	260	255	237
Murshidabad ... ..	+ 6.5	+ 1.9	+ 1.0	+ 9.8	423	384	372	356
Jessore ... ..	- 4.0	- 2.6	+ 33.6	+ 24.9	610	640	663	460
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b> ... ..	+ 5.9	+ 4.4	+ 5.3	+ 16.6	483	458	439	417
Rajshahi ... ..	+ 1.3	- .7	+ 1.3	+ 2.7	564	553	559	540
Dinajpur ... ..	+ 5.7	+ 2.5	+ .3	+ 8.5	307	376	365	340
Jaipur ... ..	+ 18.3	+ 17.3	+ 33.9	+ 89.4	266	230	196	141
Darjeeling ... ..	+ 11.5	+ 43.4	+ 63.6	+ 162.2	314	192	134	81
Rangpur ... ..	+ 4.3	- 1.5	- 3.5	+ .02	617	591	600	610
Bogra ... ..	+ 11.7	+ 11.3	+ 6.9	+ 33.1	289	263	265	272
Patna ... ..	+ 4.3	+ 3.9	+ 3.3	+ 17.3	772	740	712	658
Malda ... ..	+ 8.4	+ 14.3	+ 5.0	+ 30.6	460	429	374	328
Kach Bihar ... ..	- 3.0	- 3.0	+ 13.1	+ 6.5	434	443	461	467
Sikkim ... ..	+ 93.7	.....	.....	.....	21	11	.....	.....
<b>EAST BENGAL</b> ... ..	+ 10.4	+ 14.1	+ 10.9	+ 39.9	761	635	553	505
Khulna ... ..	+ 6.4	+ 9.0	+ 3.1	+ 19.6	609	547	520	504
Dacca ... ..	+ 10.8	+ 14.3	+ 14.3	+ 44.9	302	241	251	257
Mymensingh ... ..	+ 12.7	+ 15.8	+ 29.9	+ 68.5	618	549	482	371
Faridpur ... ..	+ 6.2	+ 9.9	+ 3.4	+ 20.6	549	500	497	471
Backergunge ... ..	+ 6.4	+ 13.3	+ .7	+ 21.4	638	501	431	318
Tippura ... ..	+ 13.7	+ 17.8	+ 7.8	+ 50.8	848	713	606	502
Noakhali ... ..	+ 13.0	+ 33.0	- 3.3	+ 35.8	604	614	493	511
Chittagong ... ..	+ 4.3	+ 13.9	+ .4	+ 20.0	543	515	454	422
Do. Hill Tracts ... ..	+ 16.3	+ 3.5	+ 45.9	+ 79.2	24	31	30	13
Hill Tippera ... ..	+ 26.1	+ 63.8	+ 171.2	+ 391.6	42	34	23	8
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	+ .1	+ 3.8	+ 14.0	+ 20.8	636	635	600	536
Saran ... ..	- 2.9	+ 7.4	+ 10.3	+ 16.0	907	923	864	781
Champaran ... ..	- 3.7	+ 8.0	+ 19.4	+ 24.3	507	557	498	408
Muzaffarpur ... ..	+ 1.3	+ 5.6	+ 14.9	+ 22.0	617	598	559	547
Darbhanga ... ..	+ 3.9	+ 6.3	+ 23.1	+ 30.3	573	540	544	540
Bagalpur ... ..	+ 2.7	+ 3.3	+ 7.7	+ 14.4	494	481	465	432
Purnea ... ..	- 3.5	+ 5.1	+ 7.8	+ 9.3	375	389	370	343
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	- 3.6	+ 2.6	+ 10.9	+ 9.7	511	531	517	466
Patna ... ..	- 5.4	+ .9	+ 13.6	+ 4.2	793	855	840	751
Gaya ... ..	- 3.6	+ .8	+ 9.1	+ 5.8	437	424	430	413
Shahabad ... ..	- 4.7	+ 5.6	+ 13.9	+ 14.7	440	471	445	391
Monghyr ... ..	+ 1.6	+ 3.3	+ 8.3	+ 14.0	627	519	502	463
<b>ORISSA</b> ... ..	+ 7.06	+ 6.3	+ 17.6	+ 34.3	508	475	445	378
Cuttack ... ..	+ 6.4	+ 7.3	+ 16.3	+ 33.6	568	534	494	426
Balasore ... ..	+ 7.6	+ 5.2	+ 22.0	+ 39.7	590	423	439	374
Puri ... ..	+ 7.8	+ 6.3	+ 15.9	+ 32.1	411	382	359	311
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU</b> ... ..	+ 7.8	+ 13.5	+ 32.1	+ 61.3	152	141	131	94
Hasaribagh ... ..	+ 1.1	+ 5.4	+ 43.1	+ 52.0	108	160	157	110
Ranchi ... ..	+ 5.2	+ 6.7	+ 30.1	+ 46.0	167	139	140	114
Palaman ... ..	+ 3.4	+ 8.3	+ 80.4	+ 46.2	130	131	113	86
Manikthal ... ..	+ 9.0	+ 12.7	+ 28.3	+ 58.6	314	254	255	198
Singhbhum ... ..	+ 12.4	+ 25.3	+ 42.6	+ 92.8	163	145	131	85
South Parganas ... ..	+ 3.1	+ 11.8	+ 24.5	+ 43.7	531	321	236	230
Chota Nagpur Tributary ... ..	+ 13.3	+ 30.3	+ 35.0	+ 100.8	83	55	45	31
Orissa Disto ... ..	+ 14.3	+ 20.3	+ 27.7	+ 76.4	135	118	98	77
Angul ... ..	+ 12.8	+ 5.7	+ 108.3	+ 144.3	114	101	95	46
<b>CITIES</b> ... ..	+ 10.9	+ 8.3	+ 2.9	+ 23.8	15,116	13,621	10,569	12,213
Calcutta ... ..	+ 24.3	+ 11.4	- 3.2	+ 33.9	42,390	34,115	30,015	31,650
Howrah ... ..	+ 33.1	+ 25.4	+ 8.0	+ 87.4	17,610	12,964	10,090	9,341
Cossipore-Chitpur ... ..	+ 29.6	+ 10.5	+ 3.6	+ 60.0	13,553	10,474	8,704	8,456
Manicktala ... ..	+ 13.0	- 41.4	- 10.8	- 40.0	8,398	8,083	8,021	8,298
Garden Reach ... ..	+ 1.0	+ 46.7	+ 13.5	+ 75.6	9,403	8,308	6,344	5,353
Serampur ... ..	+ 13.0	+ 40.4	+ 4.5	+ 81.8	11,112	8,088	6,300	6,116
Bally ... ..	+ 11.7	+ 12.7	+ 8.0	+ 36.1	9,331	8,150	7,407	6,387
Dacca ... ..	- 7.3	- 3.2	+ 7.3	- 3.9	10,060	9,147	8,786	7,809
Patna ... ..	- 9.9	+ 11.5	+ 22.7	+ 23.2	18,904	18,354	15,061	17,552
Darbhanga ... ..	- 7.2	+ 15.8	+ 11.0	+ 18.2	9,453	10,509	9,423	7,677
Muzaffarpur ... ..	- 37.1	+ 3.1	- 7.2	- 39.9	7,603	8,193	7,070	6,373
Monghyr ... ..	+ 9.6	+ 1.3	+ 4.3	+ 15.9	4,485	7,134	6,921	7,462
Bagalpur ... ..	- 12.9	+ 10.0	+ 11.6	- .8	9,450	8,636	8,329	8,172
Chupra ... ..	- 5.3	- 2.3	+ 10.5	+ 1.7	8,567	8,103	7,331	6,613
Bihar ... ..	- 11.3	+ 3.1	+ 14.3	+ 6.0	5,007	5,302	5,341	4,921
Gaya ... ..	- 11.3	+ 3.1	+ 14.3	+ 6.0	10,184	11,433	10,010	9,042

NOTE.—The density shown for North Bengal is exclusive of Sikkim and that for East Bengal is exclusive of Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts.



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. II—COMPARING THE VARIATION IN THE ACTUAL AND NATURAL POPULATION OF EACH DISTRICT WITH THAT INDICATED BY THE VITAL STATISTICS RETURNS.**

Districts.	Total number of deaths reported from 1891-1900.	Number of deaths per cent. of population of 1891.	Births.			Number of births per cent. of population of 1891.	Excess or deficiency of column 6 compared with 2.	Increase or decrease in actual population at census of 1901, compared with 1891.	Increase or decrease in natural population at census of 1901, compared with 1891.
			1892-1900.	Add 1th for 1891.	Total 1891-1900.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>PROVINCE</b>	<b>22,500,529</b>	<b>51.50</b>	<b>22,925,026</b>	<b>2,555,003</b>	<b>25,550,029</b>	<b>55.9</b>	<b>+3,159,200</b>	<b>+3,558,576</b>	<b>+3,240,973</b>
<b>BURDWAN DIVISION</b>	<b>2,218,060</b>	<b>28.84</b>	<b>2,300,886</b>	<b>255,634</b>	<b>2,556,520</b>	<b>33.24</b>	<b>+ 358,480</b>	<b>+ 350,887</b>	<b>+ 402,590</b>
Burdwan	410,422	29.01	400,006	44,555	445,551	33.01	+ 29,129	+ 140,595	+ 53,527
Birbhum	230,011	29.04	279,142	30,040	309,182	37.64	+ 81,490	+ 104,020	+ 97,842
Bankura	258,366	24.15	233,501	37,066	270,567	24.64	+ 112,191	+ 45,743	+ 94,342
Midnapore	730,451	27.73	800,553	88,050	888,603	33.80	+ 130,052	+ 127,648	+ 128,470
Hoochly	347,451	33.59	297,048	29,673	226,721	23.08	- 50,733	+ 14,880	- 58,134
Howrah	226,529	29.64	228,348	23,373	251,721	33.22	+ 27,301	+ 26,889	+ 26,243
<b>PRESIDENCY DIVISION</b>	<b>2,837,475</b>	<b>35.24</b>	<b>2,579,265</b>	<b>286,585</b>	<b>2,865,850</b>	<b>33.37</b>	<b>+ 98,375</b>	<b>+ 457,902</b>	<b>+ 356,724</b>
24 Pargannas	487,103	28.73	474,117	32,680	506,797	27.55	+ 31,635	+ 157,071	+ 143,401
Calcutta	251,575	30.02	193,080	11,547	204,627	16.92	- 138,498	+ 155,401	+ 104,487
Nadia	593,406	36.49	556,119	65,124	621,243	39.61	+ 87,747	+ 23,333	+ 26,104
Murshidabad	423,053	29.81	471,000	52,533	523,533	41.53	+ 109,300	+ 82,238	+ 89,218
Jessore	717,120	37.96	680,372	63,584	743,956	33.49	- 54,490	- 75,672	- 93,868
Khulna	374,753	31.82	374,737	41,637	416,374	32.35	+ 41,591	+ 75,391	+ 58,071
<b>RAJSHAHI DIVISION</b>	<b>2,815,857</b>	<b>35.19</b>	<b>2,579,965</b>	<b>285,663</b>	<b>2,865,628</b>	<b>35.63</b>	<b>+ 40,741</b>	<b>+ 477,757</b>	<b>+ 330,851</b>
Rajshahi	530,354	30.83	474,149	32,682	506,831	30.28	- 3,452	+ 22,773	- 835
Dinajpur	568,933	33.37	531,720	30,080	561,800	30.00	+ 21,877	+ 84,510	+ 43,055
Jalpaiguri	230,471	30.84	207,657	23,675	231,332	33.90	- 10,090	+ 106,044	+ 63,727
Darjeeling	33,017	41.65	34,332	6,504	40,836	23.12	- 27,973	+ 25,803	+ 39,530
Rangpur	604,780	33.83	640,682	71,190	711,872	34.43	+ 16,632	+ 85,717	+ 15,357
Bogra	233,038	30.00	230,445	27,827	258,272	30.40	+ 44,334	+ 90,072	+ 110,298
Pabna	445,474	32.72	408,337	48,371	456,708	30.33	+ 8,234	+ 59,238	+ 53,519
<b>DACCA DIVISION</b>	<b>3,078,601</b>	<b>31.26</b>	<b>3,425,886</b>	<b>380,834</b>	<b>3,806,720</b>	<b>38.68</b>	<b>+ 727,939</b>	<b>+ 948,692</b>	<b>+ 960,273</b>
Dacca	725,674	30.20	881,140	94,571	975,711	39.48	+ 250,037	+ 254,032	+ 290,830
Mymensingh	921,889	30.53	1,110,405	123,372	1,233,777	35.63	+ 312,504	+ 442,832	+ 435,647
Faridpur	645,401	36.38	638,406	70,001	708,407	38.71	+ 60,000	+ 118,181	+ 97,071
Backergunge	786,137	30.40	828,935	92,104	921,039	42.70	+ 134,902	+ 137,787	+ 134,806
<b>CHITTAGONG DIVISION</b>	<b>1,185,135</b>	<b>29.02</b>	<b>1,475,429</b>	<b>165,956</b>	<b>1,650,385</b>	<b>40.9</b>	<b>+ 464,250</b>	<b>+ 530,174</b>	<b>+ 548,031</b>
Tippera	451,732	25.33	635,517	70,024	705,541	30.61	+ 254,800	+ 335,065	+ 345,405
Noakhali	330,073	32.77	408,052	43,389	451,441	44.03	+ 122,479	+ 132,685	+ 135,809
Chittagong	403,427	31.19	431,790	47,973	479,763	37.18	+ 77,306	+ 63,063	+ 62,757
<b>PATNA DIVISION</b>	<b>5,090,475</b>	<b>32.19</b>	<b>5,030,430</b>	<b>557,826</b>	<b>5,578,256</b>	<b>35.28</b>	<b>+ 487,781</b>	<b>- 296,617</b>	<b>- 537,454</b>
Patna	600,432	33.88	558,751	62,063	620,814	35.00	+ 30,402	- 145,425	- 93,101
Gaya	709,309	32.11	706,330	75,481	781,811	30.70	+ 76,602	- 78,209	- 117,664
Shahabad	677,274	32.86	610,864	67,274	678,138	32.94	+ 1,484	- 97,383	- 77,235
Saran	742,143	30.10	701,177	84,575	785,752	34.31	+ 103,600	- 55,495	- 208,800
Champanar	610,031	33.12	674,106	65,790	739,896	34.90	+ 21,805	- 69,002	- 68,071
Muzaffarpur	502,578	33.27	511,533	101,284	612,817	37.32	+ 110,239	+ 41,033	+ 13,433
Darbhanga	845,808	30.11	897,049	99,739	996,788	33.49	+ 153,580	+ 110,450	+ 106,578
<b>BHAGALPUR DIVISION</b>	<b>2,662,711</b>	<b>31.23</b>	<b>2,781,853</b>	<b>309,095</b>	<b>3,090,948</b>	<b>36.01</b>	<b>+ 408,237</b>	<b>+ 144,249</b>	<b>+ 326,883</b>
Monghyr	690,809	32.45	729,234	81,025	810,259	32.78	+ 140,431	+ 32,769	+ 42,900
Bhagalpur	657,994	33.37	674,580	75,169	749,749	32.99	+ 92,889	+ 50,237	+ 102,481
Purnea	670,530	34.94	608,268	63,111	671,379	33.46	- 62,180	- 69,864	- 76,490
Malda	306,672	37.03	323,469	32,007	355,476	40.91	+ 19,404	+ 68,111	+ 51,413
Sonthal Parganas	377,707	21.58	314,193	57,133	371,326	32.57	+ 130,610	+ 55,902	+ 206,390
<b>ORISSA DIVISION</b>	<b>1,194,133</b>	<b>50.79</b>	<b>1,291,597</b>	<b>145,503</b>	<b>1,437,100</b>	<b>37.0</b>	<b>+ 240,897</b>	<b>+ 273,595</b>	<b>+ 266,679</b>
Cuttack	591,019	30.90	653,453	72,000	725,453	37.47	+ 135,042	+ 123,087	+ 126,221
Balasore	312,317	31.39	333,736	37,007	370,743	37.83	+ 64,000	+ 70,232	+ 83,173
Puri	290,797	30.77	290,336	33,200	323,536	35.19	+ 41,790	+ 72,286	+ 67,286
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION</b>	<b>1,288,352</b>	<b>27.83</b>	<b>1,549,785</b>	<b>172,087</b>	<b>1,721,872</b>	<b>37.18</b>	<b>+ 432,520</b>	<b>+ 271,637</b>	<b>+ 336,906</b>
Bazariugh	320,581	30.88	412,209	45,801	458,010	30.33	+ 56,420	+ 13,640	+ 81,483
Ranchi	337,303	29.57	306,392	44,040	350,432	30.01	+ 103,232	+ 59,040	+ 104,373
Palamanu	150,240	31.89	211,409	22,463	233,872	30.37	+ 44,332	+ 22,630	.....
Manbhum	258,034	33.96	307,242	40,805	348,047	34.26	+ 122,023	+ 108,096	+ 110,077
Singbhum	113,294	21.11	101,593	17,045	118,638	32.90	+ 84,244	+ 68,071	+ 91,109

NOTE.—This statement is exclusive of the figures for the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Angul and the Pendency States; birth and death statistics are not recorded in these tracts. Still-births are not included. The number of such births were highest in 1899, when they amounted to 106,456, or about 1.2 per 1,000 of the population of 1891.

The figures in column 10 include the persons born in each district, and enumerated, not only in other parts of Bengal but also in Assam, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Burma (for Chittagong only) and Madras (for Puri only).



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. III.—SHOWING THE VARIATION IN THE  
POPULATION ACCORDING TO DENSITY.**

(I) (Actual variation).

Serial No.	NATURAL DIVISION.	VARIATION IN POPULATION OF THANAS WITH A DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE OF—							
		LESS THAN 300.		300—400.		400—500.		500—600.	
		1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	<b>Total</b> ...	<b>+1,767,748</b>	<b>+1,005,919</b>	<b>+371,709</b>	<b>+363,041</b>	<b>+453,090</b>	<b>+364,554</b>	<b>+522,480</b>	<b>+440,963</b>
1	West Bengal	+ 63,537	+ 26,289	+ 60,348	+ 37,434	- 3,508	+ 125,953	+ 14,605	+ 68,824
2	Central Bengal	+ 11,203	+ 23,671	+ 2,011	+ 22,973	- 18,958	+ 7,855	- 18,836	+ 21,799
3	North do.	+ 325,920	+ 198,382	+ 85,583	+ 88,802	+ 20,552	+ 23,990	+ 36,122	+ 60,438
4	East do.	+ 230,714	+ 91,329	+ 53,169	+ 124,837	+ 295,029	+ 158,155	+ 300,738	+ 267,803
5	North Bihar	+ 113,792	+ 34,371	+ 22,121	- 22,174	+ 58,255	- 14,308	+ 131,495	- 4,008
6	South do.	+ 29,693	- 4,097	+ 67,529	- 17,221	+ 17,417	- 36,753	+ 11,108	- 3,819
7	Orissa	+ 35,865	+ 32,712	+ 46,774	+ 63,198	+ 45,038	+ 33,990	+ 30,256	+ 14,590
8	Chota Nagpur Plateau	+ 1,006,624	+ 601,032	+ 36,154	+ 95,092	+ 21,283	- 3,846	+ 16,932	+ 15,132

**VARIATION IN POPULATION OF THANAS WITH A DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE OF—**

Serial No.	600—700.		700—800.		800—900.		900—1,000.		Over 1,000.	
	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	<b>+577,619</b>	<b>+293,135</b>	<b>+412,963</b>	<b>+312,568</b>	<b>+499,786</b>	<b>+328,230</b>	<b>+172,714</b>	<b>+307,598</b>	<b>+342,275</b>	<b>+230,491</b>
1	+ 7,197	+ 06,215	- 2,377	+ 19,558	+ 15,881	+ 5,273	+ 29,283	+ 9,486	+ 110,517	+ 101,889
2	- 18,399	- 3,100	+ 50,822	+ 17,744	+ 56,127	+ 20,541	+ 10,891	+ 44,073	+ 74,240	+ 28,248
3	+ 44,784	+ 141,738	- 20,276	- 354	- 26,888	- 323	-	- 139	+ 30,345	+ 21,140
4	+ 354,091	+ 46,318	+ 264,207	+ 306,679	+ 166,736	+ 288,978	+ 43,588	+ 207,128	+ 111,743	+ 300,202
5	+ 107,044	- 15,289	+ 75,603	+ 34,843	+ 149,425	+ 51,154	+ 92,670	+ 51,977	+ 10,775	- 72,742
6	+ 21,861	- 69,165	+ 39,320	- 35,762	+ 38,096	- 47,710	- 19,217	- 16,658	+ 11,516	- 68,690
7	+ 61,041	+ 15,914	+ 7,664	+ 60,808	+ 20,589	+ 11,019	-	+ 12,123	+ 3,150	+ 29,840
8	-	+ 11,113	-	-	-	-	+ 6,499	-	-	- 603

(2) (Proportional figures).

Serial No.	NATURAL DIVISIONS.	VARIATION PER CENT IN POPULATION OF THANAS WITH A DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE OF—							
		UNDER 300.		300—400.		400—500.		500—600.	
		1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	<b>Total</b> ...	<b>+12.4</b>	<b>+8.6</b>	<b>+7.3</b>	<b>+5.3</b>	<b>+5.0</b>	<b>+4.5</b>	<b>+5.7</b>	<b>+4.6</b>
1	West Bengal	+ 8.7	+ 6.3	+ 9.3	+ 4.1	- 0.3	+ 11.3	+ 1.0	+ 6.6
2	Central Bengal	+ 22.6	+ 41.8	+ 3.0	+ 21.9	- 3.3	+ 6.9	+ 1.2	+ 1.4
3	North do.	+ 25.1	+ 30.7	+ 6.8	+ 7.4	+ 1.0	+ 1.5	+ 2.8	+ 3.4
4	East do.	+ 24.6	+ 14.9	+ 10.3	+ 11.4	+ 14.4	+ 19.9	+ 18.6	+ 10.6
5	North Bihar	+ 15.2	+ 5.3	+ 3.6	- 4.6	+ 4.6	- 1.1	+ 9.5	- 0.4
6	South do.	+ 2.9	- 0.4	+ 7.7	- 3.1	+ 3.1	- 2.4	+ 0.9	- 0.3
7	Orissa	+ 8.3	+ 7.0	+ 6.9	+ 6.7	+ 4.9	+ 4.9	+ 6.0	+ 2.6
8	Chota Nagpur Plateau	+ 13.6	+ 8.0	+ 9.6	+ 8.4	+ 9.6	- 1.7	+ 12.1	+ 12.3

**VARIATION PER CENT IN POPULATION OF THANAS WITH A DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE OF—**

Serial No.	600—700.		700—800.		800—900.		900—1,000.		Over 1,000.	
	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1891—1901.
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	<b>+ 6.0</b>	<b>+ 2.4</b>	<b>+ 4.2</b>	<b>+ 3.6</b>	<b>+ 7.1</b>	<b>+ 4.1</b>	<b>+ 4.3</b>	<b>+ 6.2</b>	<b>+ 8.5</b>	<b>+ 3.1</b>
1	+ 0.8	+ 6.5	- 2	+ 3.3	+ 6.2	+ 3.4	+ 5.8	+ 2.2	+ 13.0	+ 7.4
2	- 1.5	- 0.3	+ 2.6	+ 1.6	+ 11.9	+ 3.6	+ 5.3	+ 12.4	+ 16.1	+ 2.8
3	+ 5.2	+ 7.7	- 1.2	-	- 8.9	-	-	- 0.3	+ 6.2	+ 8.7
4	+ 13.2	+ 3.3	+ 12.3	+ 9.5	+ 12.3	+ 11.3	+ 4.3	+ 14.4	+ 14.1	+ 10.2
5	+ 6.2	- 1.1	+ 4.1	+ 3.1	+ 5.9	+ 1.3	+ 4.7	+ 2.8	+ 0.8	- 3.1
6	+ 1.4	- 4.8	+ 2.6	- 3.0	+ 5.9	- 3.8	- 6.8	- 12.6	+ 2.5	- 15.0
7	+ 9.8	+ 8.9	+ 3.0	+ 10.9	+ 5.2	+ 4.2	-	+ 4.4	+ 12.1	+ 71.3
8	-	+ 7.2	-	-	-	-	+ 47.4	-	-	- 2.4



## Chapter XXX.

## MIGRATION.

237. The statistics of birthplace are contained in Imperial Table XI.

The following Subsidiary Tables in which the prominent features of the statistics are portrayed will be found at the end of this chapter.

*Subsidiary Table No. I*—Showing the general distribution according to birthplace of the persons enumerated in each district.

*Subsidiary Table No. II*—Showing the general distribution according to the place of enumeration of the persons born in each district.

*Subsidiary Table No. III*—Containing proportional figures of the migration to and from each district.

*Subsidiary Table No. IV*—Showing the volume of migration between Commissioners' and Natural Divisions at the present census and in 1891.

*Subsidiary Table No. V*—Showing the gain or loss by migration between Bengal and other parts of India.

*Subsidiary Table No. VI*—Showing the number of immigrants from certain foreign countries.

238. The movements of the people so far as they affect the total population of each district have been dealt with in the last chapter and the present discussion will be directed mainly to the direction and character of the migration, and to the reasons that induce it.

Five different types of migration may be distinguished in this Province,\* *viz.*—  
I. *Casual*—Or the accidental movement backwards and forwards across the boundary line between contiguous districts. All over the province, people are constantly found moving short distances from their original home. Amongst Hindus this is especially the case with women, as men usually get their wives from villages at some little distance from their own.† The volume of casual migration is for this reason much greater in Bihar, West Bengal, and Orissa, where Hindus largely preponderate, than it is east of the Bhágirathi, where the Muhammadan element is greater. Where a man's wife is a native of another district his eldest child will usually be born there also, as it is the usual practice for the young wife to return to her parents' home for her first confinement. These minor movements pass unnoticed except along the line which happens to have been selected as the district boundary. In Subsidiary Tables I, II, and III migration between contiguous districts has been shown separately, but it does not by any means follow that the whole or even the greater part of it is due to movements of the casual nature here described. There may be a genuine permanent progression from one district to another, such as that from Hazaribagh to the Sonthal Parganas in the early half of the last century.

II. *Temporary*.—Due to a temporary demand for labour on roads or railways, journeys on business, pilgrimages and the like. This form of movement needs no illustration.

III. *Periodic*.—Due to the changing seasons. Of this nature is the annual exodus from Chittagong for the rice harvest in Akyab, or the visits paid to Bengal by Nunias and other labouring castes from upcountry during the cold weather months, when their crops are off the ground, and there is no work requiring their presence at home.

IV. *Semi-Permanent*.—Where the inhabitants of one place earn their livelihood in another, but maintain their connection with their old homes, leave their families there, return there themselves at more or less regular intervals, and look forward to the time when they may again live there permanently. The

\* The classification of the different types of migration is based on that adopted by Mr. Ibbotson in the Punjab in 1881 with the necessary modifications due to different local conditions.

† There appears to be no religious sentiment involved, and the reason generally assigned is that if a wife's parents' home is near she is very prone to return there whenever she quarrels with her husband, whereas if they reside at a distance this is less easy, and the husband can keep her in greater subjection. Amongst Muhammadans these considerations are outweighed by the fact that it is considered desirable to marry a woman of the same family.



settlement of Englishmen in India is generally of this nature ; so also is that of Márwáris in Bengal, or of clerks who obtain employment at a distance from their own home.

V. *Permanent*.—Where over-crowding drives people away or the superior attractions of some other locality induce them to settle there permanently with their families. The gradual development of the Sundarbans affords an example of this sort of migration.

239. The character of the migration is to a great extent reflected in the proportion of the sexes.\* Where it is casual females will naturally be in excess, as almost every woman changes her residence after marriage and amongst Hindus, she usually marries at some distance from her parental home. Where it is temporary or periodic, on the other hand, except where a pilgrimage is the object, the majority of the migrants will be men. Amongst pilgrims women, in this Province, bulk much more largely than men, but they leave their homes comparatively seldom for purposes of trade or temporary work. In the case of semi-permanent migration also, males are usually in excess. A man does not ordinarily take his wife and family with him until he has decided finally to sever his connection with his old home. It is, therefore, only when a movement is of a permanent nature that the proportion of the sexes will approach equality.

240. The census statistics refer to the distribution of the population on a particular day and the volume of temporary and periodic migration will therefore depend very largely on the date when it is taken. In respect of temporary migration it may be mentioned that in 1891 there were two large movements of a religious nature in progress on the day of the census, the *Arádhaya Yoga* which drew many thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the country, but especially from the Eastern districts, to the banks of the Ganges, and the *Dhulul* ceremony at Nabadwip which was attended by about 15,000 persons from the neighbouring districts. At the present census the only large gathering of this nature was the *Gobind Duádasi* festival at Puri which is estimated to have been attended by about 20,000 persons. Periodic migration is mainly of two kinds. Many of the labouring classes from Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Birbhum, and Bankura, visit Bengal Proper every season as soon as their rice crop is harvested, and do not return until the commencement of the monsoon affords them employment nearer home. The census is always taken in India towards the end of the cold weather, when the number of persons thus absent from home is at its maximum. The other main form of periodic migration is in connection with harvest operations. The great harvest which attracts people from other districts is that of the winter rice. This is over before the end of January and people who had gone to assist in the operations in other districts would usually be back in their permanent homes before the end of February. Of them, therefore, the present census, like its predecessor, has for the most part taken no count. The jute season in some of the districts of East Bengal attracts a great number of labourers from Bihar, but this is during the rains and only those are included in the census returns who belong to the category of semi-permanent migrants, *i.e.*, who do not come merely for the jute season but stay on during the cold weather months as palki-bearers, earth-workers, brick-makers, etc. The *rabi* or spring harvest in Bengal Proper attracts very few labourers from other districts. It does so to a much greater extent in Bihar, but owing to the prevalence of plague it is probable that the number of foreign reapers was much smaller on this occasion in Saran and South Bihar than it was in 1891. There is one more general consideration that should be mentioned before proceeding to a discussion of the figures; the effects of permanent migration are cumulative, but those of other movements are not so. The Western Duars of Jalpaiguri were practically uninhabited when acquired from Bhutan less than forty years ago. The country is naturally fertile and much of it is well suited for tea. Under British rule, permanent settlers soon began to pour in and the waste land is rapidly being reclaimed. The

\* The extent to which the varying proportion of the sexes in the different districts is due to migration will be indicated in the chapter on sex.



process will doubtless continue until the proportion of arable land is as great there as it is in the adjoining districts. The original settlers are gradually being replaced by their children born in the district, and not by new comers from outside. Consequently when the land fit for cultivation has been opened out the flow of migration will cease and a generation later there will be no indication in the census returns of the movement that has taken place. In other words permanent migration tends to exhaust itself and die out. In the case of all other kinds of migration, however, the effect is not cumulative and so long as the circumstances remain the same the volume at each succeeding census will be as great as it was before. If the demand for labour increases the number of migrants will tend to grow in the same proportion.\*

241. Finally the apparent movements of the people may occasionally be fictitious, and without any existence in fact. The alteration of district boundaries leaves the actual residence of the inhabitants unchanged, but it may often happen that a man born in a tract subsequently transferred from district A to district B may describe himself as having been born in district A and so go to swell the number of persons returned as born outside the limits of district B. The number of changes in district boundaries was less in the decade preceding the present census than in the two previous ones, and it is, therefore, probable that the returns have

Period.	Number of district boundaries altered.
1872-1881	10
1881-1891	24
1891-1901	13

been less affected by mistakes of this nature.

242. In the province as a whole, of every 10,000 persons 9,423 were born in the district in which enumerated, 293 in contiguous districts of the province, 167 in other parts of Bengal, 93 in other provinces, and 24 in other countries. The total amount of migration is therefore very small, and it will be still smaller if we exclude from consideration the casual migration across the borders of contiguous districts. But before considering the movements within the province we may glance briefly at those between Bengal and (1) other countries, and (2) other parts of India. The only movements of any moment between Bengal and foreign countries are—

- (1) immigration from, and emigration to, Nepal;
- (2) emigration to the Colonies;
- (3) immigration from the British Islands.

The total number of persons born in Nepal but enumerated in this Province is 161,495, or slightly less than in 1891. Nearly half the total number are found in the Darjeeling district and nearly three quarters of the remainder in Sikkim, Champaran and Jalpaiguri. Most of these are permanent settlers, the great attraction in Darjeeling being the tea gardens. The expansion of the tea industry there has now practically ceased, and there is very little fresh immigration from Nepal. The original settlers are gradually being replaced by their children born in the district. The number of immigrants at the present census is therefore less than it was in 1891. There has been no change elsewhere worth noting, except in Champaran and Purnea, where it would seem that some of the Nepalese who were in British territory in 1891, must since have recrossed the frontier. We have, however, no statistics of the population of Nepal, and it is thus impossible to verify this inference, or to learn how far the influx into British territory is counterbalanced by an ebb of population in the opposite direction. It is believed that a considerable number of people go from the North Bihar districts, and especially from Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Bhagalpur to the adjoining part of Nepal, but that very few go thither from Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri or Sikkim.†

\* The above propositions are only intended to indicate the general tendency of each kind of migration. Periodic migration may become semi-permanent, and semi-permanent migration may become permanent. This subject will be dealt with further in paragraph 243 in connection with the movement from Bihar and the United Provinces to Bengal Proper.

† In Purnea the movements of a permanent nature across the boundary are said to show no special tendency in either direction. They are due mainly to the matrimonial arrangements of the people. Many persons living in Purnea hold land in Nepal, but they only go thither when agricultural operations require their presence. The Magistrate of Champaran thinks that the emigration to Nepal exceeds the countervailing immigration. A strip of jungle in the Nepal Terai is now being cleared for cultivation and this attracts settlers. The Magistrates of Bhagalpur and Muzaffarpur are of the same opinion. Rents, it is said, are lower in Nepal and good land is plentiful.



243. The emigration to the Colonies, though not shown in the census statistics, is known from special returns which are maintained under the orders of Government. The total number of emigrants during the decade 1891—1901 was 16,818, of whom nearly half went from

District	No. of Emigrants.
Shahabad	7,653
Saran	2,617
Patna	2,029
Gaya	1,425
Muzaffarpur	901
Other districts	2,213

Shahabad, and most of the remainder from Saran, Patna, Gaya and Muzaffarpur. On the average about 1 in 4 of these emigrants returns home. The persons born in the British Islands now number 11,886 compared with 9,544 in 1891. This is due mainly to the figures for Calcutta where there was a decrease in 1891, which was attributed by Mr. O'Donnell to some of the schedules on which Europeans were enumerated having been lost. The industrial towns near Calcutta and the coalfields of Jheria and Asansol contain more Europeans than they did 10 years previously, but there has been a falling off in Darjeeling due to the reduction of tea garden establishments. Three quarters of the British-born are males and only one quarter females. The persons who returned Afghanistan as their birthplace are chiefly itinerant traders, most of whom are only cold weather visitors; almost all of them were shown as woollen cloth dealers, but a few were returned as fruit-sellers, hide-dealers and money-lenders.

244. The number of immigrants to Bengal from other parts of India, according to the present census, is 728,715, and the corresponding number of emigrants is 879,583. By far the greatest amount of immigration is from the United Provinces which send a continually

growing supply of labourers for the mills of the metropolitan districts and the coalfields of Burdwan and Manbhum, and for earth-work, palki-bearing, etc., throughout the province. The total number of persons born in the United Provinces and States, but enumerated in Bengal, is 496,940, compared with 365,248 in 1891 and 351,933 in 1881. These figures include migration between contiguous districts along the common boundary line. If this be left out of account, the number of immigrants from the United Provinces at the present census is about 416,000. Of these nearly three-sevenths were enumerated in Calcutta, the 24-Parganas, and Howrah.\* The emigrants to the United Provinces number only 128,991, of whom all but about 32,000 were found in districts contiguous to their district of birth. Of the migration between contiguous districts of Bihar and the United Provinces the most notable features are (1) the decrease in the number of settlers from Gorakhpur in Champaran and a corresponding increase in the number of these settlers in Saran; (2) the remarkable falling-off in the number of Saran-born people enumerated in Gorakhpur, which is now little more than a third of the figure (70,560), returned in 1891; and (3) the total absence of any emigration from the Chota Nagpur States to Mirzapur. The great balance of migration in favour of Bengal, in the case of migration other than to contiguous districts, is of course due to the great demand for labour in Bengal Proper, where the landless labourer is in many parts unknown and there is no local supply of field labourers, palki-bearers and earth-workers. The mills around Calcutta and the coal mines and tea gardens also need far more workers than they can procure within the limits of the province. The emigrants from Bengal to the United Provinces belong to a great extent to the educated classes, and find employment as pleaders or as clerks under Government or in the railway offices. Numerous pilgrims go from Bengal to Benares and other holy places, and of these the greater number are women. Many well-to-do widows also settle permanently at Benares for religious reasons. This explains why of the total number of Bengal-born persons in Benares (20,157) two-thirds are females. In Ballia, where the proportion of females born in Darbhanga is extraordinarily high (1,564 out of 1,574), the Census Superintendent of the United Provinces informs me that it is due to hypergamy. The low class but wealthy Bābhāns

\* The districts of the United Provinces from which most of the emigrants come are those in the extreme east, viz., Ballia, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, Benares, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Allahabad. Then come the districts immediately to the west of these, viz., Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Rai Bareilly, Lucknow, Fatehpur and Cawnpur.



and Rájputs of Darbhanga are said to be addicted to marrying their daughters to their poorer but better bred caste-fellows of Ballia. Except for the movements between contiguous districts and the interchange of wives, most of the migration between Bengal and the United Provinces is temporary, but the extent to which this is so will be further discussed in a subsequent paragraph.

245. In the case of Assam the balance of migration is heavily against Bengal. The emigrants aggregate 503,876, an increase of 85,532 as compared with 1891, while the immigrants number only 48,296, or 5,327 less than at the time of the previous census. If we exclude from the account the ebb and flow of population between contiguous districts, the loss by migration is about 457,000 and the gain only 12,000. This great exodus is, of course, mainly in connection with the tea industry; most of the coolies for the Assam tea gardens are recruited in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the adjoining district of Gaya and West Bengal. The returns maintained under the labour law show that during the decade 1891-1900 more than a quarter of a million persons were recruited in Bengal and sent up to Assam to work on the tea gardens. Comparatively few of these return to Bengal on the expiry of their labour contracts; the majority either stay on in Assam as garden coolies or settle down there as cultivators\* This enormous exodus is therefore a great drain on this Province, and constitutes one of the main reasons for the very small growth of population in the districts from which the coolies are mainly drawn.

Chota Nagpur Plateau	180,007
Bihar	26,268
Bengal Proper and Orissa	46,674
Total	252,939

246. Another noticeable feature in these statistics is the growing number of people who go from Bengal to Burma. Of the total number 79,262 are from Chittagong. Many of these are temporary emigrants in connection with the Akyab rice harvest; of the remainder, about 77,000, the majority are labourers who ultimately return home, but many are permanent emigrants who have been settled on waste land grants in Upper Burma. Most of them come from Bihar, but unfortunately the Burma census returns afford no information as to the particular districts from which they have emigrated.† The next most considerable inter-provincial movement is that with the Central Provinces, but here the interchange of population is more even; Bengal receives 62,181 and gives 44,360, so that there is a net gain of rather less than 18,000. The bulk of this migration occurs between the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur and the contiguous districts and States of the Central Provinces. Elsewhere the immigrants are mainly general labourers, earth-workers and tea garden coolies. The volume of migration between Bengal and Madras is about a third of that with the Central Provinces, but the balance in favour of Bengal is almost as great. Three quarters of the immigrants from this Province are to be found in Orissa and the Orissa States, and more than a third of the remainder in the 24-Parganas and Calcutta. There are wings of a Madras regiment at Cuttack and Barrackpore. Elsewhere most of the Madrasis, other than those in Puri, Angul and the Orissa States, have come for employment on railways. Rajputana sends about 40,000 persons to Bengal, almost all of whom are traders, and receives barely 1,000 in exchange. Central India gives about 23,000, and receives back only 5,000. Most of this interchange of population takes place with the States of Chota Nagpur. The Panjab gives 17,000 and gets 7,000. The occupations of the Panjabis enumerated in Bengal are various.

\* The persons born in non-contiguous districts of Bengal who were enumerated in Assam in 1891 numbered 368,071. At a death-rate of 40 per 1,000 an annual emigration of 14,723 persons would be needed to maintain this number, and a further annual emigration of about 11,100 persons would be required to produce the excess of 88,992 shown by the present census. If none returned home, this would mean a total emigration of about 260,000 persons in the decade. The number of ex-garden coolies who return to Bengal but little, if at all, exceeds the number of persons, other than garden coolies, who go from Bengal to non-contiguous districts of Assam, and the number of such persons is known to be very small. It consists mainly of persons connected with the railway and of a few Government officers, clerks, shop-keepers and domestic servants.

† I supplied all other provinces with full details of the birth districts of the persons born in them who were enumerated in Bengal, but the United Provinces and Assam were the only provinces from which I received similar information regarding persons who had gone to them from Bengal. On a future occasion it would be well to arrange beforehand for the preparation of a more complete return, at least for contiguous districts, of Madras, the Central Provinces and Burma.



Many are carpenters, railway mechanics, door-keepers and peons, but there are also many shop-keepers of various kinds, chiefly dealers in woollen-cloth, shawls, etc. The majority are Patháns, but there are also many Chatris and Baniyas, and many who described themselves as Sikhs by caste. The immigrants from Bombay number only 6,695, and the emigrants to that Province only 5,402. Many of the natives of Bombay who were enumerated in Bengal hold appointments in railway offices, and many are shop-keepers, contractors, masons and coolies. There are also a few sepoys of the Bombay army stationed at Alipore.

247. The total number of persons born in Bengal who were enumerated outside their district of birth was 4,494,935, or 573 per 10,000 of the population. Of these, 2,279,512, or 290 per 10,000, were enumerated in contiguous districts, 1,335,840, or 170 per 10,000 in other parts of Bengal, and 879,583, or 113 per 10,000 in other parts of India. Immigration, both from contiguous and from distant districts, is most active in the neighbourhood of the metropolis and in North Bengal, while the volume of emigration is greatest in the case of the Chota Nagpur plateau and North and South Bihar. Of the number of persons enumerated in districts contiguous to those where they were born 51·9 per cent. were females. Amongst those enumerated in other parts of the Province, and in other parts of India 29·5 and 42·6 per cent., respectively, were females. The relatively high proportion of females in the case of contiguous districts is due, as already explained, to marriage, which usually means for women a move to a new home, and, in the case of Hindus, to a home in another village some distance away. The proportion is highest in Bihar and Orissa where the great bulk of the people are Hindus, and lowest in East Bengal where Muhammadans greatly preponderate.

The principal statistics of the migration to and from each district will be found in Appendix I at the end of this volume, and it is not proposed to cumber the text with details that can be more readily gathered from these figured statements. The following discussion will, therefore, be confined to a brief review of the general trend and volume of these interdistrict movements and of the reasons for the same so far as they can be ascertained.

248. In West Bengal, as a whole, the gains and losses due to migration almost cancel each other but there are great local variations. Burdwan attracts labourers for its coal mines, iron works, paper mills and potteries in large numbers, not only from Bankura within the division, but also from Manbhum, Hazaribagh and the Sonthal Parganas in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, from Patna, Gaya, Shahabad and Monghyr in Bihar, and from the United Provinces. On the other hand it sends out numerous clerks to Calcutta and labourers to Assam, and loses more than it gains by the casual migration across the boundary line that divides it from Birbhum and Hooghly. The loss in both cases is due mainly to the demand in these districts for wives born in Burdwan. Birbhum receives a considerable number of settlers from the Sonthal Parganas for the purpose of cultivation, and labourers, shopkeepers, zemindars' peons, etc., from Shahabad and the United Provinces. Many of its inhabitants go to Assam as tea garden coolies, but, apart from this, most of the emigration is of the casual type. Bankura sends numerous coolies to Assam, and there is also a great deal of periodic and semi-permanent emigration to other parts of Bengal, chiefly to the coal mines of Burdwan and Manbhum and the mills of Hooghly. The short crops of 1900 greatly stimulated migration in the season when the census was taken. Midnapore receives in proportion to its population a smaller number of immigrants than any district in West Bengal. If contiguous districts be excluded the foreign-born population comes mainly from the United and Central Provinces, Cuttack and Shahabad. There is a considerable permanent migration from the west of the district to Mayurbhanj and to the Assam tea gardens, and a fair amount of periodic emigration from the Contai, Tamluk and Ghatal subdivisions for employment as cultivators and field labourers in the Sundarbans, and as mill hands and coolies in the metropolitan districts. It would appear from the proportion of women amongst them that many of the migrants to the Sundarbans are beginning to settle down there permanently.



Hooghly gains largely in its dealings with all the adjoining districts of West Bengal except Howrah, where the loss is probably to a great extent fictitious,\* but it loses greatly to Calcutta and the 24-Parganas. The natives of Hooghly in Calcutta are chiefly petty shopkeepers and clerks. The better classes who find employment in the metropolis often return home daily after their work is over. The mills attract large numbers of labourers from the United Provinces, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Cuttack; many Oriyas also come as domestic servants and palki-bearers, and many inhabitants of Chota Nagpur and Bankura, as labourers in the brick-fields and on earth-work during the dry season. The emigrants whom Hooghly supplies to these districts are comparatively few in number and consist mainly of clerks and their families. Howrah gains largely from all the contiguous districts except Calcutta, and also from the United Provinces and Bihar. The mills, iron works, &c., in Howrah town are the cause of most of this immigration and we have already seen that barely one-third of the inhabitants of this busy manufacturing centre are district-born. At the time of the census extensive operations were in progress on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, in connection with the goods terminus at Shalimar and various sidings, and these gave temporary employment to several thousand coolies from Chota Nagpur, Bankura and Midnapore.

249. Central Bengal, from the point of view of migration, comprises two very different tracts. Calcutta, with its great trade and numerous industries, attracts large numbers not

only from the neighbouring districts, nor even from the whole of Bengal but, it might almost be said, from the whole of India. Barely one-third of its inhabitants own Calcutta as their birth-place; all the rest have come thither from outside, including more than 120,000 from South Bihar, Saran and Muzaffarpur and about 90,000 from the United Provinces, 83,000 from the 24-Parganas, 47,000 from Hooghly, 25,000 from Midnapore, 18,000 each from Cuttack and Burdwan, 15,000 from Dacca and 13,000 each from Nadia and Howrah. The corresponding loss is very small even in the case of neighbouring districts. Elsewhere it is, to a great extent, due to the return home of persons belonging to other districts with their children who were born in Calcutta. The other emigrants are probably persons belonging to the educated classes who have secured appointments elsewhere. The 24-Parganas benefits by its proximity to Calcutta, and the mills which line the bank of the Hooghly are worked mainly by labourers from Bihar and the United Provinces.† Trade also brings many from other parts of Bengal, Rajputana and elsewhere. In addition to this the Sundarbans contain large areas capable of reclamation, and the settlers there include many persons whose permanent home is in Midnapore, Balasore, Nadia and other districts. Except in the case of contiguous districts the number of emigrants from the 24-Parganas is very small.

In the remaining districts of Central Bengal emigration is on a much smaller scale. Nadia loses population to all the districts that adjoin it, even to unhealthy Jessore.‡ In the case of Rajshahi and Pabna this is attributable in part to the action of the Padma which has cut away land from its south bank and thrown it up on the north, but the general loss by migration seems to show that the material condition of the district is less satisfactory than that of its neighbours. The local losses are to some slight extent compensated for by immigration from Bihar and the United Provinces. Murshidabad like Nadia has suffered from diluvion which explains the adverse balance of migration in the case of Malda and Rajshahi. It has gained by the movements of the people on the borders of Nadia and the Sonthal Parganas and has lost slightly along the Birbhum and Burdwan boundary. There is a fair amount of immigration from Bihar and the United Provinces but comparatively little of this is permanent. Many stay for years in the police or in service under the zemindars but they form their matrimonial connections in their own country and ultimately return thither. Jessore is affected by migration to a less

\* Howrah is in the revenue jurisdiction of Hooghly, and there is a strong tendency amongst the people to return to the latter district as their birthplace.

† The number of immigrants from Bihar and the United Provinces was 95,419. The number of operatives under the Factory Act in 1900, was 85,888.

‡ The main crop in Nadia is the *aus* or early rice. There is no local demand for labour at the time when the winter rice is reaped, and so many harvesters go from the district to help in the reaping of crops in Eastern Bengal. These, however, must for the most part have returned home before the census.



extent than any other district in Central Bengal. It loses slightly to all the surrounding districts except Nadia. The number of immigrants from up-country is insignificant. The emigrants to Khulna are probably, for the most part, persons who have taken up land in the Sundarbans.

250. North Bengal is notable for the very small number of its inhabitants

NORTH BENGAL.

who leave it, while it receives more immigrants than any other Natural Division save only Central Bengal. This is explained by the sparseness of its population, especially in the north and centre, the fertility of the soil and the generally low rates of rent. Rajshahi gains from all its neighbours except Dinajpur, but mainly on the south where the Padma has receded at the expense of Nadia and Murshidabad.\* There is a considerable amount of permanent migration to the Báring from the Sonthal Parganas, Ranchi and Manbhum, and the United Provinces and parts of Bihar supply a fair number of cold weather visitors in search of employment on roads and as palki-bearers, tank-diggers and labourers in the mulberry fields. The emigration to non-contiguous districts is small. Many of the landlords are absentees living in Calcutta and elsewhere, but the total numbers of this class is small.

The ebb and flow of the population between Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri are practically equal, but in all other directions the former district gains from its neighbours. There is also a considerable immigration from Nadia and Murshidabad and still more from Bihar and the United Provinces. Some of these foreigners have settled down as cultivators and others are domestic servants, but the great majority belong to the periodic type of emigrants who visit the district in the cold weather and return home before the breaking of the rains. But the most striking feature in the returns for this district is the enormous migration from the Chota Nagpur Plateau, and especially from the Sonthal Parganas, which has sent nearly 50,000 permanent settlers into the district in search of new homes in the Báring. A few Gáro families from Mymensingh have also settled in the district. Jalpaiguri receives as settlers for ordinary cultivation in the Duars a net excess of immigrants from Kuch Bihar, Rangpur and Purnea, especially the two former, but its greatest gain is from the Chota Nagpur Plateau which supplies most of its tea garden coolies. Ranchi alone gives 80,000 coolies to this district, and the Sonthal Parganas 10,000. Many of these settle permanently, either in the gardens or as cultivators and cart owners, but many of them are said to return to their homes at intervals. In the tea gardens on the higher slopes, at the foot of the hills, coolies from Nepal replace those from Chota Nagpur and many of these also find a permanent home in the district. There is a fair number of upcountry coolies, who are employed mainly on the roads and railways, but most of them return to their homes at the end of the cold weather. Nearly a quarter of the present inhabitants of this district are foreign-born and of these nearly three quarters have come from a distance. The corresponding loss by migration is extraordinarily small, and less than 1 per 1,000 of the population was enumerated elsewhere. This seems to show that fewer of the emigrants from Chota Nagpur, or at least of those who are married and have children in Jalpaiguri, return home than is usually supposed.

251. Darjeeling has an even larger proportion of foreigners, and ranks in this respect second only to Calcutta, barely half of its inhabitants having been born in the district. It has received in the Terai numerous settlers from Purnea and Jalpaiguri, for ordinary cultivation, and from Ranchi and the Sonthal Parganas, for work in the tea gardens, but the great bulk of its immigrants (76,301) come from Nepal, chiefly as coolies on the hill tea gardens. Most of these are permanent settlers. The district was very sparsely inhabited when it was first acquired, but it is gradually filling up and the proportion of the foreign born is diminishing. In 1891 more than 60 per cent. of its inhabitants were born outside the district. It sends out very few emigrants and of these the majority are employed in various Military Police battalions. Sikkim stands next to Darjeeling in regard to the number of its immigrants, who represent more than two-fifths of the total population, and like that district,

\* The rice harvest in the Báring attracts numerous labourers from Murshidabad, but these had probably returned to their homes before the date of the census.



it owes most of them to Nepal. Rangpur loses considerably by the movements to and fro across the borders of contiguous districts, gaining on the south from Bogra and Mymensingh and losing on the east, west and north to Goalpara (in Assam), Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Kuch Bihar. It gains, however, by migration with places at a distance, especially from Pabna, Dacca and Nadia in Bengal Proper, and still more so from Bihar\* and the United Provinces, but persons from these latter places are as a rule only cold weather visitors. Their number was unusually large at the time of the census, owing to the construction of the bridge over the Tista and other railway works then in progress.

Bogra receives more people from Pabna than it gives in return, but taking all contiguous districts together, the net gain is small. There is, however, a considerable immigration from Nadia, Saran, the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the United Provinces. The immigrants from the Chota Nagpur Plateau who are locally known as Bunas, are found mainly in Panchbibi thana which forms part of the Bárind. Pabna gains only from Nadia and loses to all the other surrounding districts; the explanation, so far as the eastern boundary is concerned, is that much land has been diluviated by the Jamuna. It receives a fair number of semi-permanent settlers from Bihar, the United Provinces and Hazaribagh, but not enough to counterbalance the emigration to Calcutta, Rangpur and other non-contiguous districts. Malda benefits by an extensive movement of Santáls to the Gajol and Old Malda thanas in the Bárind and also, though to a much smaller extent, by the advent of Musalmans from Murshidabad to the new *chars* thrown up by the Padma. It also receives numerous settlers from Bhagalpur and other Bihar districts and from the United Provinces. There are very few emigrants from Malda to places at a distance, but it suffers a slight net loss by migration to contiguous districts other than the Sonthal Parganas and Murshidabad. Kuch Bihar loses heavily to Jalpaiguri, but recovers nearly two-thirds of its loss by immigration from Rangpur and Goalpara. Public works in progress at the time of the census were mainly responsible for a fair number of visitors from Saran and other Bihar districts and from the United Provinces.

252. East Bengal is for the most part cut off from the rest of the province by great rivers which make reciprocal intercourse unusually difficult and have gradually put a stop to intermarriage which is such a fruitful source of migration between contiguous districts elsewhere. Moreover the bulk of the inhabitants are Muhammadans who take their wives from places nearer home than do the Hindus. The amount of casual migration between East Bengal and the adjoining districts of Central and North Bengal is thus unusually small and the proportion of immigrants from, and emigrants to, contiguous districts within the Division is smaller than in any other part of the province. Owing to the inroads of the Padma, Dacca has sustained a small net loss from the movements of the population between it and the adjoining districts. It receives a number of labourers from Monghyr and other districts further west, but it has lost many more people than it has gained. Its boatmen ply on every river in Bengal and its *babus* are found earning their livelihood throughout Bengal and Assam and even farther afield.† There is also a good deal of temporary emigration of the poorer classes to assist in agricultural operations in Backergunge where the people are too well off to work as day labourers.

Mymensingh has also suffered from diluvion and some of its riparian inhabitants have crossed over to Rangpur to cultivate the corresponding accretions on the right bank of the Jamuna. It has also lost along the boundaries of Dacca and Sylhet but has gained from Tippera, whose women are in request as wives and also as maid servants. Its emigrants to distant places are very few but it receives large numbers of labourers from upcountry during the cold weather months, especially from the United Provinces, whose emigrants are more numerous here than in any district of Bengal except only Calcutta, the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Shahabad. Faridpur benefits on the whole by the movements of the people across the line which divides it from

\* Saran alone sends 22,101.

† Many of the best clerks in the Government offices in Shillong come from the Bikrampur pargana in this district.



its neighbours. It gains largely from Pabna and Dacca, owing to alluvial accretions, and also, though to a less extent, from Jessore and Nadia; but on the other hand it loses to Tippera and Backergunge, especially to the latter, which it supplies with many of the day labourers of whom that district has no local supply. Many of the itinerant traders in boats who are found on all the rivers of East Bengal are natives of this district. There are a good many immigrants from upcountry, but these are far outnumbered by the emigrants to non-contiguous districts. Many of the latter are labourers in search of temporary employment in Tippera, Noakhali and Mymensingh.

253. The balance of migration between Khulna and the 24-Parganas is slightly adverse to the former, but it gains largely from the other contiguous districts, Backergunge and Jessore, which supply many of the cultivators on new clearances in the Sundarbans. Some of these have settled permanently but the excess of males shows that many are still domiciled elsewhere. Khulna gains also by migration to and from places at a distance, but except in the case of Faridpur, these movements are on a comparatively small scale. Backergunge, as has been seen, loses to Khulna but gains largely from other contiguous districts and also from Dacca. Most of its immigrants are men working temporarily as labourers. The emigration to places at a distance is on a very small scale and is far less than from any other tract in this Division except the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera. Tippera is very little affected by migration. The movements across the boundaries of the adjoining districts result in a slight net loss which is very nearly made good by the excess of immigrants over emigrants in the case of places at a distance. The number of people from up-country is not at present very large but it is rapidly growing now that the jute firms afford a lucrative occupation in the rains, when earthwork is no longer possible. Noakhali gains slightly from Chittagong but loses somewhat heavily to other contiguous tracts. Except in the case of Dacca, where the balance is in favour of Noakhali, there is but little intermigration with places at a distance. Most of the emigrants to distant places are lascars on ships.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera attract a good many people from Chittagong and give very few of their own inhabitants in exchange, but in the case of the former they are mainly wood-cutters and other temporary emigrants. The emigrants from Chittagong to Tippera exceed the immigrants, but the former consist to a much larger extent of temporary labourers. But the great feature of migration in Chittagong is the large annual exodus for the Akyab rice harvest where the reapers are said to earn as much as a rupee a day. At the time of the census no fewer than 79,262 natives of this district were found in Burma, of whom all but 14,347 were males. There has been some permanent emigration of Maghâ, especially after the cyclone of 1897, but there is no doubt that the great majority of Chittagonians enumerated in Akyab were only temporary absentees who returned home soon after the census. Many others had probably already returned before the census was taken. The Chittagong Hill Tracts receives a good many of immigrants (mostly temporary) from Chittagong, and gives a much smaller number (about a fifth) to Hill Tippera. The movements between this State and the Hill Tracts set sometimes in one direction and sometimes in the other according to the whim of the migratory tribes who live there. Nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants of Hill Tippera are foreign-born. There is a strip of level and fertile, but until recently almost desolate, country running along the northern and western boundary of this State, and this is now attracting numerous settlers from Sylhet, Tippera, Chittagong and Noakhali. These do not at once give up their old homes, but gradually do so as their new cultivation extends and the country becomes more settled.

254. The statistics for South Bihar have been affected by the prevalence of plague at the time of the census. Many of the inhabitants whose permanent homes were in

SOUTH BIHAR.

other districts had fled, and the number of pilgrims was also unusually low, while on the other hand, some of the natives of the district who would otherwise have been away at the time of the census, had returned home to look after their families. The normal amount of migration must be much greater than the present census would show. In Patna the amount of inter-migration with



contiguous districts is still very considerable, but the large proportion of females shows that it is due mainly to the interchange of women. The number of immigrants from distant places is small, but the emigrants aggregate nearly one-twentieth of the district population. They are especially numerous in Calcutta where more than 30,000 natives of this district were enumerated. These are for the most part only temporary absentees and two-thirds of them are males. Gaya sends out numerous emigrants to Hazaribagh and Palamau, where they settle permanently, and also to Bengal Proper, especially Calcutta and the neighbourhood. The emigrants to Calcutta alone constitute more than half the total number of natives of Gaya who were enumerated in non-contiguous districts. The immigrants from adjoining districts are only half as numerous as the emigrants, while those from distant places are outnumbered by the emigrants in the ratio of 27 to 1.

The interchange of population between Shahabad and the United Provinces leaves the number of its inhabitants practically unaltered. It loses slightly to Palamau on the south but gains from the adjoining districts of Bihar. As with Patna and Gaya the emigrants to distant places are far more numerous than the immigrants. The people of this district are greatly in demand all over Bengal, as zemindars' peons and clubmen, but they are especially numerous in Purnea, North Bengal, Dacca and Calcutta. A large number of persons from this district also find their way to Assam. Gaya is the only adjacent district from which Monghyr receives more than it loses, but except in the case of Bhagalpur and the Sonthal Parganas the excess emigration is not very marked. The emigration to a distance far exceeds the countervailing immigration. The places where the natives of Monghyr prefer to seek employment are the metropolitan districts, Dacca, Rangpur and Dinajpur.

255. In spite of the fact that Saran, sends out a greater proportion of emigrants than any other district in the Province, outside Chota Nagpur, North Bihar as a whole, is far less affected by migration than the tract south of the Ganges. More than 10 per cent. of the persons born in Saran were enumerated away from home. About one-fifth of these absentees were found in contiguous districts while the remaining four-fifths had gone further afield. The emigrants from this district are scattered all over Bengal Proper but are most numerous in Rangpur, Calcutta, the 24-Parganas and Mymensingh. Champaran is the only Bihar district, except Purnea, where the immigrants outnumber those who have left the district. It gains largely from Gorakhpur in the United Provinces and from Saran, and also, though to a less extent, from Muzaffarpur. Migration between Champaran and distant places takes place only on a comparatively small scale, but those who thus leave, outnumber those who come to the district in the ratio of more than 4 to 1. Muzaffarpur loses slightly to its contiguous districts, chiefly by the interchange of women. The immigrants from a distance are fewer in proportion to its population than in any other North Bihar district, while the number of its emigrants is exceeded only by those from Saran, though they are barely one-third as numerous as those from that district; they are found chiefly in the metropolitan districts, Bhagalpur, Purnea, and North Bengal.

The ebb and flow between Darbhanga and its neighbours is almost at a par; it loses to Bhagalpur and gains in all other directions. The immigrants from a distance are almost as few as in the case of Muzaffarpur, but the emigrants to non-contiguous places are less than half as numerous. The latter go by preference to the neighbourhood of Calcutta, or to Dacca and North Bengal. Bhagalpur shows a larger amount of inter-migration with contiguous districts than any other district in North Bihar. It loses to the Sonthal Parganas and Purnea and gains from Darbhanga and Monghyr, the net result being a loss of some 20,000. It is very little affected by migration to a distance, and the credit and debit balances are here almost equal. It may be noted, however, that (excluding contiguous districts) it is the most westerly district in Bengal which receives any appreciable number of immigrants from the United Provinces.

It will be observed that except in the case of Champaran, the general tendency throughout North Bihar is for the population to move gradually



eastwards. Saran gives to Muzaffarpur more than it gets in exchange, Muzaffarpur does the same to Darbhanga and Darbhanga to Bhagalpur. This tendency is even more marked in Purnea which gains from Bhagalpur and the Sonthal Parganas, and loses to Dinajpur, Malda, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling, the net result being a gain of nearly 20,000. This is the only part of Bihar which benefits by the movements of the people to places at a distance; it gains nearly 40,000 from non-contiguous Bihar districts and 8,000 from the United Provinces. The number of emigrants to a distance is extraordinarily small, being only 28 per 10,000 of the population. In respect of migration the conditions in Purnea resemble those in North Bengal and differ entirely from those in other parts of Bihar.

256. Apart from the temporary visits of pilgrims who were specially numerous in Puri on the date when the census was taken, there is but little immigration to Orissa.

#### ORISSA.

There are numerous emigrants to the metropolitan districts, where they serve as palanquin bearers, door-keepers and labourers; natives of Orissa are also found working as cooks and domestic servants throughout Bengal, and as cultivators and field labourers in the Sundarbans. There is a general loss by migration to the sparsely inhabited Native States which form the western boundary of the division. Cuttack, being the most densely populated, loses not only to those States but also to Balasore and Puri, the net excess of emigrants being about 28,000. It loses considerably more than twice this number by migration to distant places, chiefly to the metropolitan area, Assam and the Central Provinces. Balasore sends more settlers to the Orissa States than does Cuttack, but its gains from the latter district and, to a less extent, from Midnapore, reduce the net deficit on account of local movements to a comparatively trifling amount. Its emigrants to Calcutta and other distant places are considerably less numerous than those from Cuttack, but it receives an equally small amount of compensatory immigration. The gain and loss by migration between Puri and the adjoining parts of Bengal are about on a par, while there is a very large apparent gain from Madras, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. A very large proportion of the immigrants, however, were pilgrims. If these were excluded the district would show a net loss by migration.

257. The Chota Nagpur Plateau is inhabited by hardy aboriginal tribes who are remarkable for their fecundity, and as the climate is healthy the population tends to grow

#### CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

rapidly. But the country is barren and the natural growth acts, to a great extent, merely as a stimulant to emigration to other places where a better livelihood can be obtained. Hazaribagh is the *nidus* from which the Santáls poured forth about 70 years ago to people the *Damin-i-koh* in the Sonthal Parganas. This movement in its original magnitude has long since died out; but the emigrants to that district are still numerous and greatly exceed the return flow of immigrants. There is also a considerable loss of population to Manbhum, where the coal mines afford remunerative employment, and to Ranchi and Palamau. There is, on the other hand, a considerable influx from Gaya and a smaller one from Monghyr. The net result of these movements to and from adjoining districts is a small gain, but there is a net loss of nearly 100,000 by emigration to more distant places. Assam alone takes nearly 69,000 persons from this district. Heavy as this loss is it is barely half that sustained by Ranchi which sends out more than 200,000 persons to places at a distance, including about 92,000 to Assam and 80,000 to Jalpaiguri. Nearer home the interchange of population with Palamau and Manbhum is fairly even; there is a gain from Hazaribagh, and a heavy loss in the direction of the Chota Nagpur States and Singhbhum.

Palamau gains from Gaya, Shahabad and Hazaribagh, and loses slightly to Ranchi and considerably to the Chota Nagpur States. The net result of this local migration is a gain, not large, but still sufficient to counterbalance the loss on account of emigration to a distance, which, so far as the figures go, is on a smaller scale than from any other district of Chota Nagpur. The Assam returns show that only 6,776 natives of this district were enumerated in that Province compared with ten to thirteen times that number from



Ranchi and Hazaribagh. As already noted this may be due in part to many of the Palamanu emigrants having returned their birth district as Lohardaga, the old name for Ranchi, of which Palamanu was a subdivision until 1891, and so been assigned to the category of persons born in Ranchi. The migration between Manbhum and the adjoining districts discloses curious variations. There is a loss to the Sonthal Parganas on the north and a considerable gain from Hazaribagh on the north-west, an equilibrium with Ranchi on the west, a loss to Singhbhum and its political States on the south, a gain from Bankura on the east, and a heavy loss to Burdwan on the north-east. The general explanation of these figures is that the tendency of local migration is towards two centres, the coal mines in the north of the district and those in the Raniganj subdivision of Burdwan, while the former also attract labour from Hazaribagh and Bankura. The emigration to other districts in Bengal has resulted in a slight loss. The district sends nearly 70,000 emigrants to Assam and receives in exchange only some 4,000 from the United Provinces, and a few hundred from the Central Provinces. Singhbhum gains considerably from Ranchi, Manbhum and Midnapore, but loses very heavily to the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. It receives a considerable number of permanent settlers from Bankura, Cuttack, Balasore, and Hazaribagh, and of traders, labourers and other temporary residents from Gaya and the United Provinces. It sends out comparatively few emigrants to distant parts of Bengal, but the Assam return of birth-place shows that nearly 13,000 of its natives were enumerated in that Province.

258. The most striking features of migration in the Sonthal Parganas are firstly, its great volume, and secondly, the strong tendency of the people to move eastwards. There is a strong inflow from all the adjoining districts west of a line drawn approximately north and south through the centre of the district (from Sahebganj to Jamtara), *i.e.*, from Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Hazaribagh and Manbhum, and a still stronger ebb in the direction of all districts east of this line, *viz.*, Purnea, Malda, Murshidabad, Birbhum and Burdwan. The immigrants from the west exceed 83,000 while the emigrants to the east number close on 117,000. The great migration of the Santals from the south and west to the district that now bears their name took place during the middle part of the last century and many of the present immigrants are probably the survivors of those who took part in this movement. The tribe is still spreading east and north and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Sonthal Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away, in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of *quasi* laterite known, as the Bárind. Dinajpur alone contains more than 48,000 persons born in the Sonthal Parganas, and Rajshahi and Bogra more than 8,000. The manner in which the jungles of the Bárind are being brought under cultivation has already been explained. These wanderings of the Santals have hitherto been confined to a laterite soil and they are said to be averse to the payment of rent. In what direction they will spread when they have finished their work of reclamation in the Bárind it is impossible yet to conjecture. The future alone can show whether they will then accept the inevitable and settle down as permanent rent-paying cultivators, or move further afield, overcoming their dislike to alluvial soil,\* or retrace their steps and rove once more in the infertile uplands of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Of emigration from the Sonthal Parganas to more distant places the most noticeable feature is the exodus to the Assam tea gardens, where more than 31,000 natives of this district were enumerated, and to Jalpaiguri where they number more than 10,000.

Angul receives from the Central Provinces and the Orissa States more than twice as many persons as it gives in exchange. It also benefits considerably by immigration from Madras and Cuttack. The Chota Nagpur States gain about 50,000 by migration with the districts of Chota Nagpur and the Orissa States, of which more than half is due to the influx from Ranchi, where in some

\* Their avoidance of alluvial soil may be only fortuitous and due to the fact that hitherto the more broken high country, being comparatively sparsely inhabited, has offered them what they most need, *viz.*, ample room for expansion combined with a minimum of outside interference. Mr. Bompas is of opinion that their movements depend on the existence of *sál* forest and the absence of restrictions on cutting it down. The *sál* tree is, he says, to the Santál what the bamboo is to the Bengali villager.



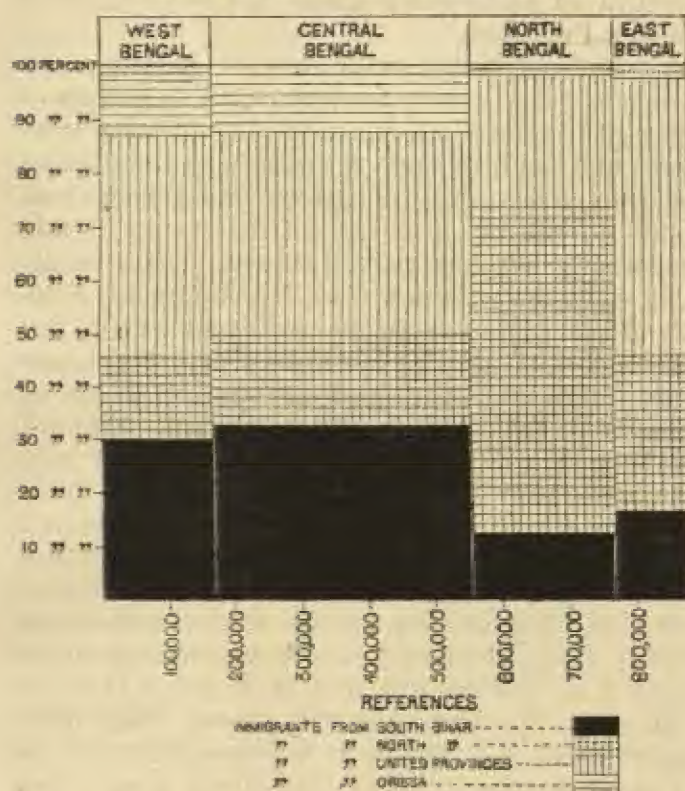
parts agrarian disputes have unsettled the cultivators. On the side of the Central Provinces the movements backwards and forwards have been considerable; the net result is a very slight gain. There are nearly 8,000 immigrants, from the United Provinces, mostly from the contiguous district of Mirzapur, but only 14 are reported to have emigrated to those Provinces and none are shown in the birth-place returns for Assam. Possibly in both these provinces the persons born in the Chota Nagpur States have been credited to some district of Chota Nagpur. The Orissa States show a net gain of about 60,000 persons from contiguous territory in Bengal and of 7,000 from the Central Provinces. Singhbhum gives about half the total number of emigrants from other parts of Bengal, but there are also numerous settlers from Cuttack, Balasore, Midnapore and Puri. There is a loss to Angul and the Chota Nagpur States. The Assam returns show no emigration from the Orissa States to that province, but possibly some of the persons shown against Cuttack and Balasore were in reality born there.

259. It will be convenient to summarise briefly the general tendencies of migration within the province. One of the most

#### SUMMARY.

noticeable features is the great movement from Bihar to Bengal Proper in quest of work. The total number of persons born in the

*Diagram showing the proportion of immigrants to Bengal Proper from Bihar, the United Provinces and Orissa.*



NOTE.—The base of each rectangle indicates the actual number of immigrants and the height, the proportion coming from each locality.

enumerated in Bengal Proper were found in this part of the Province. The proportion would be far higher if we omitted Saran, whose numerous emigrants are more catholic in the choice of a temporary home and swamp the figures for Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.

Another point deserving special notice is the way in which the natives of the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the adjoining parts of West Bengal are spreading over this province and Assam. More than 400,000 were enumerated in other parts of Bengal and nearly 300,000 in Assam. The Santals have been working their way steadily north and east for 70 years or more. The other tribes are following their lead as pioneers of cultivation, and there are also numerous colonies of them in Bengal Proper, the descendants of coolies imported to work in the indigo factories in the days when indigo was extensively cultivated. Large numbers also go out every cold weather to obtain employment on earth-work or as field labourers. Many again take service in the coal fields. But the

former, but enumerated in the latter, tract is nearly half a million, and rather more than half of them come from North Bihar. Saran sends out a greater proportion of these emigrants than any other district; then, though at some distance, come the four districts of South Bihar and then, again at a considerable distance, Muzaffarpur. The emigration from the other districts of North Bihar is small and that from Purnea is infinitesimal. The emigrants from South Bihar find their way chiefly to the metropolitan districts and especially to Calcutta. Only 1 in 5 goes to North or East Bengal. In North Bihar, on the other hand, the people prefer to go to districts of North Bengal, especially Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Rangpur, and more than half the total number who were



most fruitful source of emigration in the case of these tribes is their recruitment for the tea-gardens of Assam and Jalpaiguri. In Chota Nagpur itself the present tendency seems to be to work southwards. Hazaribagh gains from the northern slopes of the hills which lie in Gaya. Ranchi and Manbhum gain from Hazaribagh, Singhbhum from Ranchi and Manbhum and the Orissa States from Singhbhum. To the same southward tendency we may attribute the traditional migration of the Oraons from the south of Shahabad to the north-east of Ranchi, where many of the villages occupied by them still bear Munda names. In North Bihar there is a general trend from west to east but on the south bank of the Ganges no such movement is noticeable. In Bengal Proper emigration takes place on a comparatively small scale. The Sundarbans attract settlers from the surrounding districts and harvesters resort hither and to a few other districts to assist in reaping the winter rice. Nadia sends out more harvesters than any other district except Chittagong, whose inhabitants flock in great numbers to Akyab when the rice crop is ready for the sickle.

260. There is no apparent correspondence between the density of population and migration. The greatest amount of emigration is from the Chota Nagpur Plateau which is the most sparsely populated tract in the province. Saran, which sends out more emigrants than any plains district, has



a very dense population, but it is not so dense as that of Muzaffarpur or Dacca whose emigrants (other than to contiguous districts) are less than one third as numerous. Chittagong, which comes next, has a lower density of population than any other plains district in East Bengal. Gaya is less crowded than Champaran, but its emigrants are five times as numerous. Monghyr has fewer persons to the square mile than Rajshahi, but its natives who seek a livelihood abroad outnumber the emigrants

from Rajshahi in the ratio of 8 to 1. If reliable figures showing the area fit for cultivation were available, which is only the case for a few districts recently surveyed, it is probable that a much closer connection between the two sets of figures could be established, but even so, there would be wide differences due to the varying fertility of the soil, the rainfall and general climatic conditions, and the class of crops grown. Speaking generally, it may be said that Eastern Bengal is capable of supporting a much greater population per square mile than Bihar, and that in Bihar the tracts which can support most people are those where rice is grown. This explains why Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, with their extensive rice tracts, are less dependent on earnings outside the district than Saran, which is reputed to be very fertile and is highly cultivated and well irrigated, but which has a comparatively small area under rice cultivation. Purnea, whence the emigration is least, is almost wholly devoted to the growth of rice.

261. The emigration of aboriginal tribes from the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the neighbouring districts of West Bengal takes several forms. Some of it is periodic and confined to the cold weather months. To this category belongs the emigration for crop-cutting or earthwork in the cold weather. Some again is semi-permanent, such as the emigration to the coal-fields. Some again is permanent, as in the case of the Santals in the Barind. The emigration to tea

GENERAL FEATURES OF EMIGRATION FROM CHOTA NAGPUR.



gardens also generally ends in becoming permanent. The aboriginal Munda or Oráon has, it would seem, no strong ties to bind him to his home and, in the case of semi-permanent migration, he is often accompanied by his wife and children. If he be unmarried, he is pretty certain to find maids of his race in his new home, and his simple customs have not yet been sufficiently tinged by Hinduism to stand in the way of his matrimonial arrangements. Consequently if the pay is good and the place suits him, he is readily induced to break off all connection with his old home and settle down permanently. He may not do this at once. Probably after the first two or three years' absence, a longing to return to his country will seize him and he will revisit the old home, only to find that it has not the attractions his imagination had invested it with, and that such as it has, are not sufficient to outweigh the better pay and easier life obtainable abroad. He will again emigrate and, sooner or later, will give up all thought of ever going back to his native home.

262. In the case of Bihar and the United Provinces the general form of migration is very different. The people are Hindus, and a man who leaves his permanent home suffers from many disadvantages. He is cut off from his old social group and he finds it very difficult, if not impossible, to enter a new one. He has in his own country a certain circle within which he forms his matrimonial connections, and outside that circle it is very difficult either to give a daughter in marriage or to obtain a wife. If he marries abroad he is in danger of finding himself looked upon as a sort of outcaste and of being debarred from intercourse with his own people. It follows that though the struggle for existence is far harder upcountry than in Bengal Proper, few if any, of the people who come in search of work, do so with the intention of settling permanently. The sole object is to make money with which to eke out the family income at home. The emigrant leaves his wife and children with his relations; he returns home at intervals, as funds and opportunity permit, and he cherishes the hope of spending his declining years in his native village. This he generally does, unless circumstances are unusually adverse, or unless disease carries him off in the meantime. But it often happens that the visits to his home gradually become less frequent and that the presence of a large number of his caste fellows in the place where he has made his temporary home, or the acquisition of property there, or the securing of permanent employment or some similar cause, may lead him to give up all thoughts of going back to the harder life in his native country and induce him to send for his wife and children and make a new home in the land of his adoption. Prior to the construction of railways the difficulty of travelling was a potent factor in inducing many upcountry men to settle permanently in Bengal and it is thought that the proportion who do so now is smaller than it was formerly.

263. The extent to which permanent settlement takes place varies a great deal according to circumstances and to the caste to which the migrants belong. Bráhmans and Rájputs who come chiefly as priests, constables, jail-warders, zamindars' peons and the like, very seldom bring their women with them or form matrimonial alliances in Bengal. They may spend their whole life here, but they retain their connection with their homes, remit money regularly to their families and visit them at intervals. Boatmen also are seldom accompanied by their wives, and their visits to Bengal Proper are generally temporary, and confined to the rivers on which they ply their craft. Earth-workers, palki-bearers, syces, and mill-hands may also be said, as a class, to seldom settle in Bengal. There are of course exceptions. Colonies of Bhars and Bindis are found in Malda, Mymensingh and other places, and men who have secured permanent employment will sometimes decide to remain, either sending for their families or taking a wife locally. There are also cases where entanglements with local women induce permanent settlement, but these are comparatively rare.\* Amongst upcountry men who come for domestic service or as petty shop-keepers, the number who become domiciled in Bengal is larger. They often find that the presence of their women adds to their earnings, and having brought them, the inducements to go home are less strong. They

\* In such cases, caste difficulties are usually overcome by conversion to Muhammadanism or Vaishnavism.



usually endeavour, however, to marry their children in their own country or to new comers of their own caste. In order to succeed in this they must retain their old customs and way of living. If they neglect to do so they are looked on as degraded, and no one will marry their daughters. The castes that take most readily to permanent residence in Bengal are those at the bottom of the social scale, the sweeper castes and Chamárs. Sweepers, as a rule, are imported by municipalities with their families and form a community sufficiently large to be independent and self-contained. The pay they get is good and there is no inducement for them to return to their old homes. The Chamárs have no business rivals amongst the indigenous castes of Bengal and the profit from the collection of hides is in inverse proportion to the number of persons engaged in collecting them. They have thus spread all over Bengal and small colonies are to be found in every district. The large proportion of females amongst them shows that they have come to stay.

264. I have said that the extent to which permanent settlement takes place is indicated by the proportion of women amongst the immigrants, but it must be remembered that the railways, by reducing the difficulties of locomotion, have encouraged men to take their wives with them even when they do not intend to abandon their old homes, whereas, formerly this was seldom done except when permanent settlement was intended. This can be

BIRTH-PLACE.	NUMBER OF FEMALES ENUMERATED IN BENGAL.			PROPORTION TO 100 MALES.		
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1881.	1891.	1901.
North Bihar	42,141	43,386	46,806	39	34	31
South Bihar	39,793	48,693	61,985	40	36	38
United Provinces	*	45,424	54,078	*	30	34

\* Figures not available.

the only explanation of the figures noted in the margin unless the general opinion that permanent migration is less frequent than it was before the era of railways is to be set aside as incorrect. The proportion of women amongst emigrants from Bihar is greatest in the metropolitan districts whither the journey is an easy one, and smallest in East Bengal which, to an upcountry man, is the least accessible part of the Province. At the same time the proportion of females from North Bihar in East Bengal is twice as great as it was ten years ago.

265. The occupations of these emigrants have been incidentally enumerated in the previous paragraphs. The great majority are employed on work involving hard physical labour, such as earth-work and palki-bearing, or degradation, such as removing night-soil or manipulating skins. They follow numerous other occupations also, such as boating (from all the river districts, but chiefly from Ballia and Gorakhpur) trade, domestic service and service in the police or as clubmen. There are isolated settlements of up-country cultivators in Dinajpur, Pabna, and other places where waste land is plentiful, but though they are often found working as field labourers, they do not as a general rule obtain possession of land.

The high castes that come chiefly to Bengal for employment are Bráhmans and Rájputs. Up-country Káyasths and Bábhans are rarely met with. Amongst other castes the most common are perhaps the Tánti, Goála, Kurmi, Kahár, Kalwár, Bhar, Dosádh, Nunia, Bind, Chamár.\* Except, in the case of the Chamár who still prefers his own line of business, in which he is hampered by no competitors, caste seems to impose very little restriction on occupation, and all sorts of employments are followed by the upcountry men who come to Bengal, including many that would be deemed degrading in the neighbourhood of their own homes. Thus Bráhmans, though occasionally returned as priests and pilgrim conductors, or as following some other respectable occupation, *e.g.*, that of clerk, are far more commonly found serving as peons or in the police, as door-keepers, cooks and even as coolies and day labourers. Many were entered as beggars and some as singers, but these doubtless were members of some wandering tribe such as the Kápuria, whose claim to Bráhmanical rank is very slender. The Tántis who come to Bengal (mostly from Monghyr) are never found working as weavers, but are almost invariably day labourers, earth-workers and palki-bearers.

\* The above enumeration is of course far from exhausting even the castes commonly met with. Amongst others may be mentioned Halwái, Koiri, Kándu, Goar, Málá, Kewat, Pási, Dhánuk, Dhotá, Jotáhá, Dhuniá and Shekh.



Rájputs follow a multiplicity of occupations, but the great majority are constables, door-keepers, jail warders, peons and the like. Some were returned as railway porters or labourers, but the number following these despised occupations is very small. The up-country Goálá or Ahir who comes to Bengal is usually a labourer, but some have shops or serve as domestic servants. Kahárs, Kurmis and Dosádhs are usually labourers or mill-hands, but many of the two first mentioned are in-door servants and Dosádhs are often syces. The emigrants from Orissa are mostly Bráhmans, who are nearly always cooks, Goálás, who act as bearers in European households, and also as door-keepers etc., and various castes who work in the mills and as labourers in the metropolitan districts.

266. Want of time prevents a full comparison of the statistics of migration

at the time of the present census with the corresponding return of 1891, and a brief indication of the general results is all that can be given.\* The total number of persons enumerated in districts other than that of their birth has fallen slightly (0·8 per cent.), but this is due to a decrease in migration between contiguous districts. The number of persons enumerated outside the district of birth and the districts that adjoin it is greater by 18 per cent. than it was ten years ago, while that of persons who were found in districts contiguous to that in which they were born, has fallen by 14 per cent. These results are easily explained. The diminution in the volume of migration between adjacent districts has occurred mainly in Bihar where it is attributable to the plague scare which drove away most of the people whose permanent homes were in the neighbouring districts. The same explanation is given by the Magistrate of the 24-Parganas for the smaller number of persons from the adjoining districts who were in his jurisdiction when the census was taken. There were fewer alterations in district boundaries in the decade preceding the present census than there had been in the previous ten years, and in Howrah the tendency of the people to return their birth-place as Hooghly, the revenue district, was more successfully restrained. There were also fewer religious festivals in progress on the date of the present census than in 1891 and these festivals attract people chiefly from the neighbouring districts. The increase in migration to a distance is attributable in the main to the great industrial development which has taken place in the metropolitan area, to the greater demand for labour in the coal mines and tea gardens, and to the opening out of the Báring by Santáls and other forest tribes.

\* Whenever any marked divergence from the figures for 1891 was noticed, careful enquiry was made, and our figures were scrutinized anew. In Champaran, for instance, where the number of immigrants from Saran has fallen from 83,241 to 25,462 and that of those born in Muzaffarpur from 56,075 to 26,968, I caused the statistics for all the thanas contiguous to these districts to be worked out a second time direct from the schedules, the result being a very slight decrease as compared with that originally obtained by sorting the slips. The Magistrate of Champaran explains the difference between the present figures and those of 1891 by saying that the best lands which attracted immigrants had probably been taken up before 1891. But even if there had been no new immigrants the number surviving amongst those in the district in 1891 would far exceed the number now ascertained. Apparently some must have since gone back to their old homes.

### SUBSIDIARY TABLES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER III.— MIGRATION.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. I.—Showing the actual amount of immigration to each district.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. II.—Showing the actual amount of emigration from each district.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. III.—Showing the proportional migration to, and from, each district.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. IV.—Showing the migration between (1) Commissioners' Divisions, (2) Natural Divisions.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. V.—Showing the gain or loss by migration between Bengal and other parts of India.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. VI.—Showing the number of immigrants from certain foreign countries.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. I.—SHOWING THE ACTUAL AMOUNT OF IMMIGRATION TO EACH DISTRICT.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION WHERE ESTABLISHED.	BORN IN.											
	DISTRICT OR DIVISION.			CONTIGUOUS DISTRICT IN PROVINCE.			OTHER PARTS OF PROVINCE.			OUTSIDE PROVINCE.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>BENGAL</b>	<b>77,578,932</b>	<b>38,708,939</b>	<b>38,869,993</b>							<b>915,158</b>	<b>569,947</b>	<b>345,211</b>
<b>WEST BENGAL</b>	<b>7,694,999</b>	<b>3,898,075</b>	<b>3,996,924</b>	<b>136,651</b>	<b>63,837</b>	<b>72,814</b>	<b>120,287</b>	<b>91,839</b>	<b>28,455</b>	<b>88,159</b>	<b>63,908</b>	<b>24,251</b>
Bardwan	1,374,128	680,534	693,594	108,195	49,985	58,210	33,416	22,414	11,002	16,738	11,569	5,169
Birbhum	841,674	417,495	424,179	51,438	21,940	29,498	7,044	4,504	2,540	2,124	1,456	674
Bankura	1,090,877	537,744	553,133	25,805	9,841	16,064	2,677	1,383	693	1,152	917	235
Midnapore	2,739,253	1,323,479	1,415,774	31,558	14,391	17,167	8,241	4,826	1,015	10,064	6,737	3,327
Hoojly	909,508	440,406	469,102	91,981	44,773	47,208	33,457	20,710	6,741	14,276	10,333	3,943
Howrah	705,894	340,584	365,310	40,401	25,719	23,742	51,372	41,023	10,350	43,787	31,900	11,887
<b>CENTRAL BEN- GAL</b>	<b>6,976,939</b>	<b>3,510,497</b>	<b>3,466,442</b>	<b>240,178</b>	<b>143,112</b>	<b>97,066</b>	<b>320,473</b>	<b>248,099</b>	<b>72,374</b>	<b>200,395</b>	<b>148,684</b>	<b>51,711</b>
24 Parganas	1,852,992	937,963	915,029	68,290	40,134	28,156	100,558	78,415	22,143	52,419	38,404	14,015
Calcutta	290,657	140,994	149,663	95,434	55,110	40,324	327,907	245,389	82,518	133,798	101,103	32,695
Nadia	1,908,481	977,283	931,198	44,233	19,556	24,678	9,723	6,611	3,112	5,054	4,060	994
Murshidabad	1,292,088	617,495	674,593	50,881	21,349	29,532	13,525	9,104	4,421	8,890	5,195	3,695
Jessore	1,768,119	880,540	887,579	38,799	18,419	20,380	6,003	4,144	1,859	2,254	1,922	312
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b>	<b>9,291,291</b>	<b>4,713,942</b>	<b>4,577,349</b>	<b>251,482</b>	<b>145,594</b>	<b>105,888</b>	<b>268,393</b>	<b>183,549</b>	<b>84,841</b>	<b>194,011</b>	<b>120,136</b>	<b>73,875</b>
Rajshahi	1,385,228	694,975	690,253	48,849	25,400	23,449	26,465	16,612	9,853	8,085	4,743	3,342
Dinajpur	1,435,077	743,139	691,938	27,220	13,501	13,719	95,114	60,343	34,771	60,669	38,645	22,024
Jalpaiguri	599,167	317,903	281,264	48,210	24,354	23,856	113,908	65,373	48,536	26,105	13,258	12,847
Darjeeling	124,726	61,718	63,008	15,212	8,455	6,757	26,044	16,172	9,872	83,135	48,623	34,512
Rangpur	2,044,765	1,044,889	1,000,076	23,834	12,683	11,151	70,080	38,594	31,486	15,532	11,691	3,841
Bogra	810,838	414,991	400,847	17,282	8,424	8,858	15,062	10,302	4,760	5,553	3,732	1,821
Pabna	1,371,421	675,338	696,083	28,495	17,443	11,052	12,236	9,915	5,315	8,309	6,797	1,512
Maula	786,143	392,509	400,634	67,098	33,905	33,193	22,355	14,927	7,429	8,444	6,145	2,299
Kuch Bihar	622,131	313,495	308,636	21,699	9,100	12,599	14,623	12,063	2,560	8,224	6,051	2,173
Shikim	34,010	17,456	16,554	1,909	1,017	892	120	111	9	22,975	12,209	10,766
<b>EAST BENGAL</b>	<b>16,706,826</b>	<b>8,407,313</b>	<b>8,299,513</b>	<b>82,421</b>	<b>51,090</b>	<b>31,331</b>	<b>67,480</b>	<b>56,098</b>	<b>11,382</b>	<b>101,560</b>	<b>69,989</b>	<b>39,071</b>
Rhodes	1,187,326	600,753	586,573	47,717	25,356	22,361	16,304	13,448	2,856	1,696	1,397	299
Dacca	2,564,223	1,250,009	1,314,214	40,758	20,406	20,352	23,105	19,029	4,076	13,438	10,743	2,695
Myrmensingh	3,800,058	1,923,045	1,877,013	41,371	20,582	20,789	25,755	22,545	3,210	47,884	30,594	17,290
Faridpur	1,864,163	933,401	930,762	56,415	28,377	28,038	11,857	9,302	2,555	5,081	3,294	1,787
Backergunge	2,251,787	1,124,818	1,126,969	35,321	19,569	15,752	22,788	20,057	2,731	1,886	1,636	250
Tippura	2,061,239	1,045,894	1,015,345	38,115	19,574	18,541	7,701	6,764	937	10,938	6,357	4,581
Noakhali	1,122,385	555,002	567,383	11,479	5,831	5,648	7,488	4,780	2,708	3,778	3,004	774
Chittagong	1,341,911	684,363	657,548	2,638	1,613	1,025	6,409	3,903	2,506	2,206	1,311	795
Do. Hill												
Tracts	117,898	61,901	55,997	6,204	3,324	2,880	471	373	90	169	141	28
Hill Tippura	129,451	67,607	61,844	23,701	12,335	11,366	2,627	1,700	837	17,568	9,503	8,065
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b>	<b>15,352,644</b>	<b>7,567,070</b>	<b>7,785,574</b>	<b>128,596</b>	<b>59,419</b>	<b>69,177</b>	<b>15,888</b>	<b>9,880</b>	<b>6,008</b>	<b>153,994</b>	<b>65,554</b>	<b>68,440</b>
Saran	2,553,085	1,270,836	1,282,249	21,742	10,874	10,868	1,809	944	865	32,873	11,634	21,239
Champanan	1,683,682	830,349	853,333	52,420	26,765	25,655	3,529	2,333	1,196	50,835	26,940	23,895
Muzaffarpur	2,067,008	1,030,347	1,036,661	71,208	34,696	36,512	3,842	2,376	1,466	12,652	6,188	6,464
Darbhanga	2,822,031	1,383,001	1,439,030	71,253	33,255	38,008	7,221	5,047	2,174	12,108	5,135	6,973
Bhagalpur	1,891,415	945,529	945,886	73,105	35,180	37,925	20,600	14,436	6,164	13,843	8,351	5,492
Purnea	1,786,789	889,450	897,339	51,109	26,053	25,056	45,211	31,705	13,506	11,685	8,304	3,381
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b>	<b>7,555,600</b>	<b>3,693,538</b>	<b>3,862,071</b>	<b>80,273</b>	<b>36,599</b>	<b>43,674</b>	<b>8,402</b>	<b>5,150</b>	<b>3,252</b>	<b>63,134</b>	<b>28,698</b>	<b>34,436</b>
Patna	1,542,545	773,321	769,224	71,262	34,391	36,871	2,794	1,616	1,179	8,384	5,066	3,318
Gaya	2,013,819	992,226	1,021,593	38,891	18,789	20,102	3,084	2,159	925	4,139	2,927	1,212
Shahabad	1,878,783	900,667	978,116	38,815	19,300	19,515	3,500	1,975	1,525	43,538	14,973	28,565
Monkhyr	1,082,736	574,986	507,750	69,681	30,220	39,461	8,455	5,871	2,584	7,073	3,123	3,950
<b>ORISSA</b>	<b>4,081,654</b>	<b>1,989,932</b>	<b>2,091,722</b>	<b>26,532</b>	<b>6,842</b>	<b>19,710</b>	<b>13,116</b>	<b>4,972</b>	<b>8,144</b>	<b>29,217</b>	<b>15,045</b>	<b>14,172</b>
Cuttack	2,029,814	983,509	1,046,305	22,684	5,492	17,192	2,119	1,323	796	8,161	4,801	3,360
Balasore	1,041,720	504,308	537,412	24,375	9,009	15,366	1,765	1,228	547	3,527	2,308	1,219
Puri	864,251	402,115	462,137	23,837	6,053	17,784	10,767	3,230	7,537	16,429	10,936	5,493
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU</b>	<b>9,492,627</b>	<b>4,694,194</b>	<b>4,798,433</b>	<b>158,749</b>	<b>82,057</b>	<b>76,692</b>	<b>93,724</b>	<b>46,402</b>	<b>49,322</b>	<b>104,365</b>	<b>55,653</b>	<b>48,712</b>
Hazaribagh	1,136,078	550,053	586,025	35,348	15,300	20,048	3,566	2,226	1,340	2,039	1,453	586
Ranchi	1,165,869	560,150	605,719	18,720	8,134	10,586	10,224	7,051	3,173	2,812	1,925	887
Palaman	680,762	294,904	385,858	31,368	13,360	18,008	1,252	1,035	227	6,200	3,478	2,722
Manbhum	1,259,245	615,045	644,200	42,162	22,454	19,708	13,566	10,131	3,435	6,571	4,706	1,865
Singbhum	676,999	293,580	383,419	25,193	11,892	13,301	8,609	5,059	3,550	2,818	1,696	1,122
Sonthal Parganas	1,998,212	943,192	1,055,020	92,631	46,553	46,078	19,510	11,396	8,114	9,384	5,343	4,041
Angul	170,379	86,572	83,807	12,755	4,095	7,760	2,323	1,927	396	6,458	3,441	3,017
Chota Nagpur Tri- butory States	898,763	432,414	466,349	58,780	28,598	30,182	6,786	4,812	1,977	30,118	20,685	19,433
Orissa Do.	1,605,410	795,673	809,737	104,570	47,411	57,159	9,412	5,231	4,181	28,410	13,656	14,754

In Jalpaiguri, Columns 11 to 13 include 60 persons (47 males and 13 females) born in Goalpara in Assam.  
 In Rangpur, Columns 11 to 13 include 472 persons (443 males and 29 females) born in Goalpara in Assam.  
 In Myrmensingh, Columns 11 to 13 include 9,040 persons (5,130 males and 3,910 females) born in Sylhet in Assam.  
 In Saran, Columns 11 to 13 include 24,536 persons (7,828 males and 17,414 females) born in Gorakhpur, 554 persons (407 males and 177 females) born in Amangarh, and 302 persons (187 males and 115 females) in Ghazipur, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.  
 In Champaran, Columns 11 to 13 include 21,407 persons (11,200 males and 10,207 females) born in Gorakhpur.  
 In Patna, Columns 11 to 13 include 513 persons (370 males and 143 females) born in Ballia.  
 In Shahabad, Columns 11 to 13 include 13,516 persons (3,481 males and 10,035 females) born in Ballia, 15,340 persons (4,300 males and 11,040 females) in Ghazipur, 1,094 persons (1,801 males and 3,112 females) in Benares, and 3,077 persons (1,473 males and 1,604 females) in Mirzapur.  
 In Puri, Columns 11 to 13 include 4,706 persons (2,075 males and 2,631 females) born in Ganjam in Madras.  
 In Palaman, Columns 11 to 13 include 2,344 persons (1,279 males and 1,065 females) born in Mirzapur.  
 In the Chota Nagpur Tributary States, Columns 11 to 13 include 4,276 persons (3,903 males and 3,76 females) born in Sambalpur in the Central Provinces.  
 In the Orissa Tributary States, Columns 11 to 13 include 8,075 persons (2,798 males and 5,277 females) born in Ganjam in Madras; 8,654 persons (3,940 males and 4,714 females) in Sonpur, 289 persons (193 males and 96 females) in Buxar, 570 persons (139 males and 431 females) in Bamra, 676 persons (390 males and 286 females) in Patna in the Central Provinces.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. II.—SHOWING THE ACTUAL AMOUNT OF EMIGRATION FROM EACH DISTRICT.

ENUMERATED IN—													
DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION. BORN IN—	DISTRICT OR DIVISION.			CONTIGUOUS DISTRICT IN PROVINCE.			OTHER PARTS OF PROVINCE.			OUTSIDE PROVINCE.			
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
											879,683	504,965	374,618
BENGAL	77,578,259	38,708,939	38,869,319										
WEST BENGAL	7,894,999	3,898,075	3,996,924	139,616	70,349	69,267	135,983	86,887	49,096		55,371	27,266	28,105
Bardwan	1,374,128	680,534	693,594	52,065	26,407	25,658	33,961	19,617	14,334		5,398	3,413	4,985
Birbhum	841,874	417,495	424,379	33,362	12,463	20,899	8,424	4,800	3,915		6,655	3,914	4,441
Bankura	1,088,877	537,744	551,133	107,226	54,198	53,028	17,180	10,091	6,489		22,112	10,390	11,722
Midnapore	2,739,253	1,365,479	1,373,774	85,348	44,571	40,777	31,403	19,115	12,288		17,494	8,443	9,051
Hooghly	909,588	445,455	464,133	111,718	61,087	50,631	9,436	5,329	4,107		1,687	884	753
Howrah	705,694	340,584	365,110	21,117	13,087	7,430	1,954	1,015	939		325	181	143
CENTRAL BENGAL	6,978,939	3,510,497	3,468,442	164,559	88,096	76,456	55,273	33,951	22,222		10,220	5,777	4,443
24 Parganas	1,852,992	937,993	915,000	28,017	11,371	16,646	90,198	49,977	40,219		2,747	1,609	1,079
Calcutta	290,857	129,294	161,563	17,179	8,517	8,662	16,066	8,023	8,043		3,078	1,392	1,686
Nadia	1,808,481	777,353	1,031,128	86,177	45,617	40,560	34,978	23,949	11,030		2,682	1,505	987
Murshidabad	1,262,068	617,495	644,573	84,680	39,133	45,547	13,262	7,912	5,350		754	374	280
Jessore	1,796,119	839,540	956,579	61,744	28,095	33,649	18,331	14,983	3,348		1,050	707	502
NORTH BENGAL	9,391,991	4,713,942	4,677,949	51,874	28,357	23,517	10,144	7,194	3,040		23,628	13,694	9,934
Rajshahi	1,383,228	694,375	688,853	19,810	9,694	9,916	3,493	2,022	1,471		509	233	284
Dinajpur	1,435,077	745,183	689,894	14,583	6,794	7,789	2,218	1,416	892		592	229	172
Jaipur	599,157	317,993	281,164	16,741	7,114	9,627	345	247	98		340	194	146
Darjeeling	124,726	61,716	63,010	4,142	2,147	1,995	750	498	264		602	406	307
Rangpur	2,044,765	1,044,893	1,000,070	34,564	15,885	18,679	2,145	1,327	908		17,459	9,879	7,580
Roga	816,638	414,991	401,647	14,783	7,375	7,408	855	377	278		318	185	133
Patna	1,371,421	673,238	698,183	42,034	24,829	17,205	10,695	13,398	6,497		2,376	1,900	398
Maidi	786,143	382,009	404,134	24,666	11,897	12,769	1,932	1,344	695		168	89	77
Kuch Bihar	522,131	273,495	248,636	30,781	15,764	15,017	490	374	216		1,272	753	549
Sikkim	34,010	17,499	16,511	2,108	1,094	1,108	82	42	40				
EAST BENGAL	16,706,896	8,407,513	8,299,313	66,329	36,911	27,418	60,873	49,947	11,896		133,302	98,246	35,056
Khulna	1,187,328	603,773	577,555	19,883	9,697	10,946	5,995	4,306	1,690		205	123	89
Dacca	2,584,223	1,258,890	1,325,333	61,212	30,859	30,353	63,874	43,473	19,402		13,401	10,511	2,890
Mymensingh	3,800,058	1,932,044	1,868,014	48,054	24,909	23,145	10,211	5,434	1,777		22,300	12,739	9,561
Faridpur	1,884,163	940,772	943,391	48,843	23,086	25,756	24,855	19,681	5,374		2,112	1,521	972
Backergunge	2,231,787	1,134,816	1,096,970	30,576	18,331	12,244	8,203	6,005	2,201		434	302	132
Tippera	2,081,239	1,048,894	1,032,345	40,127	22,440	17,687	2,846	2,141	704		12,657	8,736	8,921
Northali	1,122,385	568,008	554,377	27,816	13,892	13,924	5,232	4,749	484		536	329	6
Chittagong	1,341,911	634,363	707,548	16,414	10,953	4,461	9,181	9,360	822		81,442	66,495	14,900
Chittagong Hill Tracts	117,898	61,901	55,997	1,554	806	746	2	.....	.....		316	201	14
Hill Tippera	126,431	67,967	61,764	114	54	60	37	33	4		1	1	.....
NORTH BIHAR	15,559,644	6,567,070	6,985,574	179,737	94,121	78,616	187,834	161,703	26,131		66,914	55,467	30,747
Saran	2,353,085	1,078,598	1,274,487	54,151	25,929	24,522	138,902	119,095	19,808		40,437	24,357	24,000
Champaran	1,883,682	850,500	1,033,182	23,122	6,466	16,656	10,447	8,515	1,909		2,508	1,428	1,080
Muzaffarpur	2,667,099	1,356,747	1,310,352	80,758	39,114	41,644	67,325	50,983	11,342		5,454	4,310	1,144
Darbhanga	2,822,031	1,338,001	1,484,030	74,488	37,803	36,685	33,198	22,119	4,080		3,828	1,722	2,104
Bhagalpur	1,991,415	940,829	1,050,586	93,321	46,746	46,575	27,111	17,442	9,669		3,875	2,393	1,570
Purnea	1,768,789	899,820	868,969	32,078	17,114	14,964	4,224	2,794	1,430		1,119	767	349
SOUTH BIHAR	7,555,609	3,695,538	3,860,071	154,049	78,013	69,029	289,115	190,979	78,134		98,735	41,545	57,190
Patna	1,542,545	772,331	770,214	64,485	32,767	31,718	70,365	47,175	23,190		7,408	4,040	3,456
Gaya	2,013,819	993,324	1,020,495	77,432	39,749	37,683	81,184	54,595	14,873		14,873	8,276	6,597
Shahabad	1,878,783	919,687	959,096	23,206	9,153	14,054	77,856	54,329	23,527		58,861	19,168	20,453
Monghyr	1,992,735	974,058	1,018,677	99,637	50,837	48,800	66,837	47,476	19,361		17,745	10,931	7,714
ORISSA	4,081,654	1,989,932	2,091,722	163,555	88,637	74,918	73,166	67,910	5,956		14,933	10,046	4,887
Cuttack	2,029,814	983,503	1,046,311	60,887	28,925	31,962	54,187	30,019	4,179		11,875	8,349	3,535
Balasore	1,041,730	504,308	537,422	36,832	18,963	17,869	19,173	17,166	2,005		1,910	905	1,008
Puri	984,251	485,249	498,911	24,414	7,593	16,821	5,429	3,133	246		1,148	601	397
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	9,492,627	4,694,194	4,798,433	178,097	79,814	98,283	240,375	157,799	102,476		320,643	160,440	160,203
Hazaribagh	1,136,078	520,858	615,220	48,424	24,123	24,301	32,305	23,269	9,044		80,628	36,120	38,479
Ranchi	1,155,600	560,120	595,480	54,476	23,892	30,584	121,222	69,162	52,120		90,563	40,906	50,547
Palamaner	580,782	286,364	294,418	21,204	10,567	10,637	2,079	1,170	909		8,927	3,219	3,716
Manbhum	1,259,245	615,945	643,300	51,624	21,378	30,246	14,568	8,312	6,246		69,784	36,219	34,565
Singbhum	678,398	323,893	354,505	48,243	15,714	32,529	2,454	1,341	1,113		13,125	7,236	6,889
South Parganas	1,698,212	843,182	855,030	118,923	56,663	62,260	77,842	48,864	35,938		31,243	16,427	14,814
Angul	170,379	86,372	84,007	5,133	1,792	3,341	85	65	29		1,260	627	703
Chota Nagpur Trib. States	899,753	423,414	476,339	8,136	4,168	3,968	2,417	1,709	711		13,800	6,739	7,061
Orissa Tributary States	1,805,410	903,673	901,737	43,140	14,767	28,373	1,017	806	411		13,526	5,992	7,404

NOTE 1.—The details in columns 11, 12 and 13 do not work up to the total, as the latter includes 10,000 persons (6,444 males and 3,556 females) enumerated in French Chandernagore and 144,338 persons (106,940 males and 37,398 females) enumerated in other Provinces (as noted below) who were returned as born in Bengal, but whose district of birth is not known, and who are, therefore, left out of account in the figures for individual districts:—

	Total.	Male.	Female.		Total.	Male.	Female.
Burma	77,758	67,990	10,440	Cochin	59	45	10
Madras	9,069	4,070	4,717	Almor	395	250	145
Punjab	7,074	4,953	2,711	Andamans	2,437	2,229	377
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	26,708	13,029	13,679	Bihar	290	213	77
Azamgarh	6,028	4,798	1,230	Bombay	5,492	3,513	1,979
Gwalior	1,167	567	599	Coorg	18	14	4
Central India Agency	5,059	2,301	2,758	Coorg	916	694	222
Hyderabad	290	213	77	Baroda	198	146	52
Rajputana	854	505	349	Kashmir	415	289	126
				Mysore			



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE III—SHOWING THE PROPORTIONAL MIGRATION TO,  
AND FROM, EACH DISTRICT.**

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF PRESENT POPULATION OF DISTRICT WHO ARE—						NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 100 MALES AMONGST—			
	Immigrants.			Emigrants.			Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Total.	From contiguous districts.	From other places.	Total.	To contiguous districts.	To other places.	From contiguous districts.	From other places.	To contiguous districts.	To other places.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>BHNGAL</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>WEST BHNGAL</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>409</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>63</b>
Burdwan	1,033	700	327	616	336	277	116	46	154	34
Birbhum	871	870	191	625	370	255	142	54	165	60
Bankura	204	231	33	1,312	960	352	179	40	98	77
Midnapore	178	113	65	481	360	121	119	37	91	76
Hoochly	1,331	870	465	1,170	1,064	106	106	20	74	90
Howrah	1,700	232	1,118	275	248	27	93	30	54	
<b>CENTRAL BHNGAL</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>319</b>	<b>673</b>	<b>297</b>	<b>219</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>68</b>
24 Parganas	1,084	319	765	572	125	447	65	33	128	80
Calcutta	6,571	1,123	5,448	428	202	226	73	33	161	104
Nadia	355	365	89	742	517	225	126	38	60	47
Murshidabad	633	363	270	590	485	105	136	41	114	69
Jessore	259	214	45	392	265	127	110	56	84	23
<b>NORTH BHNGAL</b>	<b>713</b>	<b>251</b>	<b>462</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>69</b>
Rajshahi	541	319	222	161	134	27	83	65	102	78
Dinajpur	842	174	668	109	96	13	26	66	116	60
Jalpaiguri	2,390	612	1,778	221	212	9	98	74	135	65
Darjeeling	4,993	611	4,382	228	166	62	20	74	93	58
Bangpur	607	110	497	251	100	151	83	26	117	31
Bogra	443	302	141	184	173	11	108	48	98	73
Pabna	345	201	144	452	395	157	63	22	71	45
Madda	1,107	789	318	303	270	33	97	46	107	31
Kach Bihar	790	282	508	574	343	231	136	23	96	77
Sikkim	4,238	328	3,910	371	357	14	87	57	109	95
<b>EAST BHNGAL</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>31</b>
Khulna	524	361	163	207	157	50	66	19	104	40
Dacca	322	134	188	405	231	234	84	20	50	25
Mymensingh	293	103	189	205	129	76	55	31	97	33
Faridpur	379	291	88	391	225	166	69	14	47	28
Backergunge	261	154	107	170	123	47	20	13	60	37
Tippera	268	130	138	252	180	72	59	42	78	95
Noakhali	169	100	69	294	243	51	101	54	33	9
Chittagong	83	19	64	784	114	670	63	60	40	21
Chittagong Hill Tracts	550	497	53	149	124	25	28	28	98	6
Hill Tippera	2,532	1,307	1,166	8	6	2	75	79	111	13
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>29</b>
Saran	234	90	144	1,016	228	781	270	175	82	31
Champanan	600	293	307	201	129	72	103	85	256	30
Munshampur	318	254	64	557	283	274	138	120	300	20
Darbhanga	310	244	66	382	255	127	256	86	170	20
Bhagalpur	614	350	264	505	447	158	168	56	99	67
Purnea	570	273	297	199	171	28	76	42	87	62
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>676</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>58</b>
Patna	507	438	69	878	397	479	185	53	189	33
Gaya	224	189	35	842	378	464	152	43	160	44
Shahabad	427	187	240	814	118	696	270	178	153	86
Monghyr	416	336	80	890	431	459	102	80	155	47
<b>ORISSA</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>14</b>
Cuttack	159	110	49	560	345	215	313	67	171	13
Balasore	276	229	47	483	228	255	181	44	180	17
Puri	521	234	287	285	240	45	258	104	225	16
<b>CHOTA NAOPUR PLATEAU</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>750</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>569</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>53</b>
Hazaribagh	355	300	55	1,276	413	863	130	69	100	71
Ranchi	269	167	102	2,317	450	1,867	139	50	111	88
Palamau	620	500	120	519	348	171	104	35	105	151
Manbhum	477	324	153	1,045	596	449	67	34	141	94
Singbhum	500	411	89	1,040	750	290	113	69	112	62
Sonthal Parganas	610	457	153	1,240	646	594	139	73	107	84
Angul	1,121	264	857	337	267	70	165	100	201	127
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	1,046	587	459	243	51	192	104	79	95	92
Orissa Tributary States	731	537	194	295	211	84	120	100	102	120

NOTE.—The figures for 'Bengal' and the total of each natural division refer to migration beyond the limits of the province and of the natural division, respectively.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. IV.—SHOWING THE MIGRATION BETWEEN (1) COMMISSIONERS' AND (2) NATURAL DIVISIONS.

(1) Commissioners' Divisions.

DIVISION IN WHICH BORN.		DIVISION IN WHICH ENUMERATED.										
		Burdwan.	Presi- dency.	Rajshahi.	Dacca.	Chitta- gong.	Patna.	Bhagal- pur.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur.	Fendatory States.	TOTAL.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
TOTAL	{ 1901...	345,077	777,551	621,803	208,709	61,220	242,034	271,648	68,835	134,065	340,442	3,101,494
	{ 1891...	227,352	674,800	524,228	306,343	60,433	278,774	322,140	60,455	133,661	592,254	2,880,496
Burdwan	{ 1901 ...	.....	102,183	5,853	2,500	1,468	2,771	18,933	11,370	29,645	10,597	275,598
	{ 1891 ...	.....	129,906	6,421	3,943	1,721	5,531	44,831	8,640	22,303	16,229	3 5,088
Presidency	{ 1901 ...	60,052	.....	60,761	35,246	1,219	4,157	37,361	4,052	2,006	1,131	198,491
	{ 1891 ...	52,298	.....	55,254	32,266	1,292	6,626	31,744	1,222	1,241	1,321	193,230
Rajshahi	{ 1901 ...	807	15,291	.....	24,600	245	364	16,044	735	145	24,461	77,612
	{ 1891 ...	1,117	21,292	.....	37,544	225	1,295	16,752	360	625	29,090	107,501
Dacca	{ 1901 ...	3,783	76,197	23,007	.....	36,213	689	2,001	1,138	302	3,222	161,649
	{ 1891 ...	2,796	67,706	29,101	.....	33,049	643	1,907	292	114	2,564	157,891
Chittagong	{ 1901 ...	515	9,194	848	34,049	.....	234	171	213	70	23,800	69,093
	{ 1891 ...	294	6,273	820	20,224	.....	105	18	264	66	19,562	53,916
Patna	{ 1901 ...	65,086	176,155	78,539	32,463	4,206	.....	136,070	1,341	55,431	15,866	584,979
	{ 1891 ...	56,114	145,113	62,999	31,414	4,415	.....	124,622	982	66,889	10,267	522,738
Bhagalpur	{ 1901 ...	52,546	38,246	129,254	9,547	1,417	56,110	.....	417	15,840	1,711	305,085
	{ 1891 ...	29,946	27,639	96,523	9,543	1,466	57,153	.....	622	12,767	962	245,715
Orissa	{ 1901 ...	21,440	47,028	3,543	1,842	414	155	514	.....	3,036	61,174	139,657
	{ 1891 ...	12,471	42,126	1,493	1,038	306	404	260	.....	4,712	71,087	138,902
Chota Nagpur	{ 1901 ...	21,312	19,305	116,044	892	1,418	10,893	25,078	302	.....	22,186	319,202
	{ 1891 ...	43,226	17,487	98,117	849	1,106	11,228	12,760	225	.....	124,079	259,047
Fendatory States.	{ 1901 ...	1,389	349	34,708	109	121	163	145	22,221	7,681	.....	78,658
	{ 1891 ...	3,024	922	62,706	493	724	2,203	16	21,120	3,007	.....	94,624
Outside Prov. Inco.	{ 1901 ...	89,193	292,091	154,308	68,296	12,709	164,227	50,422	54,373	20,840	116,293	915,158
	{ 1891 ...	56,976	122,747	170,656	66,739	16,127	129,986	50,813	29,803	12,963	106,539	792,695

(2) Natural Divisions.

DIVISION IN WHICH BORN.	DIVISION IN WHICH ENUMERATED.									
	West Ben- gal.	Central Bengal.	North Ben- gal.	East Ben- gal.	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nag- pur Plateau.	TOTAL.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
TOTAL	{ 1901... 1891...	345,077 297,352	761,048 656,691	713,886 564,595	251,261 261,124	278,476 340,698	180,800 245,661	69,625 51,509	352,661 405,728	2,938,821 2,759,335
West Bengal	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	..... .....	161,235 122,617	7,046 9,164	3,328 6,662	3,542 4,991	2,411 6,697	11,267 8,640	54,734 86,021	275,598 313,092
Central Bengal	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	59,668 66,883	..... .....	74,203 75,512	61,372 75,234	4,542 4,546	5,244 6,012	4,427 1,221	12,922 11,742	220,025 227,908
North Bengal	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	1,137 1,701	20,446 22,153	..... .....	25,545 39,242	7,564 11,042	200 462	820 411	6,157 9,044	62,019 90,662
East Bengal	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	4,601 3,436	75,293 22,042	42,206 22,426	..... .....	221 262	944 706	1,522 462	1,519 286	127,202 120,917
North Bihar	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	24,126 12,247	66,912 62,226	122,731 122,920	22,797 20,061	..... .....	75,454 122,622	626 421	30,106 16,120	360,671 320,603
South Bihar	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	60,291 29,413	127,104 112,102	24,601 22,211	12,640 12,222	111,641 142,901	..... .....	920 726	87,822 90,796	423,135 418,072
Orissa	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	21,440 12,471	47,302 41,767	3,704 1,696	3,720 1,720	26 263	127 264	..... .....	61,414 79,222	138,721 145,464
Chota Nagpur Plateau.	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	24,275 67,601	52,483 24,622	224,206 172,612	3,223 2,127	16,312 21,091	15,026 12,202	15,025 21,022	..... .....	418,372 262,239
Outside Province	{ 1901 ... 1891 ...	89,193 56,976	292,091 121,666	154,311 126,421	101,220 66,222	122,294 129,726	61,124 62,224	29,917 20,202	104,201 112,222	915,158 792,695

NOTE.—In this statement a correction has been made on account of the obvious inaccuracy of the birth-place return for 1891 in the Santal Pargana. The said returns showed amongst the persons enumerated in that district 6,122 persons born in Nadia, 10,822 in Dinajpur, 10,000 in Patna, 12,222 in Gaya, and 12,145 in Saran. In lieu of these figures the following, being those of the present census, have been substituted, viz., Nadia 424, Dinajpur 67, Patna 2,622, Gaya 1,222 and Saran 1,270.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V—SHOWING THE GAIN OR LOSS BY MIGRATION  
BETWEEN BENGAL AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA.

PROVINCE OR STATE.	IMMIGRANTS TO BENGAL.			EMIGRANTS FROM BENGAL.			EXCESS OF IMMIGRATION OVER EMIGRATION.	
	1901.	1891.	Variation.	1901.	1891.	Variation.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>728,715</b>	<b>553,195</b>	<b>+145,520</b>	<b>579,583</b>	<b>856,557</b>	<b>+ 23,226</b>	<b>-159,817</b>	<b>-268,949</b>
Ajmere-Merwara	494	60	+ 404	395	979	- 584	+ 69	- 919
Assam	43,290	23,623	+ 8,327	603,876	418,344	+ 85,532	- 455,580	- 364,721
Barar	89	123	- 34	290	429	- 139	+ 901	- 290
Bombay and States (Sindh)	6,590	6,474	+ 221	5,402	11,218	- 5,816	+ 1,205	- 4,744
Burma	1,654	2,352	- 668	156,006	112,000	+ 44,029	- 133,334	- 109,717
Central Provinces and States	63,151	90,997	- 28,816	44,300	63,741	- 11,381	+ 17,921	- 25,256
Cooch	8	152	- 147	18	16	+ 2	- 18	+ 138
Gwalior	...	...	...	1,157	...	+ 1,157	- 1,157	...
Madras and States	21,048	24,244	- 3,195	9,772	10,534	- 1,162	+ 17,577	- 13,610
U. P. and States	496,940	363,249	+ 131,693	128,991	204,020	- 77,030	+ 367,949	- 159,222
Punjab and States	17,442	13,914	+ 1,598	7,074	7,730	- 656	+ 10,308	- 8,184
Andamans, etc.	153	46	+ 112	2,457	2,865	- 408	+ 2,899	- 2,819
Hyderabad	602	680	- 78	200	1,281	- 1,081	+ 941	- 551
Baroda	134	96	+ 34	916	613	+ 303	- 782	- 517
Mysore	621	103	+ 456	413	552	- 137	+ 206	- 387
Kashmir	325	123	+ 202	198	111	+ 87	+ 127	- 12
Rajputana	45,672	16,063	+ 23,610	584	4,108	- 3,221	+ 39,686	- 112,557
Central India	23,116	3,557	+ 19,559	5,939	18,476	- 13,437	+ 18,077	- 14,919
India (unspecified)	...	1,970	- 1,970	...	...	...	...	1,970
French Settlements	1,012	109	+ 903	10,909	4,813	+ 6,096	- 9,087	- 4,894
Portuguese Settlements	690	...	+ 690	...	...	...	+ 690	- 15
Siam States	...	...	...	...	15	- 15	...	...
Cochin	...	...	...	32	...	+ 32	...	...

DETAILS OF MIGRATION BETWEEN CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS OF BENGAL AND  
ASSAM.

Born in	Enumerated in	1901.	1891.	Variation.	Born in	Enumerated in	1901.	1891.	Variation.
Mymensingh ...	Garo Hills ...	2,357	1,814	+ 1,043	Garo Hills ...	Mymensingh ...	511	629	- 118
Ditto ...	Sylhet ...	15,289	12,603	+ 2,686	Sylhet ...	Ditto ...	8,040	11,139	- 2,609
Tippera ...	Do. ...	11,690	19,819	- 8,711	Do. ...	Tippera ...	7,929	8,660	- 1,731
Hill Tippera ...	Do. ...	...	878	- 878	Do. ...	Hill Tippera ...	15,246	11,291	+ 4,255
Rangpur ...	Goalpara ...	15,611	22,786	- 7,177	Goalpara ...	Rangpur ...	872	728	+ 144
Kuch Bihar ...	Ditto ...	1,144	1,217	- 73	Ditto ...	Kuch Bihar ...	2,406	3,124	- 718
Jalpaiguri ...	Ditto ...	253	154	+ 98	Ditto ...	Jalpaiguri ...	60	139	- 79
Total born in Bengal but enumerated in contiguous districts of Assam		<b>46,843</b>	<b>59,273</b>	<b>-3,430</b>	Total born in Assam but enumerated in contiguous districts of Bengal.		<b>36,364</b>	<b>36,704</b>	<b>-340</b>

DETAILS OF MIGRATION BETWEEN CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS OF BENGAL AND  
THE UNITED PROVINCES.

Born in	Enumerated in	1901.	1891.	Variation.	Born in	Enumerated in	1901.	1891.	Variation.
Champanan ...	Gorakhpur ...	1,385	3,977	- 2,692	Gorakhpur ...	Champanan ...	21,497	40,092	- 19,255
Saran ...	Ditto ...	24,033	70,260	- 46,227	Ditto ...	Saran ...	24,036	7,922	+ 17,014
Do. ...	Ballia ...	11,909	13,635	- 2,493	Ballia ...	Do. ...	4,820	4,631	+ 289
Shahabad ...	Do. ...	8,747	14,906	- 6,159	Do. ...	Shahabad ...	13,616	19,530	- 5,714
Ditto ...	Ghazipur ...	16,923	21,708	- 5,777	Ghazipur ...	Ditto ...	15,346	5,115	+ 10,235
Ditto ...	Benares ...	10,221	11,498	- 1,277	Benares ...	Ditto ...	5,003	2,753	+ 2,250
Ditto ...	Mirzapur ...	7,487	4,787	+ 2,700	Mirzapur ...	Ditto ...	2,677	2,704	- 27
Palaman ...	Ditto ...	2,151	8,547	- 6,396	Ditto ...	Palaman ...	2,304	1,291	+ 1,013
Chota Nagpur ...	Ditto ...	2	...	+ 2	Ditto ...	Chota Nagpur ...	5,665	6,595	- 929
Total born in Bengal but enumerated in contiguous districts of the United Provinces.		<b>81,063</b>	<b>151,660</b>	<b>-70,597</b>	Total born in the United Provinces but enumerated in contiguous districts of Bengal.		<b>96,869</b>	<b>92,165</b>	<b>+ 4,704</b>



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. VI—SHOWING THE VARIATIONS COMPARED WITH 1891 IN THE NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS FROM CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

1	CONTIGUOUS COUNTRIES.				DISTANT COUNTRIES.																		
	Nepal.		Afghanistan.		British Islands.						Germany.		France.		Other European Countries.		America.		Africa.		Australia.		
	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.			1891.			1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	
					Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.													
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
BENGAL	161,495	173,928	4,363	5,455	11,886	9,990	2,596	9,544	7,548	1,996	359	359	253	298	857	911	570	938	170	161	195	129	
WEST BENGAL	79	48	573	303	1,101	859	263	722	482	240	14	55	16	46	53	109	142	99	8	96	20	4	
Burdwan	15	3	142	70	570	280	90	304	173	131	9	62	11	43	10	67	9	81	1	...	11	3	
Birbhum	1	13	100	42	21	15	6	23	19	4	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	
Bankura	1	7	60	23	9	8	1	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Midnapore	6	6	68	74	51	35	14	12	8	8	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	9	13	1	10	...	
Hugly	4	6	121	65	118	95	23	69	57	12	...	...	...	...	3	4	1	...	3	...	...	...	
Howrah	43	14	82	27	532	408	120	310	220	90	5	3	3	1	10	35	18	3	4	14	9	...	
CENTRAL BENGAL	181	675	1,182	585	7,895	6,317	1,488	6,115	4,915	1,200	172	244	181	227	608	619	197	186	109	69	92	79	
24 Parganas	10	5	122	66	1,921	1,729	192	1,696	1,538	164	3	69	3	...	15	1	50	...	13	2	7	...	
Calcutta	163	656	328	276	5,795	4,534	1,262	4,325	3,390	1,005	168	173	178	224	661	661	170	180	92	49	35	77	
Nadia	...	4	270	33	46	27	19	49	34	15	1	...	...	...	21	10	1	...	...	...	...	1	
Murshidabad	...	5	168	195	34	21	13	23	14	9	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	4	16	...	...	
Jessore	1	6	279	83	8	6	2	22	19	7	...	2	...	...	8	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	
NORTH BENGAL	118,496	108,787	1,049	890	591	349	249	793	610	183	31	4	7	1	42	19	99	2	4	9	15	3	
Rajshahi	8	...	190	31	17	10	7	22	14	8	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Dinajpur	32	61	131	31	10	7	3	9	8	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Jalpaiguri	18,649	30,543	223	253	184	135	28	128	107	21	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	
Darjeeling	76,301	88,021	33	425	286	113	173	524	491	133	27	1	6	...	25	8	20	1	1	...	...	...	
Rangpur	219	43	240	1	69	40	19	32	22	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Bogra	125	5	65	43	1	1	...	5	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Pabna	7	16	111	57	32	19	9	40	33	8	1	...	...	...	1	7	1	1	...	...	...	...	
Malda	12	1	41	3	2	2	...	9	3	6	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Kuch Bihar	347	113	16	34	20	17	3	24	22	2	...	...	...	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	
Sikkim	22,720	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
EAST BENGAL	204	790	699	304	270	190	80	230	170	60	14	...	...	18	5	38	9	5	4	4	1	29	13
Khulna	7	1	190	40	14	9	5	5	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Dacca	3	209	76	50	75	52	23	70	40	21	8	...	...	11	...	21	4	...	1	...	...	...	
Mytensingh	24	76	212	113	11	10	1	15	6	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Faridpur	1	11	113	30	27	19	8	87	55	12	...	...	...	...	3	3	2	...	1	...	...	...	
Bakergunge	2	3	48	13	24	15	9	22	16	6	1	...	...	1	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	
Tippes	2	2	30	25	17	12	5	12	9	3	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	
Nokhal	...	...	3	4	3	3	1	4	3	1	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	
Chittagong	14	4	23	12	98	70	26	31	25	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	2	...	...	...	
Ditto H.I.I.	70	217	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	
Tracts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Hill Tippera	43	163	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
NORTH BIHAR	42,145	62,409	550	233	418	273	144	376	263	113	23	1	9	8	26	4	25	8	4	21	17	11	
Saran	9	4	11	...	82	57	25	88	60	26	...	...	1	...	1	...	11	2	2	8	...	...	
Champaran	19,540	34,626	46	41	79	42	36	50	33	17	...	...	...	...	13	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	
Muzaffarpur	9,133	10,545	36	42	131	85	46	103	69	35	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	
Darbhanga	7,892	7,934	98	30	36	23	14	77	69	18	7	...	...	...	5	3	2	...	2	1	12	12	
Risalpur	3,065	3,400	70	15	48	33	15	34	23	11	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Purnea	1,816	4,619	93	125	43	34	9	26	20	6	4	1	...	...	7	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	
SOUTH BIHAR	132	303	134	817	1,268	1,204	244	1,319	1,040	179	27	...	...	11	5	34	25	36	8	0	28	16	8
Patna	25	211	40	100	878	777	101	952	860	92	22	...	...	5	2	17	21	10	3	6	...	...	
Gaya	12	25	27	90	69	29	31	18	13	5	...	...	...	...	1	...	11	3	1	18	...	...	
Shahabad	90	33	37	589	74	80	24	85	46	19	1	...	...	1	...	4	...	11	...	10	8	...	
Monghyr	42	34	30	29	257	167	85	184	121	63	4	...	...	1	3	12	3	4	2	4	...	...	
ORISSA	54	97	50	103	114	81	33	89	68	21	2	3	5	6	13	81	16	5	5	3	1	1	
Cuttack	6	71	11	33	60	40	19	65	38	17	...	...	...	...	5	1	4	11	1	...	...	...	
Balasore	7	20	24	70	37	28	9	26	34	2	2	3	...	...	5	9	69	13	3	3	2	1	
Puri	29	...	15	...	18	13	5	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	289	119	320	198	319	217	102	248	161	87	76	59	6	...	43	45	20	9	6	8	19	3	
Hazaribagh	3	3	25	47	72	40	23	103	46	57	12	...	...	...	6	...	1	3	1	7	...	...	
Ranchi	19	56	49	12	39	19	20	48	37	11	43	31	3	...	27	30	6	...	...	...	...	...	
Palaman	...	...	20	...	7	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Manbhum	...	...	20	...	70	29	17	14	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Singbhum	...	...	20	...	42	28	14	32	27	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Sonbhal Parganas	237	47	12	...	72	47	25	50	42	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Angul	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Chota Nagpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Tributary States	12	3	40	44	9	7	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Orissa Tributary States	8	...	63	7	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	



## Chapter IV.

### RELIGION.

#### DISTRIBUTION AND VARIATIONS SINCE 1891.

267. THE imperial tables dealing with the subject of religion are Table VI, which gives the strength of all the religions returned for each district and state, and Tables XVII and XVIII which contain details of the sects, races, and ages of Christians. The following subsidiary tables, in which the most prominent features of the statistics are illustrated by means of proportional figures, will be found at the end of this chapter.

*Subsidiary Table No. I.*—Showing the general distribution of the population by religion.

*Subsidiary Table No. II.*—Showing the strength, etc., of the main religions in each district and natural division at each of the last three censuses.

*Subsidiary Table No. III.*—Showing the variation in the number of Christians in each district.

*Subsidiary Table No. IV.*—Showing the distribution of Christians by race and sect.

*Subsidiary Table No. V.*—Showing the distribution per 1,000 (a) of each race of Christians by sect, and (b) of each sect by race.

*Subsidiary Table No. VI.*—Showing the distribution of the population of towns by religion.

268. The general distribution of the people by religion is noted in the margin. It will be seen that nearly two-thirds of the population are Hindus and rather less than one-third are Muhammadans. The only other religions with more than a few thousand representatives are the Animistic, Christian and Buddhist. Apart from the great predominance of the two main religions, the most noticeable features in the figures are the relatively more rapid growth of Muhammadans as compared with Hindus, the stationary condition of the Animistic

RELIGION.	NUMBER IN—	
	1901.	1891.
Hindus ... ..	49,687,368	47,821,681
Brahmins ... ..	5,171	2,546
Sikhs ... ..	349	417
Jains ... ..	7,631	7,279
Buddhists ... ..	237,593	194,717
Parsees ... ..	386	179
Muslimans ... ..	23,495,416	23,658,168
Christians ... ..	278,360	102,484
Jews ... ..	1,946	1,448
Animists ... ..	2,756,460	2,703,661
Confucians ... ..	178	32
Others ... ..	50	—
Total ... ..	72,403,419	74,631,945*

\* Excludes 11,307 entered as "not returned."

population, and the great increase in the number of Christians. The distribution of the above religions varies greatly in different parts of the Province, and for this reason, and also in order to ascertain the causes of the changes which have taken place, it is necessary to examine the statistics for individual districts. In this section the discussion will be mainly statistical, and all subjects of a more general nature, which cannot be compressed within fairly narrow limits, will be dealt with in the following separate sections, viz., Sects and Races of Christians, the Muhammadans of Bengal, Hindu sects and Godlings and Traces of Buddhism.

269. It will be convenient to begin with the Animists. Animism is defined by Tiele as "the belief in the existence of souls or spirits, of which only the powerful, those on which man feels himself dependent, and before which he stands in awe, acquire the rank of divine beings, and become objects of worship. These spirits are conceived as moving freely through earth and air, and either of their own accord, or because conjured by some spell, and thus under compulsion, appear to men (*Spiritism*). But they may also take up their abode, either temporarily or permanently, in some object, whether living or lifeless, it matters not; and this object, as endowed with higher power, is then worshipped, or employed to protect individuals and communities (*Fetichism*)."



The term embraces the various forms of belief of all the aboriginal tribes of India who have not yet come under the influence of Hinduism (including its off-shoots Buddhism and Jainism), Muhammadanism or Christianity. There is no regular creed amongst these vague, unformulated beliefs, but there is none the less a considerable general inter-resemblance. The following extract from my report on the Assam Census of 1891 seems to me to set forth the salient features of the forms of Animism generally met with in this part of India:—

“There is a vague but very general belief in some one omnipotent being, who is well-disposed towards men, and whom, therefore, it is unnecessary to propitiate. Then come a number of evil spirits, who are ill-disposed towards human beings, and to whose malevolent influence are ascribed all the woes which afflict mankind. To them, therefore, sacrifices must be offered. These malevolent spirits are sylvan deities, spirits of the trees, the rocks, and the streams, and sometimes also of the tribal ancestors. There is no regular priesthood, but some persons are supposed to be better endowed with the powers of divination than others. When a calamity occurs, one of these diviners, *shamans* or sooth-sayers, is called on to ascertain the particular demon who is offended and who requires to be pacified by a sacrifice. This is done, either by devil-dancing, when the diviner works himself into a paroxysm of drunkenness and excitement, and then holds converse with the unseen spirits around him, or by the examination of omens—eggs, grains of rice, or the entrails of a fowl. There is a profound belief in omens of all sorts; no journey is undertaken unless it is ascertained that the fates are propitious, while persons who have started on a journey will turn back should adverse omens be met with on the way.”

270. The difficulty in obtaining a correct return of the number of Animists is two-fold. In the first place they themselves have no name for their religion, if such it can be called, and all that they can say is that they are not Hindus, Musalmans or Christians, and that they believe in the same things as the rest of their particular tribe. This difficulty was got over by directing that the name of the tribe should be repeated in the column of the schedule in which religion was recorded. The second difficulty was more serious. The dividing line between Hinduism and Animism is uncertain. Hinduism does not, like Christianity and Islam, demand of its votaries the rejection of all other religious beliefs; and it will be seen further on that amongst many of the lower castes of Hindus the real working religion derives its inspiration, not from the Vedas, but from the non-Aryan beliefs of the aborigines. Hinduism is not so much a form of religious belief as a social organisation, and a man's faith does not greatly matter so long as he recognises the supremacy of the Bráhmans and observes the restrictions of the Hindu caste system.

271. The way in which Hinduism is gradually attracting the non-Aryan tribes within its fold has often been discussed, and it is unnecessary to refer to the subject at any length here. It will suffice to say that at the present time two great influences are at work. The first is the contempt shown by the general body of Hindus for their aboriginal neighbours, and their refusal to have any dealings with them. They are spurned as unclean, and gradually come to share the feeling themselves and to take the superior Hindu at his own valuation. The other influence, paradoxical as it may seem, is the cajolery of certain classes of Bráhmans. Degraded members of the priestly caste wander amongst them in search of a livelihood. They commence by reading some religious book, and so gradually acquire an influence which often ends in their obtaining the position of spiritual adviser to the rude inhabitants of the village they have settled upon. In the Orissa States and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Vaishnava Bairágis, more often than Bráhmans, act as missionaries of a debased form of Hinduism\*.

In this way the tendency is spreading, amongst even the wilder tribes, to call themselves Hindus. Thus in Singhbhum the Deputy Commissioner reports that some Hos “style themselves Hindas and profess to believe in the Hindu gods and goddesses. Some of them have taken to wearing the Bráhmanical thread.” In parts of the Chota Nagpur States, certain Páns call themselves Dás and set up as twice-born Hindus, and in Baramba, many Kandhs and Savars, who were returned as Animists in 1891, claimed that since then they had taken to Hindu forms of worship, and were in consequence allowed to be classed as Hindus. In Mayurbhanj some Santáls have accepted the ministration

\* See, for example, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, volume I, page 173.



of Vaishnava preachers and now call themselves Hindus. One of the curious features of the movement inaugurated by the Kharwárs or Santál revivalists was their leaning towards Hinduism. Occasionally, but very rarely, there is a reaction. Mr. Bompas tells me that at the present moment there is a movement of the sort in the Sonthal Parganas, where the women have broken their lac-bangles and taken once more to home-made cloth instead of the imported article.

272. The instructions to the enumerators were to the effect that each person's statement as to his religion should be accepted, but in practice this was often overlooked, and the census officers took it upon themselves to decide whether a man was a Hindu or not. Many held to the fiction that a man cannot become a Hindu unless he is born one, and many others could not reconcile themselves to enter a man as a Hindu, merely because he said he was one, when it was apparent to all that in his customs and mode of life he still preserved much that was repugnant to Hindu ideas of purity and clean living.\* Thus in the Sonthal Parganas the Deputy Commissioner writes:—

"In some parts a good many Santáls have been entered as Hindu by religion. This, I am afraid, depended largely on the idiosyncrasy of the Charge Superintendent."

The general tendency was to enter the various tribes as Animists in the places where they are chiefly found, and where they and their mode of life are familiar to all, and to show them as Hindus in places at a distance from their tribal head-quarters, where they are not so well known. Thus, in the Sonthal Parganas, barely one-tenth of the Santáls were shown as Hindus, while in Malda two-thirds of them were thus recorded and in Dinajpur rather more than a quarter. More than 99 per cent. of the Oráons in Ranchi were entered as Animists, but barely one per cent. in Jalpaiguri.†

273. According to the returns, the Animists are most numerous in Ranchi and Singhbhum, where nearly half the population was returned under this head. In the Sonthal Parganas and the Chota Nagpur States more than one-third of the inhabitants are Animistic and in Angul more than a fifth. In all the other tracts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau the proportion is 8 per cent., except in Palamau, where it is only 4 per cent. In the rest of the Province the proportion of Animists, according to the census figures, is generally only nominal; they are nowhere very numerous, but the real proportion is higher than that indicated by the census, owing to the tendency of census



officers, above alluded to, to enter them as Hindus in places where they are not well known. Thus, in Jalpaiguri, where only 2 per cent. of the population has been thus returned, the Mundas, Oráons, and Santáls would alone represent 8 per cent. of the district population, had they been distributed between Animism and Hinduism in the proportion which is found to exist in the districts whence they chiefly come.

\* In one of the reports on the working of the census a strong protest was lodged against the rule above referred to, and it was urged that the census staff should be allowed to decide if a man were a Hindu or not. It was said—"A Ho or a Santál can never become a Hindu, just as a Hindu cannot become a Ho or Santál, and by recognizing the former as Hindus, just because they may choose to say they are, the returns are rendered incorrect."

† This accounts for the sex discrepancy in the case of Hindu and Animistic Oráons taken separately. Amongst emigrants, males greatly predominated, and almost all were shown as Hindus, while their wives and sisters who remained at home were entered as Animists.

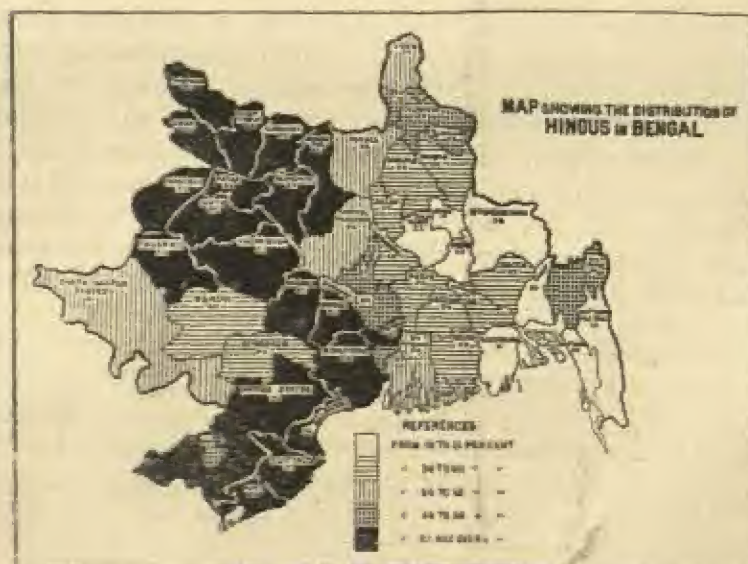


274. The practical concentration of the Animistic religions on the barren uplands of Chota Nagpur is due to the comparative inaccessibility and poverty of this tract. Successive streams of immigrants from the North-West poured down the course of the Ganges and spread over the level country on both sides of that great river, but the hilly tract beyond was left untouched. The original inhabitants of the hills and of the plains were doubtless closely allied, but while those of the hills were left to their own devices, their congeners in the plains were either subjugated, like the Musahars, or peaceably converted to Hinduism, like the Rájbansis, or driven back into the hills, like the Oráons and the main body of the Bhuiyás. It will be seen in the Chapter on Language how the Aryan dialects have supplanted the non-Aryan throughout the plains districts and are now slowly ousting them from their last strongholds in the hills, and the subversion of the earlier creeds has proceeded *pari passu* with the disappearance of the tribal languages. The only noticeable difference between the distribution of Animists and that of the non-Aryan languages, as shown in the map on page 314, is that the latter are found not only in the Chota Nagpur Plateau but also in the north-east and south-east of the Province, where they are mostly spoken, not by Hindus, but by Buddhists, who will be treated of in a subsequent paragraph.

275. A comparison of the figures for individual districts discloses some curious variations between the results of successive censuses, especially in the case of Singhbhum in 1881 and Angul in 1891. These marked differences are explained by the difficulties attending a correct differentiation between Hindus and Animists and by the personal equation of the census staff. They show clearly that much reliance cannot be placed on the figures for any particular tract, but when this large Province is being dealt with as a whole, it may perhaps be assumed that individual peculiarities of treatment tend to cancel each other, and to leave the total for the Province practically unaffected. At the present enumeration, for example, the Animistic population has gained by a more correct classification of religions in Angul and has lost by the indiscriminate entry as Hindus of the aboriginal emigrants to Jalpaiguri, Malda, and other districts. We may assume that on the whole, the classification of Animists is neither more nor less accurate than at the previous census.

The aboriginal tribes are well known to be prolific and yet the persons whose creeds have been classed as Animistic have increased by only 1 per cent. since 1891. This is due, partly to a very large amount of emigration of persons belonging to the aboriginal tribes to Assam tea-gardens, and partly to numerous conversions to Hinduism and Christianity. The leaning of these rude tribes to Hinduism has already been discussed. The methods and success of the Christian propaganda will be dealt with further on.

276. We have seen that nearly two-thirds of the whole population are Hindus. They are most numerous in Bihar and Orissa and in a string of districts along the eastern edge of the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the western fringe of Bengal which



link these two tracts together. Their predominance is disputed in the Chota Nagpur Plateau by the Animistic forms of belief already described, and in Bengal Proper by the followers of the Prophet. The proportion of Hindus steadily diminishes towards the east, until in Bogra it falls to 18 per cent. In Pabna, Rajshahi, Mymensingh, Noakhali and Chittagong, only about a quarter of the



inhabitants are Hindus, whereas in Bihar, if we exclude Purnea, where Bihar and Bengal meet, at least eight-ninths of the population acknowledge the supremacy of the Bráhmans. In Purnea, west of the Mahánandá, two-thirds of the inhabitants are Hindus while to the east of it two-thirds are Muhammadans. In the north-east and south-east the rivals of the Hindus are neither Muhammadans nor Animists, but Buddhists. The greatest stronghold of Hinduism in this Province is Orissa, where more than 97 per cent. of the population profess this religion.

277. In the Province, as a whole, the Hindus have increased by nearly 4 per cent. during the decade. The improvement is greatest in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where they

#### VARIATIONS SINCE 1891.

are more numerous by 10 per cent. than they were in 1891. In West and East Bengal and in Orissa the increment is about 7 per cent., and it exceeds 5 per cent. in Central and North Bengal. In North Bihar the Hindu population is stationary, while in South Bihar it has fallen by about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

The changes in the strength of any religion depend on three causes, viz., the reproductive power of its adherents, migration, and conversion. As an instance of migration we may refer to the movement of natives of Bihar and the United Provinces to Central Bengal, while as regards conversion, we have already seen how the non-Aryan tribes are gradually being enveloped in the folds of Hinduism. There is also a tendency on the part of this religion to grow at the expense of the small Buddhist population still surviving on the north-east and south-east outskirts of the Province. Thanks to the energy of its missionaries, Buddhism gained a much wider range than Hinduism has yet attained, and although it has gradually been supplanted by the latter in India Proper, it is still the religion of many on the borders of this Province. But even here it is gradually being pushed back. In Nepal the Hindu religion, backed up by the ruling dynasty, is steadily gaining ground. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the contest is more even, but here too the victory will probably rest ultimately with the Bráhmans. The following extract from Mr. Risley's account of the Chákmás is interesting as throwing light on the manner in which Hinduism is still attacking the retreating outposts of its ancient rival:—

"The Chakmás profess to be Buddhists, but during the last generation or so their practice in matters of religion has been noticeably coloured by contact with the gross Hinduism of Eastern Bengal. This tendency was encouraged by the example of Rájá Dharm Baksh Khán and his wife Kálini Ráni, who observed the Hindu festivals, consulted Hindu astrologers, kept a Chittagong Bráhman to supervise the daily worship of the goddess Káli, and persuaded themselves that they were lineal representatives of the Kshatriya caste. Some years ago, however, a celebrated Phoongyee came over from Arakan, after the Rájá's death, to strengthen the cause of Buddhism and to take the Ráni to task for her leanings towards idolatry. His efforts are said to have met with some success, and the Ráni is believed to have formally proclaimed her adhesion to Buddhism."

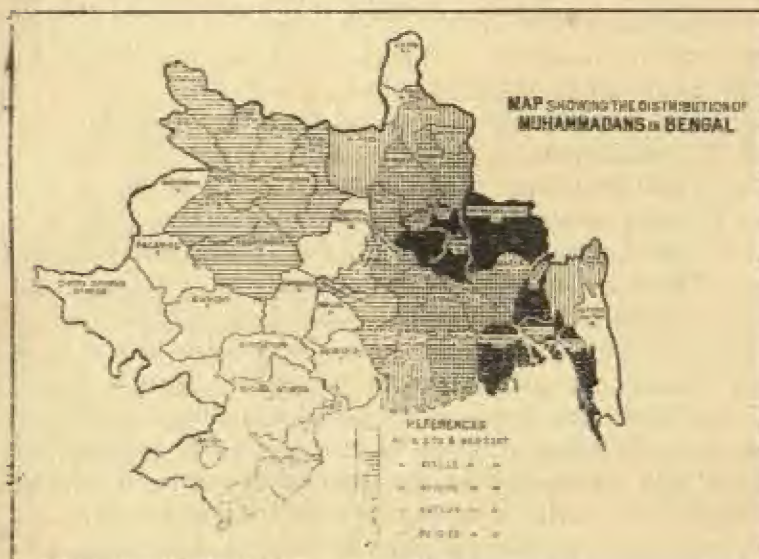
278. It would be interesting if we could form an idea of the extent to which Hinduism has gained during the decade by causes other than natural growth, but the subject is too complicated to enable even an approximate estimate to be arrived at. We know that there are about 130,000 more immigrants from the United Provinces than there were ten years ago, and it is probable that the majority of these are Hindus. The Animistic population of Bengal shows a growth of only 1 per cent., whereas, in the absence of emigration to Assam, and conversion to other religions within the Province, it would probably have grown by at least 12 per cent. The difference between this and the actual growth, or about 313,000, is due to emigration to Assam and conversions to Hinduism and Christianity. The latter religion has taken about 60,000, which leaves 253,000 to be accounted for by emigration and conversion to Hinduism. Unfortunately we have no means of ascertaining the proportion of the emigrants from Bengal to Assam who would have described themselves as Animists before they left their homes. We have also no means of apportioning the emigrants to Burma between Hindus and Muhammadans. It may, however, be assumed roughly that, excluding gains by conversion from amongst the Animists and Buddhists, the increase during the decade would have approximated more nearly to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  than to 4 per cent.\* On the other hand there

\* The enumeration of Sikkim by religion has added 38,000 to the number of Hindus.



has been some loss by conversions to Muhammadanism, and it will be seen further on that the Muhammadans have grown during the decade almost twice as rapidly as have the Hindus. How far this is due to the conversion of Hindus, and how far to the greater fecundity of the Musalman population, will be discussed in paragraph 310.

279. Prior to the enumeration of 1872 it was thought that Muhammadans were most numerous in Bihar, but it was then clearly established that this is by no means the case, and that the Musalmans of Bihar are greatly out-numbered by those of Bengal Proper. In East Bengal, two-thirds of the inhabitants, and in North Bengal nearly three-fifths, are followers of the Prophet, while in North Bihar less than a



sixth, and in South Bihar less than a tenth, of the population acknowledge his authority. The proportion of Muhammadans is smallest in Orissa, where it is less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Of individual districts, Bogra, with 82 per cent., has the greatest proportionate Musalman population; then follow Rajshahi with 78, Noakhali with 76, Pabna with 75, and Mymensingh and Chittagong with 71

per cent.\* None of these districts contain any of the places famous as the head-quarters of Muhammadan rulers. Dacca was the residence of the Nawábs for about a hundred years, but it contains a smaller proportion of Muhammadans than any of the surrounding districts, except Faridpur. Malda and Murshidabad contain the old capitals, which were the centre of Musalman rule for nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  centuries, and yet the Muhammadans form a smaller proportion of the population than they do in the adjacent districts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Nadia. Bihar, Bhagalpur and Monghyr were important Muhammadan cities, but in spite of this the Muhammadans comprise barely a tenth of the population of the districts in which they lie. This distribution of the Muhammadan population is significant in connection with the source from which it springs, which will form the subject of enquiry further on.

280. The Muhammadans have increased by 7·7 per cent. during the last decade. The greatest expansion is in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where it is 15·0 per cent., then follow East Bengal and Orissa with 12·3 and 11·0 per cent., respectively. In South Bihar there has been a falling off of 3·0 per cent., in sympathy with a general decline in the population of that tract. The actual increment in the number of Muhammadans is about the same as in the case of the Hindus, but the proportional growth is nearly twice as great. This is due in part to the local distribution of the two religions. The Muhammadans are most numerous in the progressive districts of East Bengal, while the districts of Bihar, which are for the most part stationary or decadent, contain the greatest number of Hindus. But this is only a partial explanation.

\* The proportion of Muhammadans in some areas is obscured by great local variations within the boundaries of a district. We have already seen how, in Purnea, two-thirds of the inhabitants east of the Maháranjá are Muhammadans and less than one-third in the tract west of that river. Similarly in Rangpur about three quarters of the residents of the Gaibandha subdivision, which adjoins Bogra and Mymensingh, are Musalmans, compared with about three-fifths in the rest of the district. In the Sadar and Ranaghat subdivisions of Nadia, considerably less than half the population is Muhammadan, while in the north-east of the district the proportion rises to 70 per cent. The Narayanganj subdivision of Dacca is three-quarters Muhammadan but in the rest of the district the proportion is less than three-fifths.



The Muhammadans have grown more rapidly than the Hindus in every Natural Division except North Bengal, where the rate is the same for both religions, and Central Bengal, where the Hindus have the advantage. In both these cases the result is due entirely to migration. The immigrant population has grown very largely, and the great bulk of the new settlers are Hindus. In North Bengal, moreover, the enumeration of Sikkim by religion has added 38,000 persons to the Hindu and only 21 to the Muhammadan

population. The reason why the latter should grow more rapidly than their Hindu neighbours will be discussed further on.

281. The Christian community comprises Europeans and other foreigners, Eurasians and native converts. The total number of Christians, who now considerably exceed a quarter of a million, has been growing rapidly during the last 30 years, and there are now three times as many as there were at the first census in 1872. The converts are most numerous in the Ranchi district, where three distinct missions are at work amongst the aboriginal Mundas and Oraons, and there are now 124,958 Christians compared with only 36,263

YEAR.	Number of Christians.
1872	36,263
1881	128,134
1891	192,484
1901	278,366

in 1881. Calcutta comes next with about 38,000, but this number includes about 28,000 Europeans and Eurasians, and the total strength has not grown very greatly during the last 20 years. Then follow the 24-Parganas with about 14,000, Dacca with 11,500, the Sonthal Parganas with 10,000, and Nadia and Palamau with about 8,000 each. The only other districts where the number of Christians exceeds 4,000 are Darjeeling, Faridpur and Backergunge. The distribution by race and sect and the various missions at work will be noticed in the next section.

282. The total number of Buddhists is 237,893, compared with 194,717 at the last census. The increase is due partly to the inclusion of 20,544 Buddhists enumerated in Sikkim, where there was no return of religions in 1891: but there has also been a considerable increase in several districts, the figures for which are given in the margin. The Calcutta Buddhists are chiefly immigrant Chinamen. There is a small Buddhist colony in the Baramba State in Orissa, an interesting survival of the time when Buddhism was the predominant religion in India. The persons in question are Saraks by caste and still inter-marry freely with the so-called Saraki Tántis of the Moghalbandi, who now describe themselves as Hindus. This interesting community will be further dealt with in the chapter on Caste.

DISTRICT.	Number of Buddhists in—	
	1901.	1891.
Chittagong Hill Tracts	83,127	74,128
Chittagong	64,973	61,615
Darjeeling	61,044	46,220
Jalpaiguri	4,391	2,500
Backergunge	7,220	6,080
Calcutta	2,903	2,109
Hill Tippera	8,000	4,734

It is well known that at the Council of Jalandhar, held by the Scythian King Kanishka about the end of the first century of our era, a split occurred amongst the Buddhists, some following the purer doctrine preached by Buddha himself, with all the difficulties it placed in the way of attaining salvation, while others extended it to all and, by idealising Buddha and his attributes, gradually added new Buddhas and Bodhisats, who assisted in the work of salvation, and introduced numerous gods and demons as objects of worship. The former, or southern school, contemptuously called by its opponents the Hinayána, or Little Vehicle, is represented by the Buddhism of Ceylon and Burma, while the latter, or Maháyána, is the basis of Tibetan Lámáism and also of the Buddhism of Nepal. Its gradual debasement in Tibet has been ably described by Colonel Waddell, and it was probably this form of Buddhism which prevailed in Bengal and gradually became more and more tinged with Tántrik developments and corrupt, until at last it was driven out by the Hindu revivalists.

283. The Buddhists enumerated in North Bengal are either natives of the Himalayan State of Sikkim, or immigrants from Bhotan, Tibet and Nepal.



The great majority are Tibetans, Lepchas and Murmis. In Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, those who profess this religion are mainly Maghs\* and Chákmás, but there is also a fair sprinkling of Tipárás (about 3,000) in the Hill Tracts, who described themselves at the census as Buddhists. In the Tippera State the Tipárás now call themselves Hindus; but this country was formerly a great Buddhist centre, and some sacred shrines there were visited by the Tibetan traveller Buddha Gupta Náth, who travelled in India in the 7th century.†

284. Jainism was formerly supposed to be a comparatively recent off-shoot of Buddhism; but modern research has shown that it is quite as ancient as the latter, and was founded independently by a Kshattriya Prince, named Vardhamána or Mahávira, who was born at Vaisali‡, near Patna, about 599 B.C. He at first became a monk of the order of Pársvanáth, but subsequently left it and founded an order of his own, one of the leading tenets of which was absolute nudity. He became known as a Jina, or spiritual conqueror, from which the term Jain is derived. His followers were most numerous in North and South Bihar, and came chiefly from the ranks of the Kshattriyas and Vaisyas. The artisan classes were but little influenced by his propaganda. He died about 527 B.C. About 200 years later a section of the Jain monks abandoned the habit of nudity, and this led to a schism, the two sects being known, respectively, as "Svetámbara" or clothed in white and "Digambara" or naked (sky-clad). The former made a collection of sacred books about 300 B.C., which is still in existence, and has of late attracted the attention of Professor Bühler and other scholars.§

285. The chief point of difference between Jainism and Buddhism is that the former rejects the doctrine of Nirvána, and believes that when the soul has been delivered from the trammels of successive existences it begins a spiritual life in some indefinable mansion of the blessed. The Jains worship the saints who have attained this spiritual life. Chief amongst these is Pársvanáth, whose order Mahávira originally entered, and who is regarded as the latter's immediate predecessor. His image is found in many Jain temples, and from him the sacred hill of Paresnáth takes its name. Buddhism, says Dr. Hoernle, was more practical than Jainism, which was comparatively speculative and unenterprising, and having an active missionary spirit developed into popular religions in Ceylon, Burma, Tibet and other lands far beyond the borders of India.

Jainism also differed from Buddhism in that it admitted its lay adherents into communion with the order; devotional services were held for them, they were bound by vows, and rules were framed to regulate their position and conduct. They thus formed an integral part of the community. Buddhism, on the other hand, gave its lay adherents no share in the monastic organisation, and held no services for their benefit. Consequently when the Bráhmanic revival of Sankar Achárjya came, and was followed by Muhammadan persecution and the destruction of monasteries, Buddhism in India simply disappeared. Jainism, on the other hand, still survives as the religion of many of the Baniyá castes, who represent the ancient Vaisyas. Chief amongst these are Agarwáls (Digambari) and Oswáls (Svetambari), though both castes include also

\* The Maghs of Chittagong consist of two classes: (a) descendants of Arakanese immigrants who came when Arakan was conquered by the Burmese in 1785. These are the most numerous, especially in Cox's Bazaar; and (b) descendants of Magh women by Bengali fathers. These are called Rájbanais or Barua Maghs.

† Tippera is mentioned by Táránáth as a place where, in his time, the Tántrik form of Buddhism was popular.

‡ For a full review of recent discoveries Dr. Hoernle's able Presidential Address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in February 1898 may be referred to (Proceedings, February 1898). The Jaina themselves have begun to interest themselves in their ancient history, and a society has been formed with the object of promoting a systematic investigation.

§ Dr. Hoernle points out that neither Buddhism nor Jainism are religions in the strict sense of the word, but are rather monastic organisations of a type very common about the period when they were founded. Their rules and observances, and their tenderness for life and aversion to meat, are largely drawn from those of similar Bráhmanic organisations, but the latter had gradually come to exclude all who were not Bráhmanas, and this led to opposition, as a result of which the non-Bráhmanical orders discontinued the reading of the Vedas and were thus forced outside the pale of Bráhmanism. They did not represent a revolt against the tyranny of caste but only against the caste exclusiveness of Bráhman ascetics; caste as such was fully acknowledged by them. Lastly, the Buddhist or Jain priest only acted as the spiritual guide of his followers; for their religious and ceremonial observances Bráhman priests had always to be called in.



many who are Hindus. It may be mentioned here that this religious schism seldom operates as a bar to marriage any more than do differences which are purely sectarian. The Jains themselves do not consider that they are a separate religious community, and at the census many returned their religion as Hindu. The number of Jains shown in our returns is only 7,831 compared with 7,270 in 1891, but the true number is probably greater.

286. The Bráhmó Samáj, founded by Rájá Rám Mohan Roy, is too well known to need detailed description. It is divided

BRÁHMOS.

into three sections, the *Adi* or 'original,' the *Nababidhán* or 'New Dispensation' and the *Sádháran* or 'common' Samáj, but all alike believe in the unity of the Godhead, the brotherhood of man, and direct communion with God in spirit without the intervention of any mediator. The differences which exist are ritualistic and social rather than religious. The *Adi* Samáj, or oldest section, is also the most conservative. While discarding all idolatrous forms, it follows as closely as possible the rites of Hinduism, and draws its inspiration solely from the religious books of the Hindus, especially the Upanishads, and not from the Bible or Korán. It has only once allowed a non-Bráhman to officiate as its minister. Inter-caste marriages are not allowed, and a considerable agitation was raised when one of its Bráhman members recently married the daughter of the Mahárája of Kuch Bihar. In other respects the restrictions of the caste system sit lightly on the members of the Samáj, but they are particular to style themselves Hindus, and before the census of 1891 they submitted a memorial intimating their desire to be entered as Theistic Hindus and not as Bráhmós. The leader of this section is Maharshi Debendra Náth Tagore.

The Nababidhán Samáj, or Church of the New Dispensation, also known as the Bháratbarshiya Bráhmó Samáj was founded by Keshab Chandra Sen. It is more eclectic and has assimilated what it considers just not only in the Shástras, but also in the religious teachings of Christianity, Buddhism and Islam. The present leader is Babu Pratáp Chandra Mozoomdar who, like Keshab, is a Baidya by caste. Inter-caste marriages, though not greatly disapproved of, are rare.\* It is not clear how members of this communion would return themselves at the census. Probably many of them would prefer to call themselves Hindus, unless their caste happened to be a humble one, in which case they might describe themselves as Bráhmós.

287. The Sádháran Bráhmó Samáj is the most advanced of these churches. It relies, like the Nababidhán, on the teachings of all religious systems, but is more uncompromising in its disapproval of ritual and set forms of worship. It rejects altogether the system of caste. It is also strongly opposed to the *parda* system, gives its women a liberal education and allows them an equal voice in all matters of church government. It freely permits inter-caste marriages not only in theory but in practice. Thus, a covenanted civilian who is a Bráhman, has married the daughter of a Káyasth; and the daughter of a well known retired civilian of the Káyasth caste is married to a civilian of the Baidya caste. There are numerous similar cases. The members of the Sádháran Bráhmó Samáj, from being a religious sect, are thus gradually becoming a separate caste, recruited from a variety of different sources, but mainly from the ranks of the Bráhmans, Baidyas and Káyasths. Other castes of similar origin are by no means unknown in Bengal, but the Bráhmós are far more select than their earlier prototypes.

This section is uncompromising in its rejection of all the essentials of what is commonly regarded as Hinduism, and most of its members doubtless described themselves as Bráhmós in the census schedules. It may, I think, be assumed that the majority of the 3,171 persons returned as Bráhmós at the census were members of the Sádháran Bráhmó Samáj. The number is small but growing. In 1891 only 2,546 persons were returned as Bráhmós, and in 1881 only 788. In spite of its numerical insignificance the community is very influential and it numbers amongst its members some of the best known men in the country. Most Indian gentlemen, who have received an European education join this community, not so much perhaps on account of religious conviction as

\* It is, of course, well known that the founder gave his daughter in marriage to the Mahárája of Kuch Bihar.



because of the freedom which it allows to them from the irksome trammels of caste and from the necessity of undergoing a ceremony of purification.

288. The few persons returned as Confucians are Chinamen living in

#### CONFUCIANISM.

Calcutta. Confucius, or Kong-fu-tse, was a sage who laid down an elaborate moral code but predicated nothing regarding God. Confucianism is the State religion of China. It has little outward ceremonial, and the study, contemplation and performance of the moral precepts of the ancients constitute the chief duties of its adherents. Many of the most ardent amongst them profess to be Agnostics, but they often render to Confucius and to their ancestors homage very little short of worship.\*

Confucianism is thus not a religion in the ordinary meaning of the word, and although most Chinamen revere its founder, they generally, especially in Central and Southern China, subscribe also to the teaching either of Buddha or of Lao-tse. The latter was a contemporary of Confucius. His system, known as Tao-ism, recognises the divinity of the five planets, as representing the five elements of the earth. All the powers of nature are deified and many are symbolised by mysterious dragons. The priests of the cult deal largely in astrology and exorcism. Of the Chinese enumerated in Bengal, none returned themselves as Tao-ists, and the Confucians represent only one-thirteenth of the total number. The rest were all entered as Buddhists. There were no Confucians in the returns of the last census.

### RACES AND SECTS OF CHRISTIANS.

289. Of the total number of Christians, 27,489,† or 9·9 per cent., belong to European and allied races; 23,114, or 8·3 per cent., are Eurasians, and 227,763, or 81·8 per cent., are native converts. I have treated as Eurasians all persons who returned themselves as Anglo-Indian; but even so, it is certain that the figures for Europeans include a good many persons of mixed descent. From enquiries made after the census it was found that in one district (Dacca) 14 out of 63 persons, who had described themselves as Europeans, were in reality Eurasians. If this represents the general proportion of Eurasians who were wrongly returned as Europeans, the actual number of the latter would fall to 21,380, while that of the Eurasians would rise to 29,223.‡

According to the birth-place statistics the total number of persons enumerated in Bengal who were born in Europe, America, Africa, and Australia was only 14,070, and if an addition of 50 per cent. were made on account of persons of pure European parentage born in India, the result would agree very closely with the figure obtained by deducting 23 per cent. from the total returned at the census. There is, however, no reason for taking the number of Indian-born Europeans as 50 per cent. of those of foreign birth, and it is probable that the actual number is considerably greater. The total number of Europeans and allied races includes 5,198 children under 15 years of age; most of these must in any case have been born in India, and if so, the allowance of 50 per cent. would give only about 2,000 adult Europeans of Indian birth. However this may be, the return is clearly more accurate than that of the last census, when the Eurasians accounted for only 39 per cent. of the combined population of the two races, compared with 46 per cent. on the present occasion.

The figures for Eurasians include 2,221 Feringis, all of whom were enumerated in Dacca, Backergunge, Chittagong, and Noakhali. These claim to be the descendants of the Portuguese who infested the mouth of the Megna in

\* It has been said that the real religion of the Chinese as a nation is ancestor worship. From birth to death the chief aim of every Chinaman is propitiation of the dead. Whatever may be his nominal religion, his first care is to sacrifice to the spirits of his ancestors. There was a time in the history of the Roman Catholic Missions in China when it was seriously debated whether ancestor worship should be permitted to the converts or not. It was urged in support of this strange proposal that the permission would enormously increase the number of converts, and that the Church could gradually be purged of the irregularity after it had assimilated the new material thus induced to accept its teaching.

† Includes 1,081 Armenians.

‡ It is doubtful if the general proportion of misdescription would be as high as it was in the case of Dacca. The return of Eurasian children in schools, for example, would probably be absolutely correct, and so would be that of the poorer classes of this community whose schedules were filled in, not by themselves, but by the enumerators.



the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\* About half of the Europeans and nearly two-thirds of the Eurasians were enumerated in Calcutta.

290. Amongst Europeans those of British nationality greatly preponderate, and represent 91 per cent. of the total.† The number of no other nationality is large. Germans are most numerous, then French and then Austrians. About half of these non-British Europeans were enumerated in Calcutta, where they are mostly engaged in business. In the rest of the Province many of them are missionaries of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches, but the Greeks are usually in business and some of the French are engaged in the silk trade.

No useful purpose would be served by dwelling at any length on the age statistics of Europeans and Eurasians. The principal figures are reproduced in the margin, and further details will be found in Table XVIII. It may be noted that of the European British subjects 72·4 per cent. are between the ages of 15 and 50, and that in the case of other Europeans, Eurasians and Armenians the corresponding percentage is 71·1, 54·4 and 64·7, respectively.

RACE.	AGE.					
	0-15		15-50		50 and over.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
European British subjects ...	2,316	2,324	12,273	5,122	1,176	826
Other Europeans ...	182	175	1,189	497	243	113
Eurasians ...	3,550	3,309	6,520	5,653	399	1,514
Armenians ...	109	91	449	250	129	64
Total ...	6,158	6,449	19,723	11,430	2,617	2,106

Note.—Feringhis are here excluded from the figures for Eurasians.

A special return of the males of these classes, with details as to the number who are volunteers, has been prepared separately at the instance of the Military Department. Amongst Europeans the males aged 15 and over greatly outnumber the females.

291. More than three-fifths of the Europeans belong to the Anglican communion, and about one fifth are Roman Catholics. According to the returns the Presbyterians number less than one-tenth, but it is believed that the real number is greater and that some of those who described themselves as belonging to the Church of England were brought up as Presbyterians. Of the Eurasians, more than half are Roman Catholics and nearly two-fifths belong to the Anglican communion. Less than one-tenth belong to all the other sects combined. The proportion of Roman Catholics is swollen by the inclusion of the 2,221 Feringis, of whom all but 194 belong to this persuasion.

292. The collection of information regarding the sects of Native Christians was a matter of special difficulty, owing to the ignorance of the persons concerned and of the enumerators who recorded the particulars regarding them. Some months before the census, enquiry was made in every district as to the missions at work and the villages in which converts were found. When the required particulars had been collected, the district officers were asked to see that special instructions on the subject were given to the supervisors and enumerators concerned. The heads of the various missions were at the same time requested to instruct their converts as to how they should describe themselves. In spite of this all sorts of strange entries were found. Some of these could easily be classified, with reference to the information collected before the census regarding local names of missions, but others could only be diagnosed after enquiry in the district. As an instance I may mention "Christian Wásté."‡ Wásté seemed at first to be intended for Wesleyan, but enquiry on the spot showed that it was meant for University, and that the persons thus described were converts of the Dublin University Mission. Another difficulty was that many were merely returned

\* The chapter on Caste (paragraph 696) contains a fuller description of this community.

† Armenians are here left out of account.

‡ The references to district officers with a view to local enquiry were very numerous, and were not by any means confined to the subject of sect. Doubtful caste entries were referred in great numbers, and also doubtful combinations of age and civil condition, doubtful returns of language, occupation, religion and the like. Special enquiries were also made in the case of certain infirmities returned at the census. We made as many references as we thought that the district staff would be able and willing to cope with, and in some cases the compliance with our numerous requests for information must have constituted a serious addition to the ordinary work of the district officer. But the amount of local investigation that was practical was by no means equal to the amount that was desirable.



as "Christian" or as "Protestant." Enquiries were made in as many cases as possible and the return was corrected in accordance with the replies received from the district officers. But enquiries could not always be made, and in the end about one Native Christian in every sixty had to be entered in the final tables as of sect unspecified.\* It is probable that the majority of these belonged to one or other of the various Protestant sects, but the total number is so small that it does not appreciably affect the details.

So far as the returns go, about two-fifths of the Native Christians are members of the Roman Catholic Church; nearly one-third are Lutherans; rather more than a seventh belong to the Anglican communion, and nearly one-eleventh are Baptists. The other denominations combined account for only about one in every 19 Native Christians.

293. The total number of Native Roman Catholics is now about 90,000, compared with 78,000 in 1891. There has thus been an increase of 15 per cent. The great centre of Roman Catholic Missionary enterprise in this Province is the district of Ranchi, where its converts exceed 54,000 or about three-fifths of the total number in the Province. In this district and Palamau combined, there has been an increase of about 17 per cent. during the decade. The next most numerous community of Roman Catholic Native Christians is in Dacca, where the number exceeds 10,000; then comes Calcutta with 4,000, the 24-Parganas with 3,000 and Nadia and Champaran with 2,000 each. Although small in point of numbers, the Roman Catholic Mission in Champaran has an interesting history. There are two main centres, at Bettiah and Chuhri. The former was established about 1740 by Father Joseph Mary, an Italian missionary of the Capuchin Order, who was passing near Bettiah on his way to Nepal when he was summoned by Rájá Dhruva Shah of Bettiah to attend his daughter, who was dangerously ill. He succeeded in curing her, and the grateful Raja invited him to stay at Bettiah and gave him a house and about 90 acres of land. The Chuhri Mission owes its origin to some missionaries who left Italy in 1707 for Tibet. Two reached Lhasa and were followed by others. They built a mission-house and chapel; but as soon as the number of their converts began to increase, they incurred the ill-will of the Grand Lámá and were forced to leave. They then settled in Nepal (in 1713) and established missions at Khátmandu, Patan and Bhátgáon. They received grants of land from the Newár kings† and prospered considerably until 1769, when the Newár dynasty was overthrown by the Gorkhas who were instigated by their priests to exterminate the Christians. Being warned in time, the missionaries, with sixteen families of their converts, fled to Bettiah and were given a small land-grant at Chuhri. Many of the present Christians in Chuhri are the descendants of the original fugitives from Nepal and still speak their old language, but they have intermarried to a considerable extent with the Native Christians of Bettiah.

294. The Lutherans have rather more than 69,000 converts compared with only 23,000 in 1891. Of the present number about 57,000 are in Ranchi, 5,000 in the Sonthal Parganas, 3,500 in Singhbhum, nearly 2,000 in Manbhum and 1,000 in the Chota Nagpur States. Elsewhere the number is small and consists probably of emigrants from the places named above. The mission in Ranchi, where most of the converts of this denomination are found, was originally known as Gossner's Mission, and was started by six German missionaries in 1846. Twenty-three years later there was an unfortunate disagreement and the Mission was split up into two sections, the one enrolling itself under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the other retaining the name of Gossner's Mission. The progress made during the decade in the Ranchi District has been phenomenal. Ten years ago the number of converts was less than 19,000, and it is now three times as great. Some years ago the Mundas were greatly agitated by disputes with their landlords; their cause was espoused by the

\* The persons thus classed had been entered in the schedules as "Christian." A still smaller number (1 in 312), who had been returned as "Protestant," were, under the orders of the Census Commissioner, classed as members of the Anglican communion.

† Translations of these land-grants, which were inscribed on copper plates, were published by Brian Hodgson in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1848.



missionaries and it is thought by some that political reasons may have artificially augmented the number of professed Christians. Unlike the Hindus, the Mundas receive apostates from Christianity back into their community, and it is said that cases of backsliding are by no means rare. We must, therefore, wait for the next census before we can pronounce how far the wonderful progress made in the past decade is genuine and permanent.

295. Although barely half as numerous as the Lutherans, the Native Christians of the Anglican communion are much more widely diffused over the Province, and many of them are drawn from classes amongst whom the obstacles, social and otherwise, which stand in the way of an open profession of Christianity are far greater than is the case with the primitive tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Their largest community is nevertheless in Ranchi, where it represents the seceders from Gossner's Mission, and numbers about 13,000 compared with rather more than 10,000 in 1891. The difference between the progress made by this mission and that attained by the Lutherans is very marked, but it must be remembered that there are 22 Lutheran missionaries compared with only three belonging to the Church of England, and that the former have seven out-stations in different parts of the district, while the latter are congregated at the district head-quarters.

Next to Ranchi the Nadia District, with nearly 6,000, contains the largest number of Native Christians of this denomination. The Nadia mission was founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1831, fifteen years after the inception of the first mission in Burdwan. In 1838, when much relief was being given to sufferers from famine, 600 families, or about 3,000 souls, placed themselves under Christian instruction, and in the following year 900 persons were baptised at the same time. These wholesale admissions to the Church included many who were not true converts, and for many years there was much trouble in consequence. Not only did many apostatize, but great difficulty was experienced in putting down caste distinctions; and even to the present day many of the Native Christians of Nadia preserve the memory of their old social distinctions, and those from a high caste will not willingly associate or eat with others of low origin. The advent of a Roman Catholic mission in the district has not increased the capacity of the missionaries to deal with these difficulties, but in spite of them the number of professed Christians of this persuasion appears to have grown by about 19 per cent. since 1891. Amongst other important missions of the Church of England are those in the 24-Parganas, Calcutta, and the Sonthal Parganas.

296. The Baptists, with a total strength of more than 19,000, have their head-quarters in the swamps of Backergunge and Faridpur, where they have been working amongst the Chandáls or Namasudras since 1824, and where the number of their converts now exceeds 7,000. The first Baptist Mission in this province was established in Jessore in 1802 but the number of Native Christians in this district who were returned as Baptists at the present census is only 276.\* Next to Backergunge and Faridpur, Cuttack, with 2,000 Native Christians, is the most important centre of Baptist Missionary enterprise in this province. The mission there was founded in 1823.

297. The only other mission that need be mentioned is that of the Church of Scotland whose missionaries are now at work in various parts of the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. The work began in 1870, but it is only in recent years that marked progress has been made. No natives of the Darjeeling district were returned as Presbyterians in 1891, and the total number of Native Christians was only 298. At the present census the number returned as Presbyterians is 1,775, and there are also 243 Protestants unspecified, who have been added to the Anglican communion in accordance with the general scheme of classification, and 73 Native Christians whose sect was not returned. Most of these also were probably Presbyterians. If they be added the total comes to 2,091. According to the Church returns kept by the mission the number of converts

\* In Khulna, which was till recently part of Jessore, there are about 1,000 Native Christians of the Baptist denomination. The Baptist Mission in Backergunge now has a rival in the Oxford Mission, which was started there in 1895 and has gained about 500 converts, chiefly in the Barisal and Gournadi thanas.



is considerably in excess of these figures, but the difference was brought to my notice at a very late stage when it was no longer possible to make proper enquiries into the cause of the discrepancy.\*

298. The classes most receptive of Christianity are those who are outside the Hindu system, or whom Hinduism regards as degraded, and it is for this reason that the missions in the Chota Nagpur Plateau have so much greater apparent success than those in the plains, while of the latter, the most flourishing are those whose work lies amongst depressed communities such as the Namasudras of Backergunge and Faridpur. Amongst the higher Hindu castes, there are serious obstacles in the way of conversion, of which family influence and the caste system are the greatest. By accepting Christianity a man at once cuts himself off from all his old associations and is regarded, even by his own family, as an outcaste. Moreover, the prospect of such an occurrence is viewed with the greatest dread, and when any one is suspected of an intention to become a Christian, the greatest possible pressure is put on him by all his relations and friends, in order to make him change his mind. The inducements to conversion in such a case must be exceptionally strong, and the catechumen's character must be one of unusual independence, before he will take the final step and allow himself to be baptised.

The influence of Christian teaching is no doubt far reaching, and there are many whose acts and opinions have been greatly modified thereby, but amongst the higher castes the number who at the present time are moved to make a public profession of their faith in Christ is very small. At one time there seemed a prospect of numerous converts being gained from the ranks of the educated Hindus, but the efforts of Kesbab Chandra Sen and other eloquent Bráhmó preachers turned their thoughts and aspirations into another channel.

299. The Christian Missions, or at least those of the Protestant faith, do not recognise caste, and in most parts Native Christians were simply entered as such without any reference to their origin. But amongst converts who had never been under the caste system, *i.e.*, who belonged to tribes, not castes, there is no more objection to the retention of the old tribal name than there is to an Englishman distinguishing himself from a native of France. Amongst converts of this class, therefore, the tribe of origin was usually entered in the caste column. When this was done, the information was tabulated and the result has been noted, for the tribes concerned, in the column of remarks in Table XIII. The figures for some districts are very complete and here they fully

confirm what has been said above regarding the classes who are most readily brought under the influence of Christianity. In Ranchi, for example, of 125,000 Native Christians, all but a few hundred belong to one or other of the aboriginal tribes, Oraón, Munda and Khariá. The persons returned as of Lohár origin, are doubtless recruits from the aboriginal blacksmiths, more correctly known as Kol Lohara, and the Ahirs are probably cattle-keepers of non-Aryan descent. The converts from the ranks of Hinduism are very few in number, and even these do not usually come from the higher strata of Hindu society. The figures for Singhbhum and the Chota Nagpur States, though less complete than those for Ranchi, point clearly to the same conclusion. In Mymensingh four-fifths of the Native Christians were returned as Gáros,

Caste or Tribe.	No. of persons.	Caste or Tribe.	No. of persons.
<b>Ranchi.</b>		<b>Darjeeling.</b>	
Oraón ... ..	60,888	Lepcha ... ..	1,333
Munda ... ..	61,505	Khambu ... ..	198
Khariá ... ..	10,307	Kami ... ..	135
Bhojia ... ..	533	Murmi ... ..	133
Lohár ... ..	501	Gurung ... ..	86
Chik ... ..	198	Magar ... ..	84
Pin ... ..	123	Limbú ... ..	77
Turi ... ..	118	Newár ... ..	67
Ahir ... ..	234	Oraón ... ..	40
Kurmi ... ..	23	Sikkim, Bhutia ...	43
Aor ... ..	23	Damaí ... ..	33
Santal ... ..	16	Munda ... ..	14
Bajput ... ..	13	Gharti ... ..	12
Chamar ... ..	8	Khas ... ..	11
Unspecified ... ..	352	Sarki ... ..	9
<b>Singhbhum.</b>		Tibetan ... ..	9
Munda ... ..	4,174	Yakha ... ..	6
Ho ... ..	991	Sharpa, Bhutia ...	4
Oraón ... ..	198	Nepal ... ..	212
Unspecified ... ..	1,335	Unspecified ... ..	312
<b>Chota Nagpur States.</b>		<b>Mymensingh.</b>	
Munda ... ..	544	Gáro ... ..	920
Oraón ... ..	316	Unspecified ... ..	247
Unspecified ... ..	862		

NOTE.—The information for Palamau and the Sonthal Parganas was too incomplete to be recorded. It may be mentioned however, that in Palamau, although "Native Christian" was the usual entry in the caste column, the language of 7,214 out of 7,897 was Oraón, so that most of the converts may be held to have been recruited from this tribe.

\* The Mission returns show 2,678 Native Christians in Darjeeling, 200 in Sikkim and 306 in the Duars of Jalpaiguri.



and it is probable that of the remaining fifth, who did not state their origin, many belonged to the same race. In Darjeeling, the greatest success is met with amongst the Lepchas, who constitute nearly half the total number of Native Christians in the district. Then follow the Khambus, another non-Hindu tribe, and then the Kámis, or blacksmiths of Nepal. The last mentioned are Hindus, but their social position is a very degraded one.

As regards the inducements to conversion, Colonel Dalton writes as follows regarding the Oráons :—

“ If we analyse the views of most of the Oráon converts to Christianity, we shall I think be able to discern the influence of their pagan doctrines and superstitions in the motives that first led them to become catechumens. The Supreme Being, who does not protect them from the spite of malevolent spirits, has, they are assured, the Christians under his special care. They consider that, in consequence of this guardianship, the witches and bhúts have no power over Christians ; and it is, therefore, good for them to join that body. They are taught that, for the salvation of Christians, one great sacrifice has been made, and they see that those who are baptised do not in fact reduce their live stock to propitiate the evil spirits. They grasp at this notion ; and long afterwards, when they understand it better, the mystical washing away of sin by the blood of Christ is the doctrine on which their simple minds most dwell.”

## THE MUHAMMADANS OF BENGAL.

300. A Muhammadan gentleman has recently published a book in which he attempts to controvert the statement made by Mr. Beverley in the Census Report for 1872 that “ the existence of Muhammadans in Bengal is due, not so much to the introduction of Moghal blood into the country, as to the conversion of the former inhabitants, for whom a rigid system of caste discipline rendered Hinduism intolerable,” and to prove that they are mainly of foreign extraction.\* His argument may be summarised as follows:—

Bengal was under Muhammadan rule for more than five and-a-half centuries, from Bakhtyár Khilji's invasion in 1203 A.D. until the English acquired the Diwání in 1765. The Musalman rulers attracted their co-religionists from other countries. They appointed Saiads, Moghals and Afgháns as their officers of State, and granted rent-free lands to men of learning and piety. In spite of numerous resumptions numbers of such grants are still extant, chiefly in the Rárh country, and many parganas and villages still have Persian names, showing that they once formed part of estates owned by Musalmans.† Their armies were also composed of foreigners who likewise settled in the country. Bengal was, moreover, a great asylum for Muhammadan refugees from Upper India, especially during the time of the independent kings (1338 to 1576). At the downfall of the Ghori dynasty and during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, numerous families sought shelter in Bengal. In Akbar's reign, many religious teachers were deported to this province. Large numbers again were attracted by the wealth and fertility of the country. Those who came remained as permanent settlers, and it is from them that the present Muhammadan population is chiefly descended. The Musalmans are far more prolific than the Hindus, and it is, therefore, not surprising that their descendants should now outnumber the indigenous population.

301. It was never intended by Mr. Beverley to deny that many of the leading Muhammadan families can trace their origin to foreign sources. This is admitted by all. The Nawáb Báhadur of Murshidabad, for instance, is a Hasan-ul-Husaini Saiad, and there are in most districts several well known families of foreign descent who have preserved the purity of their blood by refraining from intermarriage with families of more dubious ancestry.‡ It is also beyond doubt that owing to the Muhammadan law of inheritance and other causes, many families of foreign origin have gradually sunk and become merged in the general mass of the population, and that the numerous soldiers of fortune

\* “ The Origin of the Muhammadans of Bengal ” by Khondkar Fuzli Rubbee ; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1895.

† Ghiyas-ud-din (1214-27) Nasir-ud-din (1426-57) and Husain Sháh (1498-1531) are specially mentioned as having encouraged the settlement of noble or pious Muhammadans.

‡ Most families of this category are either Patháns or Saiads. Very few call themselves Shekhs.



and their followers who once found a livelihood in Bengal must have left children behind them whose descendants are still alive. This, however, does

Locality.	Number of Muhammadans.	Proportion per 10,000 population.
Punjab ...	14,141,122	8,381
United Provinces ...	4,667,226	1,700
Bombay (with Sind.) ...	1,836,007	1,389
Madras ...	2,477,010	643
<b>BENGAL</b> ...	<b>25,495,416</b>	<b>5,248</b>
North Bihar*	2,221,842	1,021
South ...	744,668	905
West Bengal ...	1,084,829	1,317
Central Bengal ...	3,773,521	4,878
North Bengal ...	5,876,404	6,873
East Bengal ...	11,320,427	6,617

\* Excludes Kishanganj, subdivision of Purnea which lies East of Mahananda.

not in any way account for the fact that there are more than 25 millions of Muhammadans in Bengal, or explain their local distribution. In Bihar, which first came under Muslim rule, the proportion of Muhammadans is far smaller than it is in Bengal Proper, and although in the latter tract, Muhammadans are numerous in the neighbourhood of the old capitals at Gaur, Panduah, Rajmahal and Murshidabad, near which most of the land grants are found, they are far less so than in Eastern and Northern Bengal, whither the stream of immigration must have been comparatively thin and attenuated. Even near the old capitals the Muhammadan settlers always sought the higher levels, and they would never willingly have taken up their residence in the rice swamps of Noakhali, Bogra and Backergunge. The number of old Muhammadan families is very small in East and North Bengal, and yet it is there that the Muhammadans as a class are more numerous, not only than in any other part of Bengal, but than in any other part of India. Again, the early invaders were chiefly Patháns, not Arabs, and yet the Muhammadans of Bengal who call themselves Shekh outnumber those who profess to be Patháns\* in the ratio of 50 to 1. The number of Moghals in this Province is quite insignificant, but that of *soi-disant* Shekhs, is more than twenty times as great as the estimated population of Arabia.† Many of these 'Shokhs,' moreover, have only recently begun to claim this appellation. They were formerly known as Atráf in South and as Nasya in North Bengal; the latter word is still commonly used by outsiders, though the people concerned now prefer to describe themselves by a more pretentious name.

The small extent to which Muhammadans bulk in the population when their numbers are not added to from outside is shown by the fact that in Orissa, the last stronghold of the Afgháns in this Province, whither they fled after Akbar defeated them in Bengal, and where they were granted extensive *jágirs*, the proportion of Muhammadans to the total population is only 2½ per cent.

302. Mr. Abu A. Ghaznavi, a leading Muhammadan gentleman of Mymensingh, who has prepared an excellent account of the Muhammadans of that district, and who is a strong supporter of the theory of the foreign origin of the Muhammadans, admits that local converts bulk largely in the total. His conclusion is that "roughly speaking 20 per cent. of the present Muhammadans are lineal descendants of foreign settlers, 50 per cent. of them have an admixture of foreign blood and the remaining 30 per cent are probably descended from Hindu and other converts." In another part of his essay, Mr. Ghaznavi makes some observations which seem to point to a larger proportion of local converts than the above estimate would indicate. He says:—

"Besides the few families of unquestionable foreign extraction there are other families in considerable numbers who have an admixture of foreign blood in their veins. There are 22 distinct villages where most of their families reside."

There are more than 2½ million Muhammadans in Mymensingh, and nearly 10,000 villages. The writer seems to be referring only to the Tangail subdivision of the district, but even so the Muhammadans residing in twenty-two villages can form but a microscopic proportion of the total Muhammadan population.

\* The persons returned as Patháns and Moghals are less than 424,000 and 19,000 respectively.

The fact that the speech of the Muhammadans differs slightly from that of the Hindus is sometimes brought forward as a proof of their foreign origin, but this is really no test. All Muhammadans look on Arabic as their sacred language and they interlard their conversation with any Persian or Arabic words they can pick up from their Mulláhs or from their religious books. The grammar remains Bengali and it is only some of the vocabularies which are changed. The better educated converts often deliberately abandon their native language. The Garpeda Bhuiyá of Balasore furnish an illustration of this. They are descended from a Bráhman and the females are still so far imbued with Hindu prejudices that they abstain from beef. But they have completely given up the use of Oriyá and now speak Hindustani even in the family circle.

† According to the Statesman's Year Book for 1901, page 1127, the population of Arabia is estimated to be 1,060,000.



Mr. Ghaznavi's essay was one of a series which I collected from all the districts in the Province. The almost unanimous conclusion of all other reporters in Eastern and Northern Bengal was that the great bulk of the Muhammadan population is there descended from local converts. Another writer from Mymensingh (also a Muhammadan) expresses the opinion that the local Muhammadans "are chiefly descendants of local converts," and in the report from Bogra it is stated that:—

"I have on many occasions seen Muhammadans whose features are identical with those of members of the Koch caste with a decided Mongolian expression."

The survival of Hindu names and Hindu superstitions is constantly dwelt on in these reports but this subject will be adverted to in more detail further on.\*

303. The above reports refer to the general character of the Musalman population in most parts of East and North Bengal. There are occasional exceptions, e.g. in Chittagong, where there was an old Arab settlement of traders and adventurers.† Mr. Allen notices this in his Settlement Report where he says that:—

"The high cheek bones, hook noses and narrow faces of many of the inhabitants of Chittagong proclaim their Arab origin. Again the muscular, bull-necked, strong-featured and thick bearded dweller on the *chars* is a very different creature from the fleshless, featureless, hairless inhabitant of the interior of the district. These differences are racial, the former being descendants of soldiers of the Moghal armies while the latter are probably of mixed origin."

And even in places where the general appearance of the Muhammadans most closely resembles that of their Hindu neighbours, there are often cases of atavism, where the full eye, Semitic nose, high stature and strong beard show unmistakeable traces of foreign blood. It is not contended that even in Bengal Proper the ordinary Muhammadans are all of purely Indian descent, but it is certain that, of the total number, those who are wholly Indian or in which the Indian element greatly preponderates, form by far the largest proportion.

304. In this connection it is important to notice the opinion of that able and close observer, Brian Hodgson. Speaking of the Koch tribe he says‡:—

OPINION OF EARLY OBSERVERS.

"In a word Visva Singh with all the people of condition apostatised to Hinduism; the country was re-named Bihar; the people Rājbanśi; so that none but the low and mean of this race could longer tolerate the very name of Koch, and most of them being refused a decent status under the Hindu régime, yet infected like their betters, with the disposition to change, very wisely adopted Islām in preference to helot Hinduism. Thus the mass of the Koch people became Muhammadans."

Buchanan Hamilton, an equally capable judge, was of the same opinion:—

"Although the followers of the Korán form the largest proportion of the inhabitants of this district (Rangpur), there is little reason to suppose that many of them are intruders. They seem in general, from their countenances, to be descendants of the original inhabitants."§

The above extracts refer to the origin of the Muhammadans of North Bengal. Dr. Wise has dealt with the subject for Dacca and the neighbouring districts, and his remarks are so complete that I may perhaps be pardoned for giving a somewhat lengthy extract from them.||

"The enthusiastic soldiers, who, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, spread the faith of Islām among the timid races of Bengal, made forcible conversions by the sword, and, penetrating the dense forests of the Eastern frontier, planted the crescent in the villages of Sylhet. Tradition still preserves the names of Ādam Shāhid, Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad, and Kārfarmā Sāhib, as three of the most successful of these enthusiasts.

As early as A.D. 1338 a Muhammadan King ruled over the Eastern districts from Sunnārgaon, and for a century and a half that city was the provisional residence of the rulers

\* It is sometimes denied that the prevalence of Hindu superstitions is a proof of the Hindu origin of the people who believe in them, and it is urged that this may equally well be due to the religious torpor amongst the Muhammadans which prevailed at the beginning of British rule. This might possibly explain the facts in places where Muhammadans are in the minority, but it could never do so where they form the bulk of the population. The two religions would doubtless affect each other to some extent, but a strong monotheistic religion like that of Islām would never give way before a tolerant, amorphous and polytheistic creed like that of the Hindus. Moreover, it is the women, who in this country are always the most conservative in religious matters, who are chiefly influenced by Hindu ideas.

† J.A.S.B., 1873, Pt. I, page 287.

‡ Essays on Indian Subjects, Vol. 1, page 108.

§ Statistical Account of Rangpur, page 221.

|| The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, communicated by Mr. Risley from Dr. Wise's papers to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1894, Pt. III, page 38.



of Bengal. Although situated on the borders of the Empire, and surrounded by brave and aggressive races, Sunnārgaon attracted crowds of holy men, whose mouldering tombs still mark the site of the ancient city. From it was summoned the preceptor, who trained Jalāluddīn in the doctrines of his intolerant creed, and to its families of Khwānd-kāra, Eastern Bengal looked for its supply of Muhammadan instructors. During the five centuries and a half of Muhammadan rule in Eastern Bengal, we only hear of one wholesale persecution of the subject Hindus, and that was waged by Jalāluddīn, from A.D. 1414 to 1430. The only conditions he offered were the Korān, or death; and it is said that rather than submit to such terms, many Hindus fled to Kāmrup and the jungles of Assam and Kachhar, but it is nevertheless probable that more Muhammadans were added to Islām during these seventeen years than in the next three hundred.

In Muhammadan histories no mention is made of any large Muhammadan immigration from Upper India; and we know that in the reign of Akbar the climate of Bengal was considered so uncongenial to the Moghal invaders, that an order to proceed there was regarded as a sentence of banishment. The Viceroys and nobles governing Bengal amassed wealth rapidly, and returned to spend it in the luxurious places of Delhi and Agra, while only a few officers and private soldiers, having married into native families, remained and settled in their new homes. While, therefore, each seat of Government, and each Military Station, was in early times more or less a centre of missionary agitation, we find another agency from across the seas working towards the same ends, uninfluenced by the policy of the Delhi Court. On the South-Eastern frontier of Bengal, a hardy and enterprising class of Muhammadans have been settled from the earliest historical times; and long before the first European landed at Chittagong, Arab merchants carried on an extensive and lucrative trade with its inhabitants, and disseminated their religious ideas among the people. How or when the dwellers on the coast became Musalman is unknown, but when Barbosa visited Bengal at the beginning of the sixteenth century, he found the inhabitants of the interior, Gentiles, subject to the King of Bengal, who was a Moor; while the seaports were inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. He also met with many foreigners, both Arabs, Persians, Abyssinians and Indians, and adds, "Every day many Gentiles turn Moors to obtain the favour of the King and Governors." Caesar Frederick and Vincent Le Blanc, who were in Bengal about 1570, also inform us that the island of Sandip was then inhabited by Moors. In the sixteenth century, therefore, Chittagong was a centre from which an unceasing propagandism was carried on.

Wherever Muhammadan rule existed, slavery was developed, and during the centuries of misrule and oppression, through which Bengal passed, slavery was accepted by the Hindus as a refuge for their troubles. Bengal has for its encouragement of slavery always possessed an unenviable notoriety, and the Delhi Court obtained, not only its slaves, but also its eunuchs, from the villages of Eastern Bengal. The incursions of Assamese and Maghs, the famines, pestilences and civil wars impoverished and hardened the people and drove them in sheer desperation to sell their children as Musalman slaves. The treatment of these slaves was humane, and their position comparatively a good one, as they were allowed to marry, and their families, supported by the master, added to the number of Islām.

Stories of forcible conversion, such as the following, are however narrated by the Muhammadans themselves, without any feelings of shame or astonishment. While the Muhammadan population was still scattered, it was customary for each householder to hang an earthen water-pot (*badanā*) from his thatched roof, as a sign of his religious belief. One day a Maulavi, after some years' absence, went to visit a disciple, who lived in the centre of a Hindu village, but could not find the "*badanā*." On enquiry he was told that the Musalman villager had renounced his faith and joined an outcast tribe. On his return to the city, the circumstances being reported to the Nawāb, a detachment of troops was ordered out, the village surrounded, and every person in it compelled to become Muhammadan.

Another class of Hindus voluntarily turned Muhammadans, as the only means of escaping punishment for murder or adultery, as this step was considered full atonement for either crime.\*

In later times this compulsory system was still further extended. The tyrannical Murshīd Kulī Khān enforced a law that any Amal, or zamīndār, failing to pay the revenue that was due, or being unable to make good the loss, should, with his wife and children, be compelled to become Muhammadans. Furthermore, it was the common law that any Hindu forfeiting his caste by a breach of regulations could only be reinstated by the Muhammadan Government, and if it refused to interfere, the delinquent remained an outcast, ultimately taking shelter in the ranks of the Faithful."

305. But the most convincing testimony is that afforded by the exact measurements carried out by Mr. Risley. The average Cephalic index (proportion of breadth of head to length) of 185 Muhammadans of East Bengal is almost identical with that of 67 Chandāls. The nasal index (proportion of breadth of nose to height) of the Muhammadans was greater than that of the Chandāls but not very different from that of the Chandāls' half-brothers, the Pods, and in any case a broad nose is characteristic of the Dravidian

ANTHROPOMETRICAL CONCLUSIONS.

\* "Bernier" Vol. I, 144. "Voyages de Le Gouz," p. 157.



rather than of the Aryan and Semitic types. These measurements show clearly that the foreign element amongst the Muhammadans of East Bengal is very small. The author of the book already referred to has protested strongly against the manner in which the subjects for measurement were chosen, *i.e.*, against the selection of ordinary cultivators and the exclusion of all Muhammadans of birth, but his protest seems to be based on a misunderstanding. The object of the measurements was to ascertain the affinities of the low class Muhammadans of East Bengal who form the great bulk of the Muhammadan population of that part of the Province. There is no question as to the foreign origin of many of those of the better class; the difference between the coarse features and dark complexion of the ordinary villagers and the fair skin, and fine features of some of the gentry is apparent to all, and it was precisely for this reason that instructions were given to exclude the latter from the operations of the Anthropometric survey.\* There have been no measurements of the Muhammadans of North Bengal, but there seems no reason to doubt that, if they could be taken, they would fully confirm the popular view that they are for the most part very closely allied to the Rājbanis amongst whom they live and whom they closely resemble in feature.

306. It seems to me that there can be no doubt as to the local origin of

ESTIMATE OF PROPORTION OF  
FOREIGN BLOOD AMONGST THE  
MUHAMMADANS OF BENGAL.

most of the Muhammadans of East and North Bengal. In other parts of the Province also the general opinion is that the lower classes of Muhammadans are recruited mainly from local converts. It is impossible to form an exact estimate of the relative strength of the two elements, the Indian and the foreign, but it may be said generally that almost the whole of the functional groups, such as Joláhá and Dhuniá, throughout the Province, the great majority, probably nine-tenths, of the Shekhs in Bengal Proper, and a large proportion of them, possibly half, in Bihar are of Indian origin. The foreign element must be looked for chiefly in the ranks of the Saiads,

RACE.	NUMBER.
Saiad ...	236,468
Pathán ...	423,740
Moghal ...	18,678
One-tenth of Shekhs in Bengal Proper.	1,953,723
Half of ditto in rest of Bengal.	1,092,976
Total	3,724,584

Patháns and Moghals. Even here there are many who are descended from Hindus, and it will be seen in the chapter on Caste that high caste converts are often allowed to assume these titles and, in some cases, to intermarry with those who are really of foreign descent. Their number, however, is possibly only a small proportion of the total and may be neglected. If the above estimates be taken as a basis, it would appear that the strength of the foreign element amongst the Muhammadans of Bengal cannot, at the most, exceed four millions, or

say, one-sixth of the total number of persons who profess the faith of Islam.

307. It has already been noted that the affinities of the Muhammadans of

CLASSES FROM WHICH CONVERTS  
CHIEFLY COME.

East Bengal seem to be with the Pods and Chandáls and those of North Bengal with the Rājbanis and Koches. The conclusion is based, not only on their striking physical resemblance to their neighbours, but also on the fact that the proportion of Hindus of other castes in these parts of the country is, and always has been, very small.† The main castes are the Rājbanis (including Koches) in North Bengal and the Chandáls and other castes of non-Aryan origin in East Bengal, so that even if the different groups yielded converts in equal proportions, the absolute number of converts from such castes would be much greater than from others. But, except in the case of forcible conversion, it is not likely that the proportions were at all equal. The Musalman religion, with its doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God, must necessarily have presented far greater attractions to the Chandáls and Koches, who were regarded as outcastes by the Hindus, than to the Bráhmans, Baidyas,

\* It would be most interesting if a second series of measurements could be taken for the better classes of Muhammadans. Nothing would more clearly bring out the difference between their origin and that of their co-religionists of lower rank.

† The Koches are generally supposed to have spread in any numbers only as far westwards as the Mahánandá which runs through the Purnea district. East of that river, where the bulk of the population is Koch, no less than two-thirds of the population are Muhammadans, while to the west of it where the Koch element is weak, less than one-third of the population was returned under this religion. This too in spite of the fact that the old Muhammadan capital in Purnea lay in the centre of the latter tract.



and Káyasths, who in the Hindu caste system enjoy a position far above their fellows. The convert to Islám could not of course expect to rank with the higher classes of Muhammadans, but he would escape from the degradation which Hinduism imposes on him; he would no longer be scorned as a social leper; the mosque would be open to him; the Mullah would perform his religious ceremonies, and, when he died, he would be accorded a decent burial. The experience of the Christian missionaries in Bengal at the present day points to the same conclusion. Converts from the higher Hindu castes are rare, and it is amongst the non-Aryan tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau and North Bengal, and amongst the Chandáls of Backergunge, that the greatest success is met with.

It is not contended that the higher castes did not contribute their quota, but it was undoubtedly a comparatively small one,\* and obtained usually by force or accident, rather than by a voluntary adhesion to the tenets of the Korán. This seems clearly indicated by the history of Muhammadan families of known Hindu origin. The Pirális, for example, became Muhammadans because they were outcasted on account of having been forced to taste (or smell) forbidden food cooked by a Muhammadan, and they still retain many Hindu beliefs and customs.† The Rájás of Kharagpur were originally Khetauris, and only became Muhammadans because, after being defeated by one of Akbar's generals, the acceptance of Islám was made a condition of being allowed to retain the family estates.‡ The present Rájá of Parsouni in Darbhanga is descended from Rájá Pardil Singh, who rebelled against the Emperor and became a Muhammadan by way of expiation.§ The family of Asad Ali Khán, of Baranthan in Chittagong, is by origin a branch of the Srijukta family of Naopara. Their ancestor, Syám Rái Cháudhuri, was deprived of his caste by being forced to smell beef and was fain to become a Muhammadan. Jadu, the son of Rájá Káns, the only Hindu king of Bengal, embraced the Muhammadan religion in order to be allowed to succeed his father. In Backergunge many Hindus became Musalmans after the Maghs had passed through their houses and so caused them to be outcasted.||

308. This leads to the question how far the conversion of Hindus generally was voluntary and how far it was due to force. The Moghals were as a rule, tolerant in religious matters, but the Afgháns who preceded them were often very fanatical. It does not appear, however, that the Afghán rulers of Bengal often used force to propagate their faith, and the only organised persecution of the Hindus is that of Jaláluddín, mentioned by Dr. Wise, who is said to have offered the Korán or death, and who must have effected wholesale conversions.¶ But although there was no general attack on the Hindu religion, there are numerous traditions of conversions on a large scale by enthusiastic freelances, such as the renowned Sháh Jalál of Sylhet. In Mandaran thana in the Arambagh subdivision of Hooghly, where the Muhammadan population preponderates over the Hindu, there is a tradition that Muhammad Ismail Sháh Gházi defeated the local Rájá and forcibly converted the people to Islám. These traditions are not confirmed by history, but history tells us very little of what went on in Bengal during the reigns of the independent kings, and, when even the names of some of them are known to us only from the inscriptions on their coins, while there is no record whatever of many of the local satraps, it is not to be expected

\* It will be seen, moreover, further on, that the converts from the higher castes do not usually assume the designation of Shakh.

† Some only of the Pirális are Muhammadans. Others have succeeded to a certain extent in recovering their original caste and have remained Hindus. They are named after Pir Ali the dewan of Khán Jahán Ali or Khanja Ali who ruled in the south of Jessore about four centuries ago. Pir Ali, whose proper name was Muhammad Táhir, was a Bráhman apostate, and, like all renegades, he probably proved a worse persecutor of his original faith than others who were Muhammadans by birth. Very little is known of Pir Ali, but a good deal of information regarding his master will be found in Sir James Westland's 'Jessore,' pages 11 to 23.

‡ Statistical Account of Monghyr, page 179.

§ It would be interesting to carry this enquiry further and to trace the cause of conversion in other families of known Hindu origin, such as the Dewán families of Pargana Sarail in Tippera, and of Haibatnagar and Jangalbati in Mymensingh, who were formerly Bráhmans, the Patháns of Majhoul in Darbhanga, who sprang from the family of the Rájá of Narhan, etc. Amongst early Bráhman converts may be mentioned Murshid Nuli Khán and the dreaded iconoclast, Kálá Patár.

¶ Beveridge's History of Backergunge, page 340.

¶ Dr. Wise, as we have seen, conjectures that there were more converts to Islám during the seventeen years of this crusade than in the next three hundred.



that, even if forcible conversions were common, there would be any written account of them. There must doubtless, here and there, have been ruthless fanatics like the notorious Tippu Sâhib of more recent times, who forcibly circumcised many of his Hindu subjects and perpetrated many acts of the grossest oppression, and the fact that Muhammadan mosques were often constructed of stones taken from Hindu temples, clearly shows that, at some times and in some places, the Hindus were subjected to persecution at the hands of their Musalman conquerors. Several cases in which persons belonging to the higher castes were forced to become Muhammadans have been quoted above, and these are doubtless typical of many others. We read, for instance, in the accounts of Chaitanya's life, that two of his leading disciples were Brâhmins who had been compelled to embrace the faith of Islâm.

In spite, however, of the fact that cases of forcible conversion were by no means rare, it seems probable that very many of the ancestors of the Bengal Muhammadans voluntarily gave in their adhesion to Islâm. The advantages which that religion offered to persons held in low esteem by the Hindus, have already been pointed out, and under Muslim rule there was no lack of pious Pirs and Fakirs who devoted their lives to gaining converts to the faith. There were special reasons which, during the early years of the Muhammadan supremacy, made conversion comparatively easy. Although the days when Buddhism was a glowing faith had long since passed, the people of Bengal were still to a great extent Buddhistic, and when Bakhtyâr Khilji conquered Bihar and massacred the Buddhist monks assembled at Odontapuri, the common people, who were already lukewarm, deprived of their priests and teachers, were easily attracted from their old form of belief, some to Hinduism and others to the creed of Muhammad.\* The higher castes probably found their way back to Hinduism, while the non-Aryan tribes who had, in all probability, never been Hindus, preferred the greater attractions of Islâm.

309. The dislike which educated Muhammadans have for the theory that most of the local converts in Eastern and Northern Bengal are of Chandâl and Koch origin seems to be due to the influence of Hindu ideas regarding social status, according to which these tribes occupy a very degraded position. This, however, is merely due to the fact that they are of known non-Aryan origin. If, instead of the British, the Hindus had succeeded the Moghals as the paramount power in India, and the Muhammadan faith had gradually grown weak and its votaries had attorned to Hinduism, the Moghals and Pathâns would have been given much the same rank as that now accorded to the Chandâls and Koches. These tribes were formerly dominant, and it is only because they have lost their political supremacy and have fallen under the yoke of the Brâhmins, that they have sunk to their present low position.† In the days of their supremacy they were accorded Kshattriya rank, and it is certain that, if they had maintained their independence, they would no more have been regarded as low castes to-day, than are the descendants of the Moghal conquerors of Delhi. They are in fact allied by race to the Moghals, but while they entered India from the north-east, the latter did so from the north-west, and came earlier under the influence of the greatest proselytising religion, next to Buddhism, that Asia has yet seen. The Moghals are converts, just as much as are the Chandâls. It is only a question of time and place. The Christian religion prides itself as much on converts from one race as on those from another, and except for the influence of Hindu ideas it is not clear why the Muhammadans should not do so too.

\* As noted elsewhere, the Pods and Chandâls were probably the dominant tribes in the kingdom of Paundra, Vardhâna and to this day traces of the Buddhist faith can still be found in the working religion of the Pods. Amongst the Koches also, traces of Buddhist influence still survived when Ralph Fitch visited the country in the 16th century (J. A. S. B. 1873, part I, page 240).

† The present depressed condition of these castes is due to political reasons. There is nothing inherently low in them, and at one time they enjoyed a considerable amount of civilisation. Speaking of the Bhars, who once ruled on the north bank of the Ganges from Monghyr to Oudh, and whose skill is evidenced by the remains of numerous embankments, tanks and forts, Sherring points out that they were not by any means a barbarous race. He adds:—The more I investigate the matter, the stronger do my convictions become that the Hindus have learnt much from the aboriginal races, but that, in the course of ages, these races have been so completely subdued, and treated with such extreme rigour and scorn, that in the present co-adition of abject debasement in which we find them, we have no adequate means of judging of their original genius and power. "[Hindu Tribes and Castes," Vol. I, page 363.] The Bhars have for the most part disappeared owing to absorption into other social groups (e.g. the Pâsi?). Those still known by the old tribal name occupy a very degraded position and are frequently swineherds like the Kâoras.



310. We have already seen that the Muhammadans are increasing more rapidly than the Hindus, and the question arises as to the reasons why this should be so. I have made particular enquiries as to the number of conversions at the present day and the general opinion is that it is not very great.\* Occasionally an eloquent Mullah obtains a few genuine converts but, as a rule, the persons who cross over from the one religion to the other do so for material, and not for religious, reasons, *e.g.*, a Muhammadan takes a Hindu widow as his second wife, or a Hindu widow is detected in an intrigue with a Muhammadan and, being outcasted, is fain to seek an asylum in the ranks of Islām, or a Hindu falls in love with a Muhammadan girl and has to adopt her religion before he can marry her. There are no doubt occasional instances of a genuine change of faith, but these form only a small minority. I have endeavoured to collect information regarding recent cases of conversion and the causes which are assigned for them, and the result is given in Appendix II. The most noticeable feature disclosed by the various reports is the very small number of such cases which have come to notice and, unless the information received is very defective, it is clear that the main explanation of the relatively more rapid growth of the Muhammadan population must be its greater fecundity. One great reason for this is that the Muhammadan widow re-marries more readily than her Hindu sister. The higher Hindu castes throughout the Province, and in Bengal Proper most of the other castes also, forbid their widows to marry a second time. The statistics of age and civil condition show that of every 100 Hindu women between the ages of 15 and 40, more than 16 are widows, whereas amongst the Musalmans the number is only 12.† There is also less inequality in the ages of husband and wife than is often the case amongst Hindus. The Muhammadan again has a more nutritious dietary than the Hindu and his fecundity is proportionately increased. Moreover, in Eastern Bengal at least, he is usually better off. The Hindu has scruples about leaving his home, and will rather stay on there and suffer some privation, owing to his holding being too small to meet the needs of a growing family, rather than move elsewhere. The Muhammadan has no such prejudices and it is he who occupies the *chars* of the great rivers of East Bengal and extracts bounteous crops from the fertile alluvial soil. Even in India, the growth of the population is regulated to a great extent by the material condition of the people, and there can be no doubt that the comparatively rapid increase of the Muhammadans is in part attributable to their being as a class in better circumstances than their Hindu neighbours.

311. In Bihar a converted Hindu of the Bráhmaṇ or Káyasth castes is usually allowed to call himself Shekh and to associate and intermarry with genuine Shekhs. A Bábhān or Rájput in the same circumstances, becomes a Pathán, but the lower castes have to content themselves with the title Nau-Muslim and it is only after the lapse of some years that they are gradually recognised as Shekh. In Mymensingh high caste converts are given the title of Khán and call themselves Patháns.

Amongst the earlier converts, and especially in the functional groups, Hindu names and titles are still very common. Names such as Káli Shekh, Káláchánd Shekh, Braja Shekh or Gopál Mandal are constantly met with. When a Mullah effects a conversion at the present day, he usually gives the neophyte a new name, but it is often chosen in such a way as to give some indication of the old one; Rajani for example becomes Riáz-uddín. This reminds one of the way in which a Muhammadan of low social position gradually assumes a more high sounding designation as he rises in life, which has given rise to the saying—

*"Áge tháke Ulla Tulla Shezhe hay Uddín,  
Tuler Mámud upare jay Kapál phere Jaddín."*

\* There are a few exceptions. The reporters from Midnapore, Champarn and Monghyr are of opinion that considerable progress is being made.

† It is not only that the actual proportion of widows is greater amongst the Hindus, but also that when a widow has an intrigue and becomes pregnant, if a Hindu, she generally commits abortion; whereas if she is a Muhammadan, she welcomes the prospect of a child as an inducement to her paramour to take her into his zenana.



The saying can best be illustrated by the successive changes of name of a hypothetical Meher Ullah, who becomes first Meheruddin, then Meheruddin Muhammad and then Muhammad Meheruddin. He will probably at this stage prefix Munshi, then add Ahmad, and finally blossom into Maulavi Muhammad Meheruddin Ahmad. In North Bengal a well-to-do Nasya calls himself Sarkár, and if he continues to prosper, he becomes in turn Paramánik, Chaudhuri and Munshi, and eventually, if his circumstances are sufficiently good, he assumes the title of Maulavi.

312. The two main sects of Muhammadans are of course the Sunnis and the Shiahs. The former accept the authority of all the successors of Muhammad, whereas the Shiahs

look upon the first three, Abu Bakr, Omar, and Osmán, as interlopers, and regard Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, as the first true Khalífa. They also greatly reverence his martyred sons, Hasan and Husain. Sect was not returned at the Census, but it is known that, with the exception of those of Moghal origin, the great majority of Bengal Muhammadans consider themselves Sunnis, although at the same time they exalt Hasan and Husain and observe the *Ramzán* as strictly as the Shiahs. The religious writings of the Sunnis consist not only of the Korán, but also of the Hadís or traditional sayings of Muhammad not embodied in the Korán. These are in themselves hard to understand, but there are four recognized glossographers, and the followers of their commentaries are called after them, being known respectively as Hánafí, Sháfai, Málíkí and Hambalí. The difference between these sects is very slight, but the main characteristic of the Hánafís, which is practically the only one known in Bengal, is that the traditions are freely interpreted in the light of analogical reasoning, whereas the others take their stand against any modification of the actual words of Muhammad. Some, who interpret the traditions for themselves, without following any particular Imám, call themselves Ahlí Hadís, 'people of the tradition,' or Ghair Mukallid, 'those who do not wear the collar' (of any Imám).

313. In the 17th century a new sect of Muhammadan purists arose in Arabia who rejected the glosses of the Imáms and

THE WÁHÁBÍ MOVEMENT—  
SHARIAT ULLAH AND DUDHU  
MIYÁN.

denied the authority of the Sultan, made comparatively light of the authority of Muhammad, forbade the offering of prayers to any prophet or saint, and insisted on the necessity for waging war against all infidels. They were called Wáhábís after their founder, Muhammad Wáháb of Nejd. Their doctrines were introduced into India by Saiad Ahmad Sháh of Kai Bareilli, who proclaimed a *jihád* or holy war against the Sikhs in 1826, and founded the colony of fanatics on the North-West frontier. Saiad Ahmad and his disciple, Maulavi Muhammad Ismail, gained many converts who, in this Province, made Patna their head-quarters, whence they sent out emissaries to propagate their doctrines all over Bengal and Bihar.

Before noticing them, however, we may refer to a movement, similar but independent, in East Bengal which was originated by Háji Shariat Ullah, the son of a Joláhá of Faridpur, who returned about 1820 A. D. from Mecca, where he had been a disciple of the Wáhábís, and disseminated the teachings of that sect in Faridpur and Dacca.\* Amongst other things he prohibited the performance of Hindu rites and the joining in Hindu religious ceremonies, the preparation of *Tazias* (models of the tomb of Hasan and Husain) and the praying to *pirs* (saints) and prophets. He also held that India was *Dáru-l-harb* (the mansion of war), where the observance of the Friday prayers is unlawful and the waging of war against infidels is a religious necessity.† He gained many followers, chiefly amongst the lowest classes. His son Dudhu Miyán, who succeeded him, was even more successful and acquired a

\* This note, so far as it refers to religious movements in East Bengal, is based mainly on Dr. Wise's posthumous paper on "The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal," contributed by Mr. Risley to the J. A. S. B. for 1894. The few modifications that I have made are the outcome of further enquiries made on the basis of what Dr. Wise wrote. Isolated efforts of Muhammadan Maulavis to combat Hindu superstitions are constantly coming to notice. They may meet with success for a time, but the leanings to Hindu superstitions and symbolism are so deeprooted in the hearts of low caste converts from Hinduism that, when the movement has spent itself, they frequently relapse and revive their old idolatrous practices.

† The modern followers of this sect deny that they hold India to be *Dáru-l-harb*, but it is impossible to say if this is really the case.



paramount influence amongst the Muhammadan cultivators and craftsmen of Dacca, Backergunge, Faridpur, Noakhali and Pabna. He partitioned the country into circles and appointed an agent to each to keep his sect together. He endeavoured to force all Muhammadans to join him, and made a determined stand against the levy of illegal cesses by landlords, and especially against contributions to the idol of *Durgá*. He made himself notorious for his high-handed proceedings, was repeatedly charged with criminal offences and, on one occasion at least, was convicted. He died in 1860.

314. Concurrently with this movement other reformers were spreading the doctrines of the Patna School, the most successful of whom was Mauláná Karámat Ali of Jaunpur. He

KARÁMAT ALI.

made two important modifications in the tenets of his leaders. In the first place he did not altogether reject the glosses on the Hadís. He recognised that there were imperfections and contradictions, but he held that they were not sufficient to justify the formation of a new sect. Consequently he and his followers are generally regarded as belonging to the Hánafi sect. Secondly, in his later years at least, he declared that India under English rule was not *Dáru-l-harb*, and consequently that infidels are not here a legitimate object of attack and the Friday prayers are lawful. He strongly denounced the various Hindu superstitions common amongst the people, and especially the offering of *Shirnis* or cakes to the spirits of ancestors on the *Shab-i-barát*. He also prohibited the use of music and the preparation of *Tázias*. On the other hand, he held that holy *pirs* possessed a limited power of intercession with God and encouraged the making of offerings at their tombs. Karámat Ali died in 1874. His mission was ably carried on by his son Hafiz Ahmad, who preached all over East and North Bengal and died only about three years ago. There are numerous other preachers of the same doctrines, of whom Shán Abu Bakr, of Furfura in the Hooghly district, is one of the most famous. The Hazrat of Banaudhia in Marshidabad is also well known; but he owes his influence less to his intellectual qualifications than to his reputation as a saint endowed with miraculous powers.

315. These two reformed sects are collectively known as Farazi,\* 'followers of the law,' Namáz Háfiz, 'one who remembers his

SECT NOMENCLATURE.

prayers,' Hidáyati, 'guides to salvation,' or Shára, 'followers of the precepts of Muhammad' as distinguished from the Sábiki, 'old,' Berabi 'without a guide,' Bedaiyati or Beshára, by which terms the unreformed Muhammadans are generally known. The distinctive name of the followers of Karámat Ali and his successors is Ta'aiyuni, 'those who appoint,' from their practice of appointing from their number a leader who decides religious questions and takes the place of a Kázi, thereby making the observance of the Friday prayers lawful. The followers of Dudhu Miyán are called Wáhábbis by the Ta'aiyunis, but the name is held in bad odour, and they themselves prefer the appellations of Muhammadi, Ahli-hadís or Rafi-yadain, the last name being given with reference to their practice of raising their hands to their ears when praying, whereas the ordinary Sunnis fold their arms in front and the Shíahs allow them to hang down.† They are also sometimes called Amini, because they pronounce Amen in a loud voice like the Sháfái sect, and not in an undertone like the followers of Abu Hánifa. La-Mazhabi, 'no doctrine,' is another designation given them, because they reject all doctrines except those contained in the Korán.

316. Since Dudhu Miyán's death his sect has been gradually dwindling in numbers, and at the present time the followers of

PRESENT SUPREMACY OF KARÁ-  
MAT ALI'S SECT.

Karámat Ali greatly outnumber them all over Eastern Bengal. In Khulna it is estimated that only 1 per cent of the Muhammadans are of the Rafi-yadain persuasion, and it is only in Faridpur and Bogra that this sect still holds its own. Dudhu Miyán's son, Saijuddin Khán Bahadur, still has great influence in Faridpur, especially amongst the cultivators and Joláhás in the south of the district. In Bogra the number of this sect is said to be small, but growing. It is reported from that

\* This term is sometimes said to be applicable more particularly to Dudhu Miyán's party.

† The sects, other than that of Dudhu Miyán, are sometimes known collectively as the 'Adam rafa,' or those who do not raise their hands.



district that they are not very well affected towards Government, and that every family sets aside a handful of rice daily for religious objects. This is collected by the local head of the community, and it is suspected that the proceeds are used for promoting a *Jihād*.

317. Owing, it may be, to the Wáhabbi trials, the reformers in Bihar have not hitherto gained the success achieved in Bengal,

REFORMERS IN BIHAR.

but at the present time considerable activity is being shown by the leaders of the Ahl-i-Hadís, as the modern representatives of the Wáhabbis prefer to style themselves. Patna seems to be still the head-quarters of the sect, but unfortunately I am without information regarding that district. In the other districts of South Bihar the number of its adherents is still very small. In Gaya it is reported that the only Wáhabbis are policemen from Patna. The movement in North Bihar was inaugurated by Maulavi Nazir Husain, a native of Monghyr now resident in Delhi, and others. The tenets of the sect appear to be intermediate between those of the two branches of the reformed church in Bengal Proper. As regards the question whether India is *Dáru-l-harb* or *Dáru-l-Islám* opinion appears to be divided, but Friday prayers are enjoined. The hands are raised in prayer, and the 'Amen' is pronounced in a loud voice. The use of music, the celebration of the *Muharram* festival, the offering of the *shirni* to the manes of ancestors, and the veneration of *pirs* are strictly forbidden.\* In Muzaffarpur the movement at first gained ground rapidly but at present it is making slow progress. In Darbhanga and Champaran it is still spreading, but in the latter district it is estimated that the total number of its adherents is still less than a thousand. In Saran the amount of success hitherto achieved is very small. In the Sonthal Parganas the reformed doctrines are being energetically propagated amongst the local Muhammadans and with a considerable amount of success. In all cases, it is the Ajlaf or lower class of Muhammadans who are most attracted by the preaching of the reformers; the better classes generally hold aloof.

318. The propagation of these new doctrines frequently leads to much ill-

DISPUTES BETWEEN RIVAL SECTS.

feeling between the adherents of the different sects, and there is often danger of a breach of the peace. It is reported from Champaran that the disputes between the Mukallids and Ghair Mukallids would more than once have ended in bloodshed but for fear of the law, while in Faridpur it was thought necessary a few years ago to direct a preacher of Karámat Ali's persuasion to leave the neighbourhood of Sibchar, the head-quarters of the Dudhu Miyán sect, in order to prevent a breach of the peace between the two parties. In the Nilphamari Sub-division a Maulavi from Peshawar was sentenced to imprisonment a few years ago for abetting a riot with the object of preventing the carrying of *Tazias* in the celebration of the Moharram. As an illustration of the way in which these religious discussions are carried on I give below an extract from a report received from the Magistrate of Bogra:—

A sort of Báháj (religious controversy) took place recently at Jamalganj between the Hánafis and the Rafi-yadains which ended with the use of most filthy language by both parties. Since then each party is trying to outbid the other. Two Madrasas have been started in the locality, one by the Hánafis and the other by the Rafi-yadains. In November last a Muhammadan reformer, Munshi Meherulla of Jessore, was invited by the Hánafis to deliver lectures on the superiority of the Muhammadan religion in general, and more especially on that of the Hánafi doctrine. The feeling of the two sections had by that time grown so bitter that they both applied to me for protection. The Munshi, however, delivered excellent lectures on the necessity for reform of the Musalman community and gave offence to none. Now and then he threw a word at the Hindus telling them that the Muhammadan religion does not inculcate the duty of making war for the spread of religion or of killing the Kaffir if he would not accept "the true faith." I mention this as it indicates that the present reformers of the community are actuated by a conciliatory spirit.

319. The unreformed Muhammadans of the lower and uneducated classes

UNREFORMED MUHAMMADANS.

are deeply infected with Hindu superstitions, and their knowledge of the faith they profess seldom extends beyond the three cardinal doctrines of the Unity of God, the Mission of Muhammad, and the truth of the Korán, and they have a very faint idea of

\* The veneration of Pirs and also of Muhammad himself is denounced as *shirk*, i.e., as ascribing to them a partnership with the Deity, or powers which belong to God alone.



the differences between their religion and that of the Hindus. Sometimes they believe that they are descended from Abel (Hábil) while the Hindus owe their origin to Cain (Kábil). Kábil they say killed Hábil and dug a grave for him with a crow's beak.\*

320. Before the recent crusade against idolatry it was the regular practice of low class Muhammadans to join in the Durgá Pujá

#### HINDU SUPERSTITIONS.

and other Hindu religious festivals, and although they have been purged of many superstitions, many still remain. In particular they are very careful about omens and auspicious days. Dates for weddings are often fixed after consulting a Hindu astrologer; bamboos are not cut, nor the building of new houses commenced, on certain days of the week, and journeys are often undertaken only after referring to the Hindu Almanac to see if the proposed day is auspicious. When disease is prevalent Sitalá and Rakshyá Káli are worshipped. Dharmaráj, Manasá and Bishahari are also venerated by many ignorant Muhammadans.† Sasthi is worshipped when a child is born. Even now in some parts of Bengal they observe the Durgá Pujá and buy new clothes for the festival like the Hindus. In Bihar they join in the worship of the Sun, and when a child is born they light a fire and place cactus and a sword at the door to prevent the demon Jawán from entering and killing the infant. At marriage the bridegroom often follows the Hindu practice of smearing the bride's forehead with vermilion.‡ In the Sonthal Parganas Muhammadans are often seen to carry sacred water to the shrine of Baidyanáth and, as they may not enter the shrine, pour it as a libation on the outside verandah. Offerings are made to the Grámya devatá before sowing or transplanting rice seedlings, and exorcism is resorted to in case of sickness. Ghosts are propitiated by offerings of black fowls and pigeons before a figure drawn in vermilion on a plantain leaf. These practices are gradually disappearing, but they die hard, and amulets containing a text from the Korán are commonly worn, even by the Mulláhs who inveigh against these survivals of Hindu beliefs.

321. Apart from Hindu superstitions there are certain forms of worship common amongst Muhammadans which are not

#### ADORATION OF PIRS.

based on the Korán. The most common of these is the adoration of departed Pirs. It should be explained that the priesthood of Islám is two-fold. The law and the dogmas are expounded by the Mullah or learned teacher; the spiritual submission to, and communion with, the deity is inculcated by the Pir or spiritual guide. There are four famous Pirs who are universally revered throughout the Muslim world, and all subsequent Pirs have belonged to one or other of their spiritual systems.§ They trace back their line of spiritual guides in an unbroken series to the Prophet, who is styled the fountain head of all Pirs. With the exception of the Ahl-i-Hadis or Wáhábbis, almost all Muhammadans of the Sunni sect go through the ceremony of initiation by a Pir. The disciple or Murid|| places his hands in the hands of the spiritual guide and declares his belief in the Muhammadan creed, the unity of God, the mission of the Prophet, the truth of the Korán, the existence of angels and the day of resurrection; he then promises to live a virtuous life and to abstain from sin; he calls on the guide and his spiritual predecessors up to the Prophet to witness his declaration,

\* There are some verses which give expression to this belief, but I have been able to obtain only the first two lines:—

*Hábílur pharjjan járá.  
Islám háila tárá.*

It may be interesting to mention here that some of the Bunás of Nadia and Jessore believe that Balarám and Alláh are identical.

They say: *Muká Makkah, Dil Korán.  
Hárer upar Chám  
Túíte beleche Balarám.*

† Goats are often made over to Hindus who perform the sacrifice on their behalf.

‡ Sometimes sandalwood paste is used instead of vermilion.

§ As with the Bishops of the Christian Church there is a regular system of ordination, and every Pir traces his spiritual descent from the Prophet himself through one or other of the four great Pirs mentioned above. There seems to be but little difference in the cults originating with these Pirs, except the followers of Abu Ishak of Chisht make use of music and singing and keep the image of their spiritual guide before the mind's eye. These practices are forbidden by the others.

|| The reformed sects object to the words Pir and Murid, and replace them by Ustád and Shagird which do not connote the same degree of submission on the part of the disciple.



and concludes by affirming that he has become a member of the particular spiritual communion to which his Pir belongs. The disciple must thenceforth think of his Pir and of the vows he has made at least once daily, and he is visited at intervals by the latter who comes to rekindle his zeal.

Sometimes Pirs of exceptional sanctity are credited with supernatural powers. Asgar Ali Shah in Muzaffarpur has this reputation, and many persons, Hindus as well as Muhammadans, the educated as well as the ignorant, when afflicted with illness or other calamities, wait upon him for relief. His suppliants offer him money and food, but he seldom accepts their presents. He spends most of his time in a state of abstraction.

When a holy Pir departs from this life, he is popularly believed to be still present in spirit and to offer his daily prayers at Mecca or Medina, and his *dargah* or tomb becomes a place of pilgrimage to which persons resort for the cure of disease, or the exorcism of evil spirits, or to obtain the fulfilment of some cherished wish, such as the birth of a child, or success in pending litigation.\* The educated stoutly deny that Pirs are worshipped, and say that they are merely asked to intercede with God, but amongst the lower classes it is very doubtful if this distinction is clearly recognised, even if it actually exists.

322. Of Indian Pirs the greatest is perhaps Hazrat Moinuddin Chisti, who was born in Persia in 1140 A.D. and came to

NOTES ON SOME FAMOUS PIRS.

India under the orders of the Prophet, who appeared to him and told him to spread the faith in this country. He died at Ajmir in 1234 and his *dargah* there is visited by pilgrims from all parts of India. According to Ferishta, Akbar himself often visited this shrine on foot. The late Rájá of Tikari, Ran Bahadur Singh (a Hindu), paid it annual visits and made valuable offerings. He firmly believed that the Tikari Ráj was a gift to his family from this Pir, and that it was by his favour that he won his law-suits, a faith which was once severely shaken when the decision in an important case was given against him. In Bengal, almost every district has its *dargah*, where vows are registered and offerings made, by Hindus as well as Muhammadans, in the hope of gaining some material benefit, or of being cured from disease. The offerings usually consist of sweetmeats, but sometimes clay figures of horses are given and, on special occasions, goats and fowls are sacrificed.† These offerings are usually the perquisite of the *Mujáwir*, or custodian of the tomb, who is generally a fakir. A few of the more famous of these Pirs are noted below:

(1) Machandáli Sáif. Tomb near Ganga Sagar in the 24-Parganas. There is a story that one day a barber was shaving this saint when he suddenly disappeared. He returned shortly afterwards dripping with perspiration, and on being questioned explained that a ship had run aground, and as the crew had appealed to him, he had gone to pull it into deep water. The barber laughed incredulously, whereupon he and all his family died forthwith.

(2) Khán Jahán Ali. *Dargah* at Rambijoypur in the Bagirhat subdivision of Khulna. Miraculous cures are said to be effected at his tomb, and there is a special yearly festival when people come to make offerings. Khán Jahán is mentioned in Sir James Westland's Account of Jessore as a great local magnate, but the account there given of him does not indicate that during his lifetime he possessed any specially large stock of sanctity. According to tradition he became pious in his old age and entered his tomb, while still alive, to escape from a punitive force sent against him by Jahangir.

(3) Sháh Sultán. *Dargah* at Mahásthán in Bogra. The story goes that a fakir appeared before Parasurám, the last Hindu king of Mahásthán, riding upon a fish. He prayed for a piece of land large enough for him to spread a mat, on which to sit and pray. The king granted his request, whereupon the

\* Á propos of this adoration of Pirs and the wonderful acts attributed to them, there is a Persian proverb, "The Pirs don't fly; their disciples make them fly."

† Mr. O'Malley writing of the Gaya *dargahs* says:—

The tombs of these Pirs are visited in great numbers by the pious; sweetmeats are offered, passages of the Korán recited and some offering, such as a sheet for the tomb, is made. Sometimes to the sound of music *halkat* takes place, i.e., one of the audience becomes suddenly inspired and professes to have been transported to the presence of God or of the Pir. He becomes ecstatic and loudly cries "Hakk hai." Shaking his body and head he rises to his feet and dances fantastically. The whole assembly rises in his honour, the fanatic repeats his cry, and when exhausted sits down. The audience sits down with him and waits till the divine afflatus inspires someone else.



mat began to grow miraculously, and gradually spread over the greater part of the kingdom. He eventually dethroned Parasurám and established a Muhammadan kingdom. Parasurám's daughter drowned herself in the Karátóyá to escape being married to the fakir, who was now known as Sháh Sultán, and the place where she did so is still called Siladebi's *Ghát* in remembrance of her. A fair is held at the *Dargah* every year and is attended by large numbers both of Hindus and of Muhammadans. To the Hindus, however, a dip in the sacred river at Siladebi's *Ghát* seems to be the chief attraction.

(4) Pir Badar of Chittagong is the guardian saint of sailors. He is invoked by the boating classes, Hindu as well as Muhammadan, when they start on a journey by sea or river as follows:—

Ámará áchhi polápán.  
Gáji áchhé níkhámán,  
Shiré Gangá dariyá. Páñch Pir  
Badar Badar.

Which may be translated thus:—

"We are but children, the Gházi is our protector, the Ganges river is on our head. Oh Five Saints, Oh Badar, Badar, Badar." This Pir, who is said to have arrived at Chittagong floating upon a stone slab, is mentioned by Dr. Wise, according to whom he is no other than one Badruddin, who was for many years a resident of Chittagong, died in 1440, and was buried in the *Chhoia Dargah* of Bihar. The local story of his arrival is that Chittagong was at the time the abode of fairies and hobgoblins, and that no one could live there. The saint begged a space for his lamp. This was granted and when he lit it, its magic power was so great that the spirits were frightened away. An old Portuguese resident of Chittagong who died recently used to aver that the saint was a Portuguese sailor, the only survivor from a shipwreck, who floated ashore on a raft and became a Muhammadan. There is a hillock in front of the Commissioner's house which is reputed to be the place where Pir Badar lit his lamp, and here candles are burnt nightly, the cost being met by contributions from Hindus, and even Feringis, as well as from Muhammadans.\*

(5) Shah Ahmad Gaisu Daraz. *Dargah* at Kharampur near Akhaura in Tippera. He fought on the side of Sháh Jalál (whose shrine is in Sylhet town) against Gaur Gobind, the Hindu king of Sylhet, and was killed in the battle. His severed head and one of his wooden shoes were found by a Kaibaritta, who was fishing in the river and, to the latter's great astonishment, the head began to speak. The Kaibaritta embraced the Muhammadan faith and erected a tomb to the saint, of which his descendants are still the *Khádims* or custodians. A former Maharájá of Hill Tippera (a Hindu) made a grant of rent-free land for the maintenance of the shrine, and offerings of cattle, money and sweetmeats are constantly made there by all classes of people. Many miraculous cures are said to have resulted from the appeals made to this holy man.

(6) Khwája Mirza Halim. Shrine at Mehsi in Champaran. Many miraculous feats are attributed to this saint, such as drawing enough milk from a cow, which had never been in calf, to satisfy the thirst of his many followers. There is a date-palm near the *Dargah*, and it is said that when a Kalwár once attempted to tap it, in order to obtain the juice for the manufacture of intoxicating drink (which is forbidden to Muhammadans), blood flowed from the tree.

There is a tradition that there was formerly an inscribed stone at the gate of the tomb with the magic aid of which thieves could be unerringly detected and the stolen property recovered. Jung Bahadur, says the legend, removed this stone to Nepal, and when the saint remonstrated, he promised to erect a cenotaph in his memory. The original *Dargah* is a great place of pilgrimage and an annual fair is held there at which some thousands attend. It is visited by persons for all sorts of purposes, but mainly by those who desire to be blessed with children or who are suffering from some lingering disease.

(7) One of the most modern saints is Patuki Sái who lived near the Court House at Motihari and died only 30 or 40 years ago. He was illiterate and in his lifetime had no great reputation. It was only after his death

\* Mr. R. C. Hamilton, C.S., is disposed to identify Pir Badar with Khwája Khizr. Badar in Chittagong is a religious exclamation used to invoke a blessing. This identification, he says, explains why the name of Khwája Khizr is not locally known.



that he achieved the reputation of holiness; a striking illustration of the proverb—

*Barhá to Mir*  
*Ghálá to Fakír*  
*Mará to Pir.*

"If he grew rich, he became a chief, if poor, a beggar, and if he died, he blossomed into a saint."

The tomb of this Pir was erected by a Hindu money-lender of the Kalwár caste, and his reputation is already so great that about half the residents of the town believe in his miraculous powers and pray for his assistance. His aid is especially invoked by litigants in the Courts, and their offerings form a considerable addition to the income of the custodian, an orderly peon of the District Magistrate's establishment. The Márwáris make an annual offering to this saint and his aid is also sought by the women of the town, who visit his tomb in a body with a band playing various musical instruments.

Space forbids a further enumeration of the numerous local Pirs, but there are many others of considerable renown, such as Hazrat Makhdum Sharifuddin of Bihar town, the author of 'Maktubat Sadi,' and Hazrat Makhdum Sháh Abul Fateh of Tangaul in Hajipur who, amongst other feats, threw his nephew into a river, while in a fit of abstraction, and recovered him unhurt six years later, when he came to his senses and was told what he had done. On another occasion he made a river change its course for several miles in order to obtain a drink of water.

323. Closely allied to the adoration of Pirs is the homage paid to certain

MYTHICAL PERSONS. *KHWÁJA KHIZR.*

mythical persons, amongst whom Khwája Khizr stands pre-eminent. This personage appears to have been a pre-Islámic hero of the Arabs\* and is said by many to be the 'servant of God' mentioned in the Korán, whom Moses found by following in the track of a fried fish which miraculously came to life, and who rebuked Moses on several occasions for his undue curiosity.† However this may be, Khwája Khizr is believed at the present day to reside in the seas and rivers of India, and to protect mariners from shipwreck.‡ He is invoked by them, and is also propitiated by the more ignorant Muhammadans, at marriages and during the rainy season, by the launching in rivers and tanks of *beras* or small paper boats, decorated with flowers and lit up with candles. Food is also distributed to the destitute in his name, or left on the bank to be picked up by the first beggar who passes.

324. Gházi Miyán is generally said to be the nephew of Mahmud of Ghazni and to have died, fighting against the infidel, after performing prodigies of valour. He is called the Prince of Martyrs and his tomb at Bahraich is visited by crowds of pilgrims. Large numbers of the Dafáli, Kunjra and similar low Muhammadan castes of Bihar go to visit this tomb. As usual, there are comparatively few of his worshippers who can give an account of him and some of the stories received are very vague. According to one reporter he perished in a fire on the eve of his wedding.

GHÁZI MIYÁN AND ZINDAH GHÁZI.

Zindah Gházi, from Zindik-i-Gházi 'conqueror of infidels,' rides on a tiger in the Sundarbans,§ and is the patron saint of wood-cutters whom he is supposed to protect from tigers, and crocodiles. He is sometimes identified with Gházi Miyán and sometimes with Gházi Madar. One Muhammadan gentleman

\* Some say he was a prophet or Paighambar born a thousand years before Muhammad.

† Sura Kalif, Chapter XVIII. The Hindus of Upper India call Khwája Khizr, Rájá Kidar, which clearly connects him with Alkhedr who, according to Sale, is also identified with the same 'servant of God.' He is often confounded with Phineas, Elias and St. George, and his soul is supposed to have passed through them all by metempsychosis. He is supposed to have become immortal by finding out, and drinking of, the water of life. The name Khizr or 'ever green' was given him because every spot he sat on became covered with green grass. Part of these fictions were taken from the Jews who fancy that Phineas was Elias. (Sale's Koran, Vol. II, page 121.) According to Dr. Wise, Alkhedr is no other than Alexander the Great, but this seems incorrect. There is a legend that Alexander the Great wanted to drink the water of everlasting life and was conducted to the spring by Khwája Khizr, but finding it surrounded by a crowd of decrepit old men, who, though still alive, could not stir, he was disgusted at the sight and returned to the upper world without tasting the water.

‡ His special connection with water is due to his having wandered all over the waters of the world in search of the water of everlasting life.

§ In Nadia there is a Pir Sher Ali who is reputed to ride on tigers.



tells me he is Badiruddin Sháh Madar who died in A. H. 840 fighting against infidels.\* Songs are sung in his honour and offerings are made after a safe return from a journey. Hindu women often make vows to have songs sung to him if their children reach a certain age. His shrine is believed to be on a mountain called Madaria in the Himalayas.

325. **SATYA PIR** or Satya Náráyan, as he is often called by Hindus, is an indefinite entity whose origin it is most difficult to trace. He is worshipped both by Hindus and Muhammadans and is supposed to have the special power of conferring happiness. According to one tradition he was an inhabitant of Bagdad of the name of Mansar Hallak. He uttered the words "I am the truth," whereupon he was killed for blasphemy, but his blood then repeated the words. His body was burnt but his ashes continued to cry "I am the truth."

326. **SHEKH SADU.** According to Dr. Wise, Shekh Sadu was Maulavi of a Mosque at Amroha in Rohilkand. Mr. O'Malley tells me that in Gaya he is supposed to have been a student at Ganj Moradabad. The story runs that he found a lamp with four wicks and, on lighting them, four genii appeared and announced that they were the slaves of the lamp, and at his service. He used them for the purpose of debauchery, but was eventually killed through the intervention of another genius and was buried at Amroha. The spirit of the Shekh is worshipped all over Bihar, especially in Gaya. People, chiefly women, are often possessed by him, and when this happens, they shout out extracts from the Korán or, if illiterate, a string of gibberish which passes muster for Arabic amongst their equally ignorant neighbours. When this happens, sacrifices of goats and fowls are offered to the Shekh to appease him. People liable to be possessed are supposed to have supernatural powers and are often summoned in cases of illness or trouble to find out the cure. The usual answer is that a sacrifice of a goat or cock must be offered to Shekh Sadu.

327. The last of these mythical persons deserving of mention is Sultán Shahid who is reported only from Gaya. He is worshipped all over the district by low class Muhammadans and also by Hindus of the lower castes. He is variously said to be the body-guard and paramour of Debi, and in any case, he seems to be very closely connected with that goddess. A "pindi" or small altar is invariably erected to him near the temples of Debi, and cocks are offered to him before her worship is commenced.

328. This discussion of some of the less orthodox aspects of Muhammadanism would not be complete without a reference to the elusive "Páñch Pir." The place of worship is usually a small tomb with five domes, or a simple mound at the foot of a Pipal (*ficus religiosa*) or banyan tree (*ficus Indica*.) Offerings of goats, cocks, sweetmeats, etc., are made in order to obtain children, or get rid of some incurable disease, or to ensure success in business, etc. In the minds of the ignorant the expression is usually associated with some of the best known Pirs and mythical personages, such as Gházi Miyán, Pir Badar, Zindah Gházi, Shekh Farid, Khwája Khizr, and even Shekh Sadu. The actual persons vary from place to place, but the veneration for the Páñch Pir is universal, not only amongst the Muhammadans but also, as we shall presently see,† amongst Kalwárs, Halwáis, Telis, Bhuiyás and many other castes of Hindus in Bihar.

Amongst the educated the term is sometimes taken as referring to the "Panjtani pák," or five holy persons, who, according to the Shíahs, are Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Husain, while many Sunnis interpret the same expression as meaning Muhammad and the first four Khalífas, whom they call the Chár yár, or four friends of the Prophet. It seems very probable that the idea of the Páñch Pir may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the words "Panj tani pák." Dr. Wise conjectured that the word 'five' is used vaguely as indicating an indefinite number, in the same way as 'half-a-dozen' is sometimes used in English, but if so, it is not clear why there should be a collective tomb for these Pirs in addition to their individual shrines, nor why there should invariably be a representation of exactly five separate tombs.

\* Other legends are given by Dr. Wise in the Essay already mentioned. | † Paragraph 333.



According to Mr. Ghaznavi the words are more a mode of expression than indicative of any real cult, and are applied to a man who does not know his own mind and is constantly following new doctrines. This, however, seems at variance with the fact that the Páñch Pir are specifically worshipped.

## HINDU SECTS AND GODLINGS.

329. There was no return of sect at the census. In Bihar the distinctions in question are ill-defined and the more ignorant classes would find it difficult to say to which of the

### SECTS OF HINDUS.

conventional divisions of Hinduism they belong. But in Bengal and Orissa, owing to the great Vaishnava movement inaugurated by Chaitanya, the case is otherwise and there would be but little difficulty in obtaining a fairly accurate record of the sectarian distribution of the population. The two great sects are the Sáкта and the Vaishnava. The latter is predominant throughout Orissa, the Orissa States and the south of Midnapore, where the great object of adoration is the quondam Buddhist idol of Jagannáth at Puri, who is worshipped as a representation of Krishna. In Bengal Proper the Vaishnavas are in the majority in Central Bengal, but in the east, north, and perhaps the west, the Sáktas are still the more numerous. The great majority of the race castes are Vaishnavas, especially the Kaibarttas and Chandáls and the Rájbandsis properly so-called, but the Tipárás in the extreme east and the Koches and Meches in the north\* are Sáktas. The Subarnabaniks and many of the Nabasákha group of castes are for the most part Vaishnavas and so also are the majority of the Baidyas of the Srikhanda Samáj. Other Baidyas and all classes of Bráhmans and Káyasthas, on the other hand, are usually of the Sáкта persuasion.

In Bihar, as has already been stated, the dividing line between Sáktas and Vaishnavas is less clearly defined, and, except in the case of certain ascetics, the worship of one God is not necessarily exclusive of that of another, as it is in Bengal Proper, where a strict Vaishnava will not even name Káli and Durgá, or the leaves of the Bel tree, which are largely used in connection with the religious ceremonies of the Sáktas. The reason seems to be that Bihar was never so deeply infected as Bengal with the worst forms of Sáкта worship, and that the Vaishnava revival of Chaitanya which represented a revulsion from Sáktism never spread thither. On the other hand, there are a variety of sects, many of which are based on an attempt to reconcile the differences between Hinduism and the creed of Muhammad, such as the Nának Sháhi, Kabirpanthi and Páñchpiriyá. Others again are Sauras or sun worshippers, and others pay special reverence to Goreiya, Sokhá and other minor deities, or godlings as Mr. Ibbetson has aptly called them, unknown to orthodox Hinduism.

330. Sáktism is based on the worship of the active producing principle (Prákriti) as manifested in one or other of the goddess wives of Siva (Durgá, Káli, Párvati),

### SÁKTIISM.

the female energy or Sakti of the primordial male, Purusha or Siva. In this cult the various forces of nature are deified under separate personalities, which are known as the divine mothers or Mátrigan. The ritual to be observed, the sacrifices to be offered, and the *mantras*, or magic texts, to be uttered, in order to secure the efficacy of the worship and to procure the fulfilment of the worshipper's desire, are laid down in a series of religious writings known as Tantras. The cult is supposed to have originated in East Bengal or Assam about the fifth century.† Káli is said to be the same as Durgá but she

\* For the probable distinction between Koch and Rájbandsi the Chapter on "Caste" should be referred to (paragraph 617).

† For an account of the evolution of Tántrik worship and the addition of female counterparts to the male gods previously worshipped, and of the influence which it had both on Hinduism and Buddhism, the reader is referred to a paper in the Asiatic Quarterly Review for 1894 (page 139) by Colonel Waddell, R.M.S. The genesis of Durgá and Káli is given in the Márkandeya Purán, which is said by a well known Hindu writer to be the "holiest of the holy works of the Hindus" and to be recited in almost every household as a charm. Durgá is there described as having her origin in the energy which issued from the mouths of Vishnu, Siva and Brahmá, and from the bodies of the other gods when hard pressed by Mahashásur, and his army of Asuras or non-Hindus. This energy amalgamated and became a female. Káli in her turn issued from Durgá's head. The two, however, are merely different forms of the same person. The head-quarters of Tántrik worship was probably Kámákekya in Assam. The character in which the original Tantras were written was Bengali, not Devanágri, and there are clear indications that they were introduced into Tibet, Nepal, and Gujarat, from Bengal. Moreover, in the Mahánirvána Tantra the three kinds of fish mentioned as fit for sacrificial use are the Sál, Bol, and Rui, all characteristic of Bengal diet. The Yogini Tantra, by its innumerable local references, was clearly composed in Assam.



can assume any number of forms at the same time. The characteristic of Durgá is beneficence, while Káli is terrific and bloodthirsty. In the Káliká Purán the immolation of human beings is recommended \* and numerous animals are enumerated as suitable for sacrifice. At the present time pigeons, goats and, more rarely, buffaloes, are the usual victims at the shrine of the goddess. The ceremony commences with the adoration of the sacrificial axe; various *mantras* are recited and the animal is then decapitated at one stroke. As soon as the head falls to the ground, the votaries rush forward and smear their foreheads with the blood of the victim. The great occasion for these sacrifices is during the three days of the Durgá Pujá.† The opposition between Sáktism and Vedic Hinduism is expressly stated in the Mahánirvána Tantra where it is said that the *mantras* contained in the Vedas are now devoid of all energy and resemble snakes deprived of their venom. In the Satya and other ages they were effective but in the Kali Yuga they are, as it were, dead.

331. Modern Vaishnavism, as preached by Chaitanya, represents a revulsion against the gross and debasing religion of the Tantras. Chaitanya was a Baidik Bráhmaṇ and was born in Nabadvip in 1484. He preached mainly in Central Bengal and Orissa, and his doctrines found ready acceptance amongst large numbers of the people, especially amongst those who were still, or had only recently been, Buddhists. This was due mainly to the fact that he ignored caste and drew his followers from all sources, so much so that even Muhammadans followed him. He preached vehemently against the immolation of animals in sacrifice and the use of animal food and stimulants, and taught that the true road to salvation lay in Bhakti, or fervent devotion to God. He recommended Rádhá worship and taught that the love felt by her for Krishna was the best form of devotion. The acceptable offerings were flowers, money, and the like, but the great form of worship was that of the Sankirtan or procession of worshippers playing and singing. A peculiarity of Chaitanya's cult is that the post of spiritual guide or Gosáin is not confined to Bráhmaṇs, and several of those best known belong to the Baidya caste. They are all of them descended from the leading men of Chaitanya's immediate entourage. The holy places of the cult are Nabadvip, Chaitanya's birth-place, and in a still greater degree, Brindaban, the scene of Krishna's sports with the milk-maids, which Chaitanya and his disciples reclaimed from jungle, and where he personally identified the various sacred spots, on which great shrines have now been erected. At Nabadvip the most important shrines are in the keeping of Bráhmaṇs who are themselves staunch Sáktas.

332. In course of time the followers of Chaitanya split into two bodies, those who retained, and those who rejected caste. The latter, who are also known as Ját Baishṭams or Bairági, consist of recruits from all castes, who profess to intermarry freely amongst themselves,‡ and, except for the fact that outsiders are still admitted, they form a community very similar to the ordinary Hindu caste. Its reputation at the present day is tarnished by the fact that most of its new recruits have joined owing to love intrigues, or because they have been turned out of their own caste, or for some other sordid motive. Those who have retained their caste and are merely Vaishnavas by sect are, of course, in no way connected with the Ját Baishṭams just described, and their religion is on the whole a far purer one than that of the Sáktas. The stricter Vaishnavas will have nothing to do with Sáktism and are vegetarians, but amongst the Bágdis and other low classes, many of the professed followers

\* It is said that by such a sacrifice Deví (Káli) is pleased for a thousand years. The frequent occurrence of human sacrifices in ancient Assam was discussed by me in a paper contributed to the J. A. S. B. in 1898 (Part III, page 56).

† Great stress is laid on the exact performance of the prescribed ritual and the correct utterance of the *mantras*, failing which the sacrifice loses its efficacy. There are three main subdivisions of the Sáktas. The Dakshinácháris or right-handed, who are comparatively free from sensuality, and do not offer wine or flesh to the deity, the Bámácháris from whose school the majority of the Tantras have emanated, and the Kaulas or extremists. It is unnecessary here to describe the details, but it may be mentioned that the five essentials of worship amongst the extreme school are fish, flesh, wine, mystical gestures with the fingers, and sexual intercourse. During the orgies, mis-called worship, unlawful food becomes lawful, and all distinctions of caste are for the time being ignored. For further details the account given by the late Jogendra Náth Bhattachárya in his book on "Hindu Castes and Sects," and a series of papers on the Tantras by the Rev. K. S. Macdonald may be referred to.

‡ Caste distinctions are not entirely obliterated, and the recruits from the higher, hold aloof from those from the lower, castes.



of the sect will freely eat animal food and follow in the Durgá procession, though they will not on any account be present when the sacrifices are offered up.

There are numerous Vaishnava sects, some of which, like those of Rámánuja and Rámávat, are independent of Chaitanya, while others are debased off-shoots of the great movement inaugurated by him. I shall not attempt a general account of these or other sects but shall merely refer to one or two which came specially to notice in the course of the census operations, and regarding which a certain amount of fresh information was obtained.\*

333. Amongst the latter day offshoots of Chaitanya's teaching, one of the most curious is that of the Kartábhajás, the wor-

THE KARTÁBHJÁS.

shippers of the Kartá or headman, or as they prefer to call themselves Bhábájanas or as Bhagawánis, the men of God.† They call their creed the Satya Dharma, or true faith, while outsiders are known as Aihika or children of the world. The founder of the sect was a Sadgop named Rám Smaran Pál, more generally known as Kartá Bábá, who was born about two hundred years ago, near Chakdaha in Nadia. His birth as an incarnation of the Almighty is said to have been foretold by a religious mendicant (apparently a Muhammadan) known as the Fakir Thákur *alias* Aul Chánd, to whom numerous miracles are attributed, and who appears to have presided over the youth's up-bringing and to have been largely instrumental in obtaining recognition for him as the incarnation of the Divinity. Next to Fakir Thákur his chief disciples were twenty-two mendicants known as the Báish Fakir, who were endowed with miraculous powers and obtained many converts in all the districts of the Presidency Division. Kartá Bábá died at Ghoshpara near Chakdaha, at the age of 84, and was succeeded by his son Rám Dulál *alias* Dulál Chánd, who is popularly believed to be a re-birth of Fakir Thákur. He organized the sect and laid down its precepts in a series of songs supposed to have been uttered by him in his sleep.‡ He was very successful in propagating the new faith and obtained converts in all parts of Bengal, and even in Orissa and the United Provinces. Rám Dulál was succeeded by two of his sons in turn. Then followed a quarrel between his grandsons, and now there is no longer a single spiritual head. The disciples can select, each for himself, any male member of the family whom he may choose as the object of his homage and adoration. Each has his own *gadí* or seat where the offerings of his votaries are deposited. It is needless to say that under these conditions the popularity of the sect is declining.

334. The main doctrines inculcated appear to be:—

- (1) There is only one God, who is incarnate in the Kartá.
- (2) The Maháshay or spiritual guide must be all in all to his Baráti or disciple. A man may question a Maháshay's fitness before becoming his disciple but never afterwards. A Baráti can obtain salvation only through his Maháshay.§
- (3) The *mantra* or religious formula of the sects must be repeated five times a day as a means of salvation and of obtaining material prosperity.||
- (4) Meat and wine must be abstained from.
- (5) Friday must be held sacred and should be spent in religious meditation and discussion.
- (6) There is no distinction in the cult between high caste and low, or between Hindus and Mahammadans or Christians. Any

\* Further information regarding Hindu sects will be found in H. H. Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus," Mr. Risley's "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," and in the late Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya's "Hindu Castes and Sects."

† The term Bhagawáni does not seem to be wholly confined to the Kartábhajá sect, and it is often used as a synonym for Bhagwat, a name applied to Muhammadans who are under a vow to abstain from meat and fish and may be seen wearing the characteristic necklace of the Bairági. The number of such Muhammadans is small but they are occasionally to be met with both in Bengal and in Bihar.

‡ These have been collected and printed. They are known as the Bháber Git.

§ The Maháshay is usually the member of the sect to whom the convert owes his conversion. A Maháshay is expected to be thoroughly well acquainted with the Bháber Git, to attend the religious festivals at Ghoshpara where he must present his own and his disciples' contributions, and to be able to promote the spiritual, and still more the material welfare of his own disciples, *e.g.* by healing their diseases.

|| The Mantra is as follows:—The great lord Aulia (Aul Chánd) is lord of all I move according to your pleasure. I do not live apart from you but am always with you, Oh great Lord!



one, whatever his caste or race or creed, can not only become a member of the sect, but can also obtain high rank in it. It has happened more than once that a Muhammadan or a low caste Hindu has become the spiritual guide or Maháshay of a Bráhmaṇ. No outward sign of adherence to the sect is required. A Bráhmaṇ may keep his sacred thread and a Muhammadan is not required to shave his beard. It is only in their intercourse with each other at religious meetings that social and racial distinctions are ignored.\* In their dealings with the people of the outside world or Aihika the Kartábhajás observe the ordinary social restrictions. And even with other Kartábhajás the usual rules in respect of marriage are not relaxed; a Hindu of one caste would never give his daughter to anyone but a member of his own caste.

335. It is said that the Muhammadan Kartábhajás do not circumcise their male children, nor enter the mosque, nor listen to the preaching of the Maulavis; they do not even believe in the Korán, and the only point in respect of which they still follow Muhammadan practice is that they bury their dead, and do not cremate them. According to a Hindu writer† the exhibition of fervid love is the only form of religious exercise practised by the Kartábhajás. At their secret nocturnal meetings they sing some songs regarding Aul Chánd, Krishna or Gauránga as a cloak for familiarities that cannot be described.

There are four annual festivals when the votaries assemble at Ghoshpara in large numbers. The chief is the Dol Játrá when from fifteen to twenty thousand persons collect together. The principal spots visited by them are the Samájghar where the first Kartá's wife lies buried, the Dalimtalá or spot where the second Kartá's body was placed on the way to the burning *ghát*, where a fine pomegranate tree immediately sprang up, and the Him Sagar or tank consecrated to Rám Dulál by a former Mahárájá of Burdwan. This tank is said to possess wonderful properties and immersion in it is supposed to cure various diseases and deformities. At the Samájghar and Dalimtalá also, valuable hints are communicated in some occult fashion to persons suffering from incurable diseases or seeking the fulfilment of their desires. With this object offerings called *mánasik* (chiefly money) are made by the devotees. The Kartá for the time being is also supposed to work miraculous cures.

The census yields no information as to the number of persons following this sect. The great majority entered their religion as Hindu or Muhammadan as the case might be. In the Jessore district only a few persons, as noted in the margin, returned their religion as Kartábhajá or Bhagawáni. Having regard to the entries in the caste column, these have been classed in the census tables as Muhammadans, and it is reported that they are still generally regarded as belonging to this religion.

In point of fact this is not the case, but there was no object in showing separately the few who described themselves as Kartábhajá, when the great majority of the persons belonging to the sect were otherwise returned.

336. The sects founded by Kabir and Nának are too well known to need detailed description. Kabir was one of the twelve disciples of Rámánand, and preached about the end of the fourteenth century. He was a weaver by caste or, as some say, the son of a Bráhmaṇ widow who was brought up by weavers. He endeavoured to build up a religion that would embrace Hindu and Muhammadan alike. The foundation stone of his creed was that there is only one God, that the God of the Hindus is God also of the Muhammadans and that he may be invoked either as Áli or as Rám. On his death both Hindus and Muhammadans claimed his body, the Hindus in order to burn and the Muhammadans to bury, it.

KABIRPANTHS AND NÁNAK-SHÁHIS.

Religion.	Caste.	Number.
Kartábhajá Bhagawáni ...	Shekh ...	44
Kartábhajá ...	Joláhá Bhagawáni ...	6
Ditto ...	Bhagawáni ...	24
Ditto ...	Shekh ...	18
Ditto ...	Joláhá ...	105
Bhagawáni ...	Shekh ...	8
	Total ...	208

\* They have secret signs by which they can recognise each other.  
† Jogendra Náth Bháttachárya.



- (3) Garáia and Káláia (said to be Kártika and Ganesh).
- (4) Sámgramá, the deity presiding over the Himalayas.
- (5) Lámpará or Khablí, the god who rules the sky and ocean.
- (6) Burásá, the forest deity. He is old and carries a mace; his home is in the woods.
- (7) Burásá's son, the god of death (Yama).
- (8) Báni Ráo and Thunai Ráo.
- (9) Maimungma\* the goddess of paddy and wife of Thunai (said to be Lakshmi).
- (10) Khulungma,\* the goddess of cotton.
- (11) Burhirak, seven goddesses, six of whom are married to Báni; the seventh is a virgin. They preside over witchcraft.

Of the above, numbers (6), (7), and (11) are malignant; the others are all benevolent. Lámpará is worshipped with offerings of sun-dried (*Atap*) rice. To Matáikatar and Sámgramá goats are sacrificed, and to the others offerings are made of fowls, ducks, pigeons, swine and spirits. The family gods of the Tipará kings are known as the Chaudhha Debatá—the fourteen Gods. They include Tuima, Lámpará and Burásá; the rest are ordinary Hindu deities. The worship is conducted not by Bráhmans but by the tribal Ocháis. The head priest of the shrine is called the Chantái; and his assistants are Náráyans and Gálims. Goats and buffaloes are sacrificed at the shrine. In former times human beings also were immolated and several veritable holocausts are recorded in the Rájmalá or chronicles of the Tipará kings.†

The chief festivals are five in number. At the beginning of the Hindu year Garáia and Káláia are adored. Tuimá is worshipped in Agraháyan; a white cotton thread is stretched from the nearest river *ghát* to her shrine in the village, and this no one may cross. After the harvest has been gathered, two young girls are dressed up to personate the goddesses of paddy and cotton. They are richly clad and decorated with flowers and ornaments, and after they have been given a princely repast, a pig is sacrificed before them. Lastly, in Áshár there are two festivals in honour of the fourteen gods at intervals of a fortnight. On both occasions numerous goats are immolated, and work of all kind is strictly tabooed.

341. In the introduction to his book on the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, Mr. Crooke writes:—

POPULAR FORMS OF BELIEF.

\*The general term for the great gods of Hinduism, the Supreme triad—Brahma, Vishnu and Siva—and other deities of the higher class which collectively constitute the Hindu official Pantheon is Deva or 'the Shining ones.' They are the deities of the richer or higher classes, and to the ordinary peasant of Northern India these great gods are little more than a name. He will, it is true, occasionally bow at their shrines; he will pour some water or lay some flowers on the image or fetish stones which are the special resting places of these divinities or represent the productive powers of Nature. But from time immemorial, when Brahmanism had not as yet succeeded in occupying the land, his allegiance was bestowed on a class of deities of a much lower and more primitive kind. Their inferiority in rank to the greater gods is marked in their title. They are called 'devata' or 'godlings,' not 'gods.'"

Taking Mr. Crooke's book as my model I have instituted enquiries on the same lines in Bengal. I began by drawing up a brief note on the subject based on such information as was already available in Mr. Risley's book on the "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," and elsewhere and circulated this as a basis for further research. I have received an excellent series of reports from the gentlemen who undertook the enquiry in different parts of the province, but want of time prevents me from dealing with them at any length here, and it must suffice to indicate very briefly the different forms of popular religion common amongst the masses of the people in different parts of the province. So far as I have been able to digest the material collected, the minor deities, or godlings, may be grouped under the following heads:—

- (1) Godlings of nature.
- (2) Godlings of disease.
- (3) Snake godlings.

\* *Mai* means paddy, and *khul* cotton.

† An account of this interesting Vansávali was given by the Rev. J. Long in the J.A.S.B. Vol. XIX, page 533.



- (4) Deified heroes or the sainted dead.
- (5) Malevolent spirits and ghosts
- (6) Aboriginal deities now identified with Káli or other members of the orthodox Pantheon.
- (7) Other aboriginal objects of worship.
- (8) The Grámya devatá and spirits of the sacred grove.

*Godlings of Nature.*

342. Amongst the godlings of Nature the Sun, Surjya or Graharáj (king of the planets), takes the first place. The Sun god was one of the great deities in Vedic times, but he has now fallen to the rank of a godling. At the same time he is still widely worshipped, especially in Bihar and amongst some of the Dravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur. There are temples in his honour at various places, notably at Kanárk near Puri and at Gaya.\* Amongst his smaller temples may be mentioned one at Amarkund near Berhampore in the Murshidabad district where he is worshipped as Gangáditya and is represented by an equestrian image made of stone. In Cuttack the visible representation is a circle painted red. In Mymensingh he is represented as a being with two hands of a dark red colour mounted in a chariot drawn by seven horses. The higher castes worship him daily while bathing and a libation of water (*arghya*) is made in his honour before other gods and goddesses are worshipped. The *Gáyatri* or sacred verse, which each Bráhmaṇ must recite daily, is dedicated to him. Sunday is sacred to him, and on that day many abstain from eating fish or flesh; in some districts salt also is abstained from. The Sundays in the month of Kártik are specially set aside for his worship in Bihar and parts of Bengal. The great festival in his honour, known as the *Chhat Pujá*, is held on the 6th day of the light half of Kártik when the people gather at a river or pool and offer libations to the setting sun, and repeat the ceremony on the following morning. They also make offerings of white flowers, sandal paste, betel-nut, rice, milk, plantains, &c. Bráhmaṇ priests are not employed, but an elderly member of the family, usually a female, conducts the worship. Even Muhammadans join in the *Chhat Pujá*. In Eastern Bengal the Sundays of Baisákh (occasionally Mágh) are held sacred, and low caste women spend the whole day wandering about in the sun carrying on the head a basket containing plantains, sugar and their offerings. On the last Sunday of Baisákh the *pujá* is performed, and a Bráhmaṇ priest officiates. In Noakhali widows stand on one leg facing the sun the whole day. In Mymensingh unmarried girls worship the Sun in Magh, in the hopes of obtaining a good husband and, so it is said, a satisfactory mother-in-law. In Puri, Hindu women desirous of obtaining male offspring worship him on the second day after the new moon in Ásin. The Sun is often credited with healing powers in all sorts of disease, such as asthma, consumption, skin diseases, white leprosy and severe headaches.

343. The Sun is a male deity, but in Rajshahi he has a female counterpart called Chhatmátá, who is worshipped, chiefly by females, on the sixth day of Kártik and Chaitra. On the previous day the devotee takes only rice or wheat cooked in milk without salt, and on the day of the ceremony she fasts till evening, when she goes to a tank with plantains and cakes, and bathes facing the setting sun. She then returns home, keeps vigil throughout the night and repeats the ceremony in the morning. The offerings are then eaten by the worshipper and her friends.

In Chota Nagpur the sun holds a very high place in the primitive beliefs of the aboriginal tribes. The Oráons identify him with Dharmesh, the supreme lord of all, and worship him twice a year, and also at weddings. He holds an equally exalted position under the name Singbonga amongst the Mundas, Bhumijis and Hos, who worship him with offerings of fowls and country liquor, and amongst whom the most binding oath commences with the statement "the Sun God is in the sky." The Hárís in Birbhum sacrifice a goat to the Sun on the Sunday following the new moon in Fálgun.

\* The most celebrated temple is at Ajodhya in the United Provinces.



344. The earth is venerated as the mother of all living things and the giver of all food, and is regarded as a benignant female deity. She has various names such as Bhudebī (the

## THE EARTH.

earth goddess), Basundhara (the wealth bearer), Dhartī Māi (mother earth), Ambubāchī and Basumatī Thākurāni. She is held in great reverence by all, and pious Hindus chant her *mantras* (*Āsan suddhi*) before commencing the worship of any great god, and do reverence to her when they rise in the morning. The dying man is frequently laid on the ground, and so is the mother at the time of parturition. Newly married couples must sleep on the earth for the first three nights. When a calf is born the Goālās allow the first stream of milk from the cow to fall to the ground in her honour. The earth is often worshipped before entering a newly-built house and on the birth of a child. In Orissa she is worshipped in the course of the marriage ceremony. Before sowing is commenced she is propitiated with offerings of flowers and milk, while the Lepchas and the tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau offer sacrifices of goats and fowls. The great festival in connection with the worship of the earth is in Āshār. On the first day of that month she is supposed to menstruate, and there is an entire cessation of all ploughing, sowing and other agricultural operations, and widows refrain from eating cooked rice. On the 4th day the bathing ceremony is performed, in accordance with the Hindu idea that a woman who menstruates is unclean until she bathes on the 4th day. A stone, taken to represent the goddess, is placed erect on the ground and the top of it is painted with vermilion. The housewife bathes it with turmeric water and a betel-nut is placed on a piece of wood close by. The stone is then bedecked with flowers and offerings of milk, plantains, etc., are made. The Chandāls worship the earth on the Paus Sankrānti day; and in the spring, when the *Sāl* tree blossoms, the Orāons celebrate her nuptials with the Sun with all the ceremonies of a real marriage. The Musahars, Bhuiyās and other low castes offer sacrifices of goats and fowls. In former times the Kandhs immolated human beings to fertilise the earth and procure good crops.

345. The moon is held to be as a male deity of a very mild disposition.

## THE MOON.

He is depicted as a handsome man with a wheat coloured complexion. He is often regarded as the deity who presides over crops, while elsewhere he takes charge of the education of children, and is credited with the power to heal wounds and certain diseases, especially those of the eye. The date for his worship varies and in many places it is performed only by women. There is a very general superstition that, if any one but a worshipper should happen to see the moon on the day fixed for his worship, they will suffer a loss of reputation. To prevent worse from happening, a person who unluckily sees the moon on such an occasion takes up five stones and, after touching his forehead with them, throws them on his neighbour's roof. If the latter then abuses him, it is believed that atonement has been made, and that no further evil will result. Sometimes a special ceremony called *Chandrāyan vrat* is performed to avert evils arising from an ill-omened conjunction of stars shown in a child's horoscope. The moon is also worshipped by some of the non-Aryan tribes, e.g., the Binjhiās who know it as Nind-Bonga.

346. Besides the earth and the moon, the other planets are also worshipped on certain occasions, but with less ceremony. The most important are Sani (Saturn)

## OTHER PLANETS.

and Rāhu, the demon who causes eclipses of the sun.\* Sani is regarded as the son of Surjya, and is supposed to be very malevolent and to have great influence over the destiny of men. He is much dreaded and is carefully propitiated, either on Saturdays or on particular occasions when astrological calculations indicate that a visitation from him is to be specially feared. He has no image but is represented by an earthen pot filled with water. A seat is placed in front of it and on it are laid five fruits and five flowers. A Brāhman priest officiates at the ceremony, and the *prasād* or offering, which consists of a sort of pudding made of flour, plantains, sugar and milk, must be eaten on the spot by the devotees, who must wash their mouths carefully

\* Eclipses of the moon are said to be caused by another demon, Ketu.



before leaving. If any casual visitor should arrive while the ceremony is in progress, he must wait till it is concluded and eat a share of the *prasád*; otherwise he will incur the godling's displeasure. Ráhu is generally considered to be a Rákshasa and is the patron godling of the Dosádhs who claim to be his descendants. They worship him on a Tuesday in Baisákh or Jaishtha, without the intervention of a Bráhmaṇ, with the aid of a caste priest or Bhagta who, under the imagined influence of the divine afflatus, walks barefoot over fire, stands on the sharp edge of a sword, and does other wonderful feats.

347. Numerous rivers are sacred, but the greatest of all is the personified Ganges who is said to have sprung from the feet of Vishnu. She is a benignant deity, said by some to be the wife of Siva, and worshipped daily, and also on the occasion of certain ceremonies. Low caste Hindus throw offerings of fruits and sweets into the river when bathing, and its water is believed to be so sacred that to touch it will purify any one. It has special virtue on the occurrence of certain *yogas* or auspicious conjunctions of the planets, when large crowds assemble on its banks in order to wash and be clean. Goats are sacrificed on these occasions, and in some parts they are thrown alive into the river, whence they are taken and eaten by the Malláhs. Other offerings are the perquisite of a special class of degraded Bráhmaṇs known as Gangáputra. Sometimes the goddess is represented by a simple earthen jug filled with water and surmounted by a mango twig, and sometimes as a female figure with four hands, riding on a *makar*, or fabulous marine monster like a shark. In this form she is worshipped by the fishing castes of Bengal Proper who sacrifice white goats to her before starting on a fishing expedition, and also on some special occasion, the date of which varies.\* Pilgrims at Gaya offer their first *pinda* (rice cake) to her in the name of their deceased ancestors. In the Sonthal Parganas a woman worships her on the 6th and 12th days after giving birth to a child. She goes to a river or pond and pours oil on a slab of stone, on which she then draws five perpendicular lines and prays for entire restoration to health. Certain ascetics perform a special penance in her honour called *jalsáin*, which consists in spending every night in the month of Mágh seated stark naked on a small platform erected over the river, engaged in such prayer and meditation as their sufferings from the cold will allow. The town of Tribeni in Hooghly is held to be specially holy, because the three sacred streams—the Ganges, Jamuna and Saraswati—which meet at Allahabad here once more separate from each other.

348. The Brahmaputra is sacred only on the Ashokáshtami day in Chaitra when large numbers of pilgrims resort to its banks to bathe. The Baitarani in Cuttack is held in great reverence by all Hindus on account of its bearing the same name as the Indian Styx, which all must cross after death before they can reach heaven. Pilgrims to Jagannáth worship on its banks and make offerings of cows, etc., to Bráhmaṇs, so that they may safely cross the river after death. In Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga the Kamalá is worshipped as the younger sister of the Ganges, and receives similar offerings of goats, which are thrown alive into the river and are then taken by the Malláhs. Women pray to this river goddess for issue, and she is worshipped when new tanks or wells are excavated. Children are taken to its banks when their heads are first shaved. Various other rivers are sacred, *e.g.*, the Karátóyá, the Dámodar, the Falgu, the Barali, &c. There are also several water godlings who are worshipped without reference to any special river. Of these two of the best known, Khwája Khir and Pir Badr, are Muhammadans and have already been mentioned. The Chandáls of Central Bengal worship a river god called Bansura who is supposed to protect fish from injury by evil spirits. Koilá Mátá of Bihar is usually supposed to be a goddess, but it is sometimes held to be a male called Koilá Báábá and identified with Varuna. When wells are excavated, a male idol is made of wood and a ceremony of marriage between it and the goddess is performed. In the form of Koilá Báábá this is the favourite deity of the Gonrhis who regard him as an old, gray-bearded person and make him offerings of grain and molasses before casting a new net or starting on a commercial venture. Pigs are also sacrificed to him. The Koches

\* In Dacca this festival takes place in Magh and in Backergunge on the 10th day of the new moon in Jaishtha.



and Rájbansis venerate Hudum Deo who is identified with Indra and is represented as riding on a white elephant called Airábat. In Dinajpur this godling seems to be androgynous and is represented by two figures, male and female, made of clay or cowdung. When drought is feared the women make offerings of curds, parched rice and molasses and dance round the images at night, performing many obscene rites and abusing Indra in the foulest language, in the hope of compelling him to send the much needed rain. Jalkumári Debi is a goddess who is believed in Murshidabad to preside over rivers and tanks, and is worshipped by the fishing and other low castes to secure immunity from drowning and from the attacks of crocodiles. A stick is placed in a bowl of water and offerings are made of fruits, sweetmeats and goats, which are divided between the worshippers and the priest, who is frequently a Barna Bráhmaṇ. Mineral springs (*Dawáipáni*) are adored by the Lepchas. The hot springs at Rájgir are also supposed to possess religious efficacy and pilgrims from far and near go to bathe in them.

349. The worship of mountains is most common amongst the original tribes. The Mundas, Santáls, Mahilis and other tribes of Chota Nagpur revere a mountain god called

#### MOUNTAINS.

Marang Burn or Bar Pahár to whom they sacrifice buffaloes, etc., with the aid of the tribal priest (*páhn* or *baiga*).

The chief visible habitation of this god is a bluff near Lodhma where they assemble and offer sacrifices. The Lepchas and the Nepal tribes worship mountains, mountain tops and the saddles between ridges. The worship of mountains plays a smaller part in the religion of the plains people but it is not altogether absent. The mighty chain of the Himalayas is held sacred by all Hindus and is worshipped by the higher castes on certain occasions, with the aid of Bráhmaṇ priests. It is personified as the father of Párvati, the wife of Siva; it contains the elysium of Uttara Kuru and is celebrated as the abode of many a sage and ascetic. Sacrifices are offered to the bluff near Lodhma referred to above by Hindus of all castes and even by Muhammadans. The rock called Dharmasilá at Gaya, which is supposed to have been placed there by Bráhma to hold down Gayásur, the local demon, is also regarded as sacred.

350. The most sacred of all trees is the Pipal (*ficus religiosa*). It is said that the trunk is the habitation of Brahma, the twigs of Siva and the leaves of the other gods. It is

#### TREES.

known as Basudeva and water is poured at its foot after the morning bath, especially in the month of Baisákh and when people are in difficulties. It is considered very meritorious to plant these trees by the way side and to consecrate them\* (*Pratisthá*). The *Bel* (*aegle marmelos*) is the sacred tree of Siva; its leaves are indispensable in performing the worship of Siva and Sakti, and for this reason pious Hindus of the Vaishnava sect will not so much as mention its name. When the tree dies, none but Bráhmaṇs may use the wood as fuel. It is believed to be a favourite tree with certain spirits who take up their abode in it. The *Tulsi*, or holy basil plant, is to the Vaishnava what the *Bel* is to the Sáakta, and the plant is to be seen in the courtyard of all members of this sect. It is watered after the daily bath, and in Baisákh a pot filled with water, which drips through a hole in the bottom, is suspended over the plant. In the evening a lamp is lit at its foot. Hari is believed to be always present in it. Its leaves are essential for the proper worship of Vishnu. They are believed to have a certain medicinal effect in the case of malarial affections and are much used by native practitioners. The *Karam* tree (*neuclea parvifolia*) is considered sacred in Chota Nagpur, and its festival is held by the Oraons with great rejoicings at the time of the harvest home. A branch of the tree is fetched from the forest by the young men and women of the village, to the accompaniment of singing, dancing and the beating of *tom toms*. It is stuck in the ground at some place inside the village and decorated with lights and flowers. The people join in a general feast and, when they have eaten and drunk, they spend the night in merriment and in dancing round the branch. Next morning at dawn it is thrown into the nearest river, and the spirit of evil is believed to be removed with it.† The aboriginal immigrants to Bogra from Chota Nagpur pay similar veneration to the plantain tree after reaping the *áus* crop. Goats

\* In many parts the planting of mango trees is regarded as an act of religious merit, and the planter of such a tree is believed to be assured of a home in heaven so long as rain drips from its leaves.

† A fuller account of a similar observance by the Kharwárs of Mirzapur is given by Mr. Crooke.



and pigs are sacrificed to it. The bamboo is worshipped before weddings, and after the ceremony, the bridal garland is thrown into a bamboo clump.

*Godlings of Disease.*

351. Various godlings such as Suriya, Dharmarāj, &c., are credited with the power to cure disease, but under this head I shall refer only to those whose connection with disease is specially intimate. Of these the best known and most widely worshipped is Sitalā who is also known as Basanta Burhī (the old lady of spring) or Basanta Chandī. She is popularly regarded as one of seven sisters who are variously said to be the seven forms of *Adi Sakti*, the primordial energy, or the seven principal *Yoginīs* or followers of *Pārvati*. However this may be, she and her six associates, *Bādi Mātā*, *Phul Mātā*, *Pānsāhi Mātā*, *Gulsuliā Mātā*, *Kankar Mātā*, and *Malhāl* are the presiding deities over the poxes and especially small-pox. *Kankar* is the most feared, but her attacks are rare; *Phulmātā* and *Pānsāhi Mātā* attack children under 7; *Bādi Mātā* attacks them between the ages of 7 and 15, and *Gulsuliā Mātā*, at any age. In many places a shed is erected outside the village for the seven sisters, who are represented by seven balls of clay placed in a line. Sweetmeats, flowers, etc., are offered, and goats and pigeons are sacrificed by the better, and pigs by the lower, castes. In the event of a severe epidemic, even the high castes offer pigs to the seven sisters, but they employ *Dosādhs* or other people of low caste to perform the actual ceremony. It is generally conducted by females. *Chamārs* worship the seven sisters, not for protection against epidemics, but to obtain the spread of cattle disease.

352. But although the seven sisters are thus collectively worshipped, they are, at the present day, overshadowed by the special veneration paid to *Sitalā* in particular. She is generally regarded as the goddess of small-pox, and her name, 'she who cools', is given because, if properly propitiated, she can allay the burning sensations which accompany that disease. She is generally represented as a naked female, painted red and sitting upon an ass, with a bundle of broomsticks (symbolical of the sweeping away of the epidemic) in her hand, an earthen pot under her left arm, and a winnowing fan upon her head. In *Burdwan* she is said to be a four-armed figure riding on a lion. Sometimes the image is a piece of wood or stone with a human face carved on it, besmeared with oil and vermilion and studded with spots or nails of gold, silver or brass in imitation of the pustules of the disease. In *Jessore* and *Noakhali* she takes the form assigned to her in the *Purāns* of a white figure in a state of perfect nudity, while in *Orissa* and *Champaran* she is represented by an earthen pot. In *Khulna* she is regarded by the *Pods*, not merely as the goddess of small-pox, but as their main deity, and if a person is carried off by a tiger, or his crops are destroyed by wild animals, it is thought that it is because he has incurred the displeasure of the goddess. Elsewhere she is worshipped only when epidemics of small-pox or measles (and sometimes cholera) break out or when children are inoculated or vaccinated. Sometimes the image remains in a special temple, and sometimes it is kept by *Muchis*, *Doms* and *Hāris*, who serve as its priests and carry it about begging, or by *Achārji Brāhmins*, or by *Kumhārs* whose ancestors were inoculators. When the higher castes worship *Sitalā*, they do so with the aid of a *Brāhman* priest.

353. The offerings consist of milk, flowers, fruits, sweets, rice, betel-nuts, vermilion, *bet* leaves, etc., and sometimes a goat. The priest usually takes the offerings, except when it is a goat, in which case he gets only the head. When an offering is made in order to procure the restoration of a particular person to health, it is often thrown away and not eaten. The general method of worship, in which *Muhammadans* often join, is the same as that of *Olāi Chandī* which will be described below, but in the case of the lower castes, such as *Doms*, *Hāris*, *Bāgdīs* and *Muchis*, one of the devotees sits before the idol, wagging his head, until he is inspired to say what is the cause of the outbreak and how the deity is to be propitiated and persuaded to stamp it out. The *Achārji Brāhmins* profess to treat cases of small-pox, but they do little beyond reciting *mantras* and touching the patient with a twig of the *nim* (*azadirachta indica*) which is *Sitalā's* favourite tree. In *Patna* a small piece of ground near the patient's bed is smeared with cow-dung and a fire is lit there, on which



*ghí* is poured and incense burnt. A *Máli* is called in who sings songs in honour of *Sitalá*, while the patient is given sweetmeats and fanned with a twig of the *nim* tree.

Low class Hindus and Muhammadans are often afraid to have their children vaccinated lest they should incur the wrath of this godling. In parts of Northern and Eastern Bengal the *Basantí* or *Basantári* *pújá* is celebrated with some pomp. On the advent of spring, parties of women go from door to door singing songs of *Sitalá* and begging for money to perform the ceremony. They then assemble at the appointed place with offerings of grain, wild flowers and the like. The worship is performed by the women alone, and they subsequently partake of the food in common, regardless of caste restrictions.

354. *Ghantákarna* is the husband of *Sitalá*. He was a great hero and a devoted follower of *Siva* by whom he was vested with the power to cure cutaneous diseases. He is worshipped

in the early morning of the last day of *Fálgun*, when a representation is made of him with cowdung on the outside of a blackened earthen pot. A few cowris, and a piece of cloth stained yellow with turmeric, are placed on this and everything is then ready for the *pújá* which takes place on the road in front of the house, and is conducted by the housewife, who covers the image with *ghetu* flowers which she arranges with her left hand. The offerings consist of rice and *dál*. After the ceremony the village urchins break the pot to pieces. This godling has been reported only from Bengal Proper and Orissa, but he is probably known in Bihar also. He is mentioned by Mr. Crooke as a gate-keeper in many of the Garhwál temples.

355. The goddess of cholera in Bengal Proper is known as *Olá Bibi* or *Olái Chandí*. She is claimed as their own by

*Olá Bibi.* Muhammadans as well as Hindus. The latter often regard her as a form of *Chandí*, who again is merely a form of *Káli*. She is malevolent. Sometimes she is represented as wearing a gown and riding on a horse, but usually the emblem consists of an earthen pitcher placed under a *nim* tree. The priest is generally a Muhammadan or a low caste Hindu, but in Hooghly he is often a *Goálá's* *Bráhma*n. The *pújá* is usually made on a Tuesday or Saturday during the bright fortnight of the moon; the offerings are various, but a goat appears to be the favourite one.

356. In Bengal Proper several forms of *Káli* are credited with special powers over epidemics. The chief of these is

*Rakshya Káli.* *Rakshya Káli*. She has the usual form of *Káli*, and when an epidemic breaks out, she is worshipped at midnight by all castes of Hindus, usually at a place where three roads meet. Sometimes she is worshipped at a burning *ghát* and is then known as *Shashan Káli*. In the latter form she is sometimes adored at a thanksgiving service after the harvest when the crops have been unusually good. Another form of *Káli* as a disease godling is *Marak*, who is worshipped in Bogra on the bank of a river. *Bráhma*ns officiate as priests, and the ceremony is conducted with the most scrupulous care; any deviation from the prescribed rites is believed to cause great offence to the goddess. On the night following the ceremony the image is thrown into water. The offerings consist of buffaloes, goats, sheep, rice, flowers, fruit, *bel* leaves, sweetmeats, etc. They are afterwards divided between the priest and the worshippers. Poor people who cannot afford the regular ceremony lay their offerings at the foot of a pipal or banyan tree,\* preferably on the last day of *Paus* or the first day of *Baisákh*. In former times human beings were frequently sacrificed to *Káli*.†

357. A local godling named *Achal Ráy* is reported from Hooghly where he is reputed to effect miraculous cures in cases of phthisis and ophthalmia. His shrine is near

\* These trees are known as *Káli gáchh*.

† In this connection a curious practice called *Khappar* may be mentioned, which exists in parts of Bihar. When an epidemic of cholera or small-pox breaks out, the local exorcists march out in the direction of *Káli's* shrine in Calcutta, followed by the villagers carrying four or five new earthen pots in which incense is kept burning. As they go, they keep on shouting '*Káli mái ki jai*' and invoking the goddess by her various names. A sheep, dedicated to the goddess, often accompanies the procession. They beg grain from the villagers whose houses they pass and leave this and the other articles in some adjoining village, the people of which carry them on in their turn. Few if any, of the original procession reach Calcutta. The sheep, it is said, is killed and eaten by some of the lower classes.



Dhaniakhali where a fair is held in his honour on the full moon day of Baisakh. His image is a block of stone some three feet in length. The priest is a fisherman, and through him all castes, even Bráhmans, make their offerings.

358. Jwara Náráyan, also known as Jwara Bhairab and Jwarásur, is the fever godling of Jessore and the surrounding districts. He is said to have been specially

JWARA NÁRÁYAN.

created by Siva to fight on the side of Bán Rájá, when appealed to by that monarch, for help against Krishna's invading army. His image is of a sky-blue colour, with three heads, three feet, six hands, and nine eyes. He is worshipped mainly by the lower castes, with the aid of a Bráhman priest, when malarial fever is prevalent or when a member of the family recovers from a dangerous illness. Goats are sacrificed, and offerings are made of rice, fruit, milk and sweets. The worship is performed on a Tuesday or Saturday at some place outside the village and the idol is left there afterwards.

359. The cholera godling of Orissa is called Jogini; but she acts, not on her own account, but under the control of her mistress Bimalá. Consequently when cholera breaks

JOGINI.

out, it is Bimalá and not Jogini who is ostensibly propitiated with offerings of fruit, sweetmeats and other comestibles. But Jogini is not altogether neglected, and a portion of the *prasád* is carried with beat of drum to a retired spot near the village, where it is left in front of a long bamboo post, driven into the ground and crowned with garlands of flowers, which is supposed to represent her. A Bráhman officiates as priest.

360. There is another cholera godling, also a female, named Didi Thákrun, whose worship seems to be confined to Burdwan. It is said that once, during a cholera

DIDI THÁKRUN.

epidemic in the village of Ramchandrapur, a woman of the Muchi caste found a glittering white stone in a tank and took it home. That night an old woman appeared to her in a dream, and taught her how to worship the stone and so dispel the disease. She proceeded to carry out her instructions with the desired result, and since then, the worship has been continued. The full moon day of Baisakh is the most suitable day for the ceremony. The priest is a Muchi, but all castes of Hindus, and even Muhammadans, make offerings. The Hindus offer goats, sweetmeats, &c., and the Muhammadans, ducks and cocks.

361. There are other disease godlings, but space forbids their complete enumeration. Chaitan Thákuráni is worshipped by

OTHER DISEASE GODLINGS.

Rájbansi women in cases of illness or barrenness. Her picture is painted in black on a pith frame which is hung on a split bamboo inside the house. A plantain leaf with a bunch of plantains is placed below and smeared with oil and vermilion. Flowers, parched-rice, plantains and molasses are offered, and the night is spent fasting in vigil and prayers. Next morning the image is thrown into the water and the offerings are eaten by the family. Háchrá is an old female deity said to preside over contagious diseases in Rajshahi. She is worshipped at the foot of a large tree on the last day in Fálgun, and is offered ashes, cast away rags, hair and other impure articles. A broom is sometimes suspended at the door to avert her evil influence. Chámdá is the chief god of the Málpaháriás, but he is worshipped mainly with the object of averting disease. When an epidemic breaks out, vows are made to worship him, and lots are then cast to decide in whose house, and at whose cost the *pújá*, which is an expensive one, shall take place. Decorated bamboos are set up as his emblem, and pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed and subsequently eaten. Men only take part in ceremony, and women are not allowed to be present.

362. Kánáiyá, a male godling of a benignant character, is worshipped in times of disease by the Meches.\* A *deoshi* officiates as priest, and prays that the sickness may be stayed; goats and pigeons are sacrificed. Masná a son of Burhi, is a malignant godling of the Koches and Rájbansis and most diseases, and even lunacy and drowning, are ascribed to his malign influence. His image, which is made of pith or clay, is that of a hideous black dwarf, and he is believed to reside in water. His *pújá* is conducted at

\* Query—Is this the same as Káláis of the Tiparáis?



dead of night and even Muhammadans join in it. Red flowers, vermillion, rice, plantains, fruit and fried fish are offered and then thrown into water. Small coins are also given. Pigeons are sacrificed by Hindus, and fowls by Muhammadans; these are the perquisite of the Hárís, who beat the drum during the ceremony. When it is over, the image is carried to three crossroads and left there with the idea that the evil spirit will then move on to another village. Rám-du is the small-pox godling of the Lepchas, and in Patna Amasam Bibi, who is believed to be a deified lady doctor, is invoked to assist in the recovery of convalescents. Kási Bábá, who will be described more fully further on, is the malevolent spirit which, in some parts, is supposed to send disease amongst cattle. He is sometimes identified with Gosáwán. In Rajshahi the corresponding godling is a female named Bhogeswari. Abgay Bonga is the Santál deity who dwells in the cowshed and is worshipped when cattle disease breaks out. A Naiya acts as priest and sacrifices a hen or a goat, taking the head as his share while the body goes to the worshipper.

*Snake godlings.*

363. Of all the snake godlings, Manasá, in Bengal Proper at least, holds the foremost place. She is said to be the

MANASÁ.

mother of Astik Muni, the sister of the snake king Vásuki and the wife of Jarat Káru Muni, but some say she is the non-Aryan mortal Manasá who has found her way into the Hindu pantheon. She is also known as Bishahari\* and is worshipped by Hindus of all castes in order to secure immunity from snake bite. She is benignant, if properly propitiated, but if neglected, or if the ceremony in her honour is not performed with strict observance of rule, it is said that some one in the family is certain to die of snake bite. She is worshipped in various forms. Sometimes a simple earthen pot is marked with vermillion and placed under a tree, where clay snakes are arranged round it and a trident is driven into the ground; sometimes the plant called after her is taken as her emblem, and sometimes an image of a small four-armed female of yellow colour, her feet resting on a goose, a cobra in each hand and a tiara of snakes upon her head. Sometimes she is believed to take up her abode in the pipal tree. In places where snakes abound, most families have a shrine dedicated to her in their homes, and sometimes a separate room is set apart for her. On the *Dasahará* day a twig of the *Manasá* plant (*Euphorbia ligularia*) is planted in the courtyard and worshipped on the fifth day of the moon, the *Nágpachami* day. It is thrown into the water when the image of Durgá is immersed at the Durgá Pujá. Manasá is also worshipped on the last day of the solar months of Srávan and Bhádra. Songs about the goddess are sung, especially those recounting her dealings with Chánd Sadágar, a merchant of Gandhabanik caste,† which are said to be based on a legend found in the *Padma Purán*. Amongst the higher castes the worship is performed by Bráhmans, but the Hárís, Báuris and Doms perform the ceremony themselves. In Birbhum a Bágdi or Dom priest, called Dharam pandit, sometimes professes to be inspired by the goddess, and foretells future events and prescribes medicines to those who consult him. In Dinajpur Mális and Ojhás of the Koch tribe act as priests. It is a common practice to draw a line round the house with cowdung to represent a snake, the idea being other snakes will thus be prevented from entering.

364. Manasá has a sister named Jagat Gauri who, in West Bengal, is also credited with power over cobras and other snakes.

OTHER SNAKE GODLINGS.

She is shown as seated on a throne, with a child on her lap. At her shrine at Narikeldanga a Barna Bráhmaṇ officiates in her worship, except in the case of Doms and Hárís who sacrifice pigs to her. From the fact that the Hindus do not object to this practice so long as the animal is slaughtered behind the altar, and not in front of it, it may be surmised that the control of the shrine has only recently been usurped by its present priest. A fair is held in her honour on the fifth day of the

\* In the *Padma Purán* this is said to be the case, but the two are not always thought to be identical.

† Mahámahopádhyaṇa Hara Prasad Sastri has shown that Manasá worship was very prevalent in the time of Chaitanya, and has brought to light a Bengali poem on the subject, written by one Bipra Dás, in 1495 A. D.



moon in the month of Jaishta. Nág is credited in Bihar with much the same powers as Manasá is believed to possess in Bengal Proper, but he occupies a less prominent position and his worship is a simpler scale. On the *Nág-panchami* day some milk and parched rice are placed near the door of the kitchen which is closed for a few hours. A line is then drawn round the house with cowdung, and the offerings are given to the children to eat.

Ananta Deb is regarded in Bengal Proper as a benignant deity who confers various temporal benefits, but in Orissa he is looked on as the king of snakes and is worshipped on the 14th day of Bhádra for 14 years in succession.\* If a man dies before he has completed the fourteenth year of the worship, his son is obliged to continue it on his behalf. He is represented by a figure of a snake made of silver or copper with fourteen knots along the body. In Rajshahi, he is figured as a man seated on an elephant with an umbrella over his head.

The snake god of the Lepchas is named Ami. He is a benignant deity and is believed to watch over the fields and to afflict paddy thieves with aches and swellings.

#### *Deified Heroes.*

365. Goreiyá or Dilligoria is a male hero of Dosádh origin. He is said by some to have been a bandit chief. In the songs sung in his honour, he is spoken of as a great warrior

GOREIYÁ.

who came with a few followers from Delhi, many hundred years ago, and died fighting at Mehnawan near Sherpur, in the Patna district, where his chief shrine still is. He has another great shrine at Goreiyá village in Saran. He is worshipped throughout Bihar by all Hindus, especially by the Dosádh, Dom, Gonri, Kahár, Sunri, and similar castes, but even the highest castes often reckon him as one of their *dii penates*. Numerous representations of him, consisting of stones or little mounds of earth daubed with vermilion, may be seen in most Bihar villages. These are usually placed near the entrance of the house or in the kitchen to ward off diseases and evil spirits.

When a man returns home from a distant place his first care is to pay his respects to this godling, and to offer him sherbet and food. His favourite sacrificial offering is the pig. It is sometimes sacrificed by a Dosádh or Gorait i.e., priest of Goreiyá, and sometimes it is thrown into a fire whence it escapes, to be immediately caught, killed and eaten by the Dosádhs.

In Rajshahi there are said to be two Goreiyás, one of Delhi and the other of Besarh, and they are held to be of the female sex. But here, as in Bihar, the priest is a Dosádh, and the pig is the most acceptable sacrifice. In Manbhum the priests are usually Kharwárs. In Hazaribagh this godling is represented by a peg driven into the ground near the cowshed, and is believed to preserve cattle from disease.

366. Sailesh, another deified hero of the Dosádhs, is represented by a clay figure of a man, mounted on an elephant, attended by two horsemen, one on each side, and

SAILESH.

by a flower-girl standing in front. The horsemen are said to be Matirám, his younger brother, and Chuhármál a Dosádh bandit. The images are changed every year in Asárh and the cost is met by contributions from the whole Dosádh community. On this occasion various offerings are made, including betel-nuts, hemp and tobacco, and a pig is sacrificed to Sailesh and a sheep to Chuhármál. The blood of the sheep, mixed with milk, is drunk by the tribal priest or Bhagatiá who forthwith becomes possessed and endowed with second sight. Large quantities of spirits are consumed by the worshippers, and the attendant musicians sing, as loudly as they can, songs in honour of the hero.

367. Kárikh, like so many other godlings of this class, was a Dosádh. His

KÁRIKH.

father, Yotitáb Pangiai, lived in Nepal. Although very pious he incurred the displeasure of the Sun-god, and was afflicted with leprosy, so retired to a forest where he died. When his son Kárikh grew up, he went in search of him and found the skeleton and, by propitiating the Sun-god, secured his restoration to life. He himself became a staunch Hindu, led a very pious life and was endowed with

\* Ananta was Vishnu's favourite snake, which formed his couch (Ananta Shajyá).



miraculous powers. On his death he was deified and a shrine was erected to him at Pandaul. His followers are mostly Goálás and Dosádhs, but there are others also, including Káyasths and Telis. He is worshipped at various festivals, and also when children are first shaved and when disease is prevalent. Milk, sweetmeats, cloths, ornaments, etc., are offered and a goat is sometimes sacrificed. His votaries abstain from alcoholic drinks and never eat flesh on Saturdays or salt on Sundays.

368. Lárík was a Goálá of Bhagalpur who deserted his wife and went off with the daughter of the local chief. He performed prodigies of valour in his encounters with various rájás. After an absence of twelve years he returned to his forsaken wife, but installed his mistress in the neighbourhood.\* He is particularly worshipped by people of his own caste but he also occupies a high place in the veneration of all the low castes in the district, who make him offerings of rice and milk in the hopes of recovering lost cattle with his aid. He has a temple at Hardi in the Madhipura subdivision.

369. It is not necessary that a man should be a Hindu to be worshipped by Hindus after his death, and several of the best known deified heroes are Muhammadans. Alman Sáhib of

Hooghly was a Musalman saint whose spirit is now worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. The dust from his shrine near Boinchi, if rubbed on the body, is said to remove all kinds of rheumatic pains. The present priest of this shrine is a Musalman Fakir, but the post was formerly held by a low caste Hindu. Another godling of this category is Mirá of Darbhanga. His father was a powerful prince whose favourite slave Nujá rebelled against him, and with the aid of Durgá, eventually defeated and imprisoned him. Mirá at the time was still unborn, but when he grew up he marched against Nujá, defeated him and released his father. He offended the great god Dharmaráj by killing a cow in his temple but made timely submission and was forgiven. He is worshipped mainly by the Sunris who offer him *shirnis* through the intervention of a Musalman Fakir. There is one female godling of this class, Aminá Satí, who is generally supposed to have been a Musalman in her lifetime. She is the sister of the *Páich Pir*. Some of her worshippers endeavour to identify these personages with the five Pandavas and say that Aminá was their wife, but the fact remains that her priest is usually a Muhammadan Dafáli. The Ahirs, Kahárs, Lohárs and other castes of similar rank sacrifice cocks to Aminá, while the better classes offer rice cooked in milk and wheat cakes made with *ghi*.

370. Amar Singh was a Rájput who lived near Barh in a village when all the other inhabitants were Malláhs. He was killed by them out of envy, and from that time he haunted them and caused them annoyance in various ways until they promised to worship him. He is now revered throughout Bihar, especially by Gonrhis and Suráhiyá's. A goat is sacrificed under a pipal tree, and the head is thrown into some river.

Gobind Raut was a cowherd who valiantly killed many tigers and at his death was deified by the Ahirs. He is invoked when disease attacks the cattle, and milk is offered in his honour. Stone images of him are carried from village to village and his deeds are recited in song, chiefly in the month of Ásvín. Baranda is an Oráon godling who in Palamau is believed to be a female formerly resident in Nagpur, while in Ranchi he is regarded as a malevolent male living in the hills, and always endeavouring to enter a house in order to bring misfortune upon it. Tasteless food is offered in order to drive it away in disgust. In Palamau it is worshipped once in three years after the harvest home. Each family performs its own ceremony at which an aboriginal priest or *baija* officiates. A she goat is sacrificed after being induced to eat rice from the hand of the priest. It is then cooked and its flesh partaken of by all present, the priest receiving a double share.

There is a good deal of uncertainty about the origin of Kási Bárá and the reasons for his deification. According to some, he was a Bind, while others pretend that he was a Goálá. Some say he was killed by a tiger while hunting in the forest, others that he died in consequence of a Bráhma's curse; and others again, that he committed suicide at his zamindar's door because of the oppression to which he had been subjected. He is now worshipped by Ahirs, Binds,

\* The story of Lárík is told at length in a paper by Rásh Bihári Bose, [J.A.S.B., 1871 page 141].



Gareris and Nunias. He is sometimes regarded as a disease godling of cattle, and has already been mentioned in this connection. He is worshipped in Srában or Kártik, in an open field, where milk, wheat, flour and rice are offered to him, and then consumed by the worshippers. The Ahirs make a figure of *Kusa* grass to represent him, while the Binds use a flag flying from the top of a bamboo.

Háiká Debí is believed to have been a Rákshasí, who vexed the early Aryan invaders. They at last succeeded in killing her, and to prevent her from returning to life, they burnt a huge fire over her corpse. In parts of Bihar the occurrence is celebrated yearly on the last day of Fálgun. Fuel is collected from all the houses in the village, and piled up in a place outside the village, where it is set alight and, while it is burning, flowers are thrown into it and the young men go round it singing obscene songs. It is said by some that the celebration marks the departure of the old, and the advent of the new, year; but, if so, it might be expected to take place on the last day of the year, which is not the case. Rání Dás and Noná Chámáin are revered by the Chamárs,\* Dánu Bír by the Kahárs; Jadu Bír by the Barhis, and Shyám Singh by the Doms.

#### *Ghosts and Evil Spirits.*

371. There is a general belief—especially amongst the lower castes—that the spirit of a person who dies a painful or violent death, or of a suicide, remains on earth near its old home, and causes all kinds of evil to persons in the neighbourhood who may be unfortunate enough to fall foul of it. The general name for such evil spirits is *Bhut* in the case of males, and *Pretiní* in the case of females. Whenever a person suffers from an illness presenting any unusual features, it is attributed to possession, and a remedy is sought, not in medicine, but in exorcism. The exorcist, or *Ojhá* is believed to have in his power a *bhut* of greater power, and by means of *mantras*, or incantations, he forces his own familiar spirit to drive away the one which is causing the trouble. Sometimes also he resorts to physical force, such as blows with a shoe or a broomstick, applying red pepper and turmeric smoke to the nostrils, etc. In the south of Gaya, a *bhut*, when under proper control, is a valuable possession and a marketable commodity—the usual price being about Rs. 20. When the sale of a *bhut* has been arranged, the *Ojhá* hands over a corked bamboo cylinder which is supposed to contain him. This is taken to the place, usually a tree, where it is intended that he should in future reside; a small ceremony is performed, liquor being poured on the ground, or *pindis* (small mounds) erected in his honour, and the cork is then taken out, whereupon the *bhut* is supposed to take up his abode in the place chosen for him. His function is to watch the crops and guard them from thieves, and if any one should be hardy enough to steal from a field thus guarded, he is certain to be stricken by the *bhut*, and in a few days will sicken and die.

372. Of all male *bhuts* the most dreaded is the Bárhám, or Brahma Daitya, the spirit of a Bráhman who has died a violent death. Such spirits are specially powerful and malicious. Sometimes they are represented as a headless trunk, with the eyes looking from the breast. They are believed to inhabit large trees by the side of a river or in some lonely place, whence they throw stones at travellers and lead them astray on dark nights, and woe betide the unfortunate who should give one of them cause for offence, *e.g.*, by unwittingly felling the tree in which he has taken up his abode, or who was in any way responsible for his death. He can only escape the evil consequences by making the Bárhám his family deity and worshipping him regularly. In Bihar he often becomes the tutelary deity or *Dihwár* of the whole village. The worship is usually performed under the tree, usually a banyan, which he is supposed to frequent. The trunk is painted vermilion and a mound of earth is erected, on which are placed clay figures of horses or elephants, and offerings are made of flowers, betel-nuts and the like. The worship is conducted by a special priest called the Bhaktá, who is not necessarily a Bráhman, and occasionally he

\* A full account of Noná is given in Mr. Crooke's Book on the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.



is inspired by the spirit and utters prophecies, which are implicitly believed in by the devotees. Some Bārhamas are more famous than others, one of the best known being Jaydeb Dube also known as Bhay Haran (fear dispeller) whose shrine is at Dadri Asthan in Monghyr. It is said that some four hundred years ago he cured a Khetauri Rájá, who lived at Dadri, and was in consequence given a grant of land there. This was subsequently resumed by force, whereupon Jaydeb committed suicide, and his spirit at once began to afflict the Rájá. He is now worshipped by Hindus of all classes when suffering from disease, or desirous of male offspring, usually on a Monday; offerings are made of goats, cloth, sweets, milk, fruit, etc., which are taken by the priest, a Bráhmaṇ. Another well known Bārham, Harsa Pandit, hails from the Rajshahi district. He was the priest of a certain Rájá of Chainpur. His house was pulled down by order of the Rání, and the priest in revenge starved himself to death, heaping curses on the Rájá and his family all the while. His spirit has now a seat reserved for him in the palace, where he is daily worshipped, and people go to his shrine from far and near. In Motihari town, Bischha Bārham has a famous temple, where even Muhammadans make offerings, through the Bráhmaṇ priest who presides there. Mahil, who is worshipped as the family deity of the Sukarwar Rájputs, may perhaps be mentioned here, though he is not strictly a Bārham. A Rájput of this clan, having no offspring, consulted his priest, a Sakaldvipi Bráhmaṇ, named Mahil. The latter told him to stand next morning at a certain cross road and to behead the first person whom he might meet. To his horror and surprise Mahil himself appeared. He would have drawn back, but the Bráhmaṇ told him not to hesitate to carry out his advice, and merely stipulated that he should be installed as his family god. The Rájput then killed him, and he has ever since been worshipped by the clan.

373. Of other classes of *bhuts*, one of the best known is the Bāghát or spirit of a person killed by a tiger, who assumes the form of a tiger with a human face. Some take

the form of a cow and are known as *Gobhut*. A miser is often believed to return to earth to watch over his money and is called *Jak* or *Sur*. The *bhut* of a Muhammadan is called a *Mámdo*. In Jalpaiguri the spirit of a person who has lived a very infamous life, or who has died by decapitation, becomes a particularly malevolent *bhut* known as *Kandhakátá* (cut off at the shoulder) and, being headless, he has no ears to hear the charming of the *ojhá* who is therefore powerless against him. He haunts marshy and lonely places, like the Bārham, and leads travellers astray. Sudden deaths, for which no reason can be assigned, are attributed to his evil influence.

374. But the most malevolent of all spirits is the Churel or Kichin, the spirit of a woman who dies in child-birth. Her feet are turned backwards, she has no mouth, and she haunts filthy places. She is specially feared by women, whom she attacks during the menstrual period or at the time of parturition. Sometimes she falls in love with young men, before whom she appears in the form of a beautiful girl neatly dressed and decked with ornaments, and whom she eventually kills by a slow process of emaciation. Like other similar spirits she can only be ejected by exorcism. The fear of the Churel is by no mean confined to Hindus. It is even more dreaded by the aboriginal tribes, and amongst the Bhuiyás of Keonjhar, if a woman should die before delivery, the embryo is extracted from the corpse and the bodies are burnt on the opposite banks of a hill stream. As no spirit can cross water, and the mother cannot become a witch unless united to her child, this precaution is believed to avert all risk of evil to the villagers.

#### *The Grámya Devatá.*

375. Almost every village has its special tutelary deities (one or more) which preside over the welfare of the community. These are called the Grámya Devatá and are worshipped on the occasion of every religious ceremony and also on special occasions, *e.g.*, when disease breaks out or a newly built house is occupied for the first time. The landlord of the village celebrates the *pújá*, usually under a pipal or banyan tree, while each ryot performs



his own ceremony at home.\* Sometimes a Bráhmaṇ officiates but frequently the people conduct the worship themselves. Sometimes there is no visible representation of the godling, but in Bihar a mound or stone is erected under a tree and smeared with vermillion. In Hooghly an earthen pot is filled with water and a mango twig is placed on the top, which is then covered with a piece of new cloth. Various offerings are made, usually of food cooked or uncooked, and goats are sometimes sacrificed; the offerings are generally taken by the family but in Hooghly they are the perquisite of the Bhuinmáli. The Koches and their congeners worship the Grámya Devatá at a curious ceremony, called *gambhira*, when the young people of the village disguise themselves, personating the deities, and dance. The festival, which takes place in Chait or Baisákh, lasts for several days.

Some village deities are less local than others and have obtained a wider vogue. These usually have a sylvan home, *e.g.*, Dholái Chandi, who inhabits a tree or grove which is held sacred by all. Pieces of brick and rags are tied to the branches, as an offering to procure the welfare of children, and people make obeisance whenever they pass her abode. Bana Durgá is a sylvan deity of Mymensingh, who is also worshipped on behalf of children, and to whom sacrifices are made pigeons and goats, which are subsequently taken by people of low caste.

376. The worship of the Grámya devatá seems to be connected with the animistic idea, which sees spirits everywhere, and in all manifestations of nature, and it is carried out with the greatest zest amongst the aboriginal tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau where the *jáhirá*, *sarna*, or sacred grove, the small patch of virgin forest preserved from the axe as a refuge for the sylvan deities, who would otherwise have no local habitation, is peopled not by one or two, but by quite a number of godlings. Marang Buru is the chief Grámya devatá of the Santáls. He is known also to the Mundas and Hos, but these tribes believe that he resides on the summit of high hills; the latter look on him as a disease godling. All these tribes worship him in the same way. A handful of rice is deposited in three places in the sacred grove, and the animal chosen for the sacrifice, usually a goat, is made to eat it, after which the head is severed at one blow. The head is taken by the *Naiya*, or priest, and the body by the members of the family. The fame of this godling has spread to Malda where he is known as Marang Deva and is worshipped to secure immunity from fever. A circle is drawn on the ground with powdered rice and a goat is sacrificed inside it. Another notable denizen of the sacred grove in Singhbhum is Desauli Bonga or Kára Sarna who, though malignant protects those who duly propitiate him from disease and other calamities. His festivals take place in the month of Magh, in Chait when the *Sál* tree flowers and again in Ásárh. He is also worshipped in time of drought and when illness attacks a family. Amongst the other godlings of this class may be mentioned Thánpati of the Savars, Juánga, Báuris and Bágdís, Sarna Burhí of the Oráons and Duár Páhár or Dura of the Cheros.

#### General Remarks.

377. The above notes merely indicate some of the main forms which the popular religion of the people takes, and they are admittedly very incomplete. Not only is the notice of the godlings dealt with very brief, but many, and indeed whole classes, have been left undiscussed. I have not mentioned the various aboriginal deities, such as the androgynous Burhá Burhí, Bátbu, and Grajja, who have still been only partially admitted to the Hindu pantheon, nor others, such as Sankar, Bánskáli, Mangalchandi and Kankini who have been adopted as forms of Káli, nor the godlings of special castes, such as Gandhesvari of the Gandhabaniks, Ganesh Janani of the Mayrás, Gaurináth of the Kándus, Kulain of the Yákhás, Kángálimá or Satimá of the Baruis, Magadhesvari of the Maghs, &c. It would be impossible to deal fully with the matter in a Census Report, but before leaving the subject I will refer very briefly to the worship of Dharmaráj or Dharma Thákur whose recent identification with Buddha will be discussed in the next section.

\* In Orissa the village godlings are feminine and are called Grám Deotí or Thákuríní. Each village has its own godling, whose position was recognised in the first regular settlement of Orissa when a piece of land was left unassessed (*máfi grám deotí*) for her worship.



By some Dharmarāj is regarded as Yama and by others as the Sun. Some again consider him to be the God of snakes, and some a form of Siva or of Vishnu. He is usually worshipped by a low caste priest, a Pod, a Jugi, a Dom or a Bāgdi. In a few places he has temples, but, as a rule, he is represented by a shapeless stone daubed with vermilion and placed under a tree. In a village in the Arambagh subdivision he is worshipped in the form of a tortoise. His shrines are common all over West Bengal and also in Dinajpur, Murshidabad and the 24-Parganas. He is frequently believed to possess certain curative powers and his priests administer medicines as specifics for various diseases. Hogs, fowls and ducks are sacrificed before him, and offerings are made of rice, flowers, milk and *pachwai*, but never of cooked food. The worship takes place in the months of Baisākh, Jaishta and Āsārā, on the day of the full moon, and in some places on the last day of Bhādra. All castes, even Brāhmins, make offerings through the medium of the officiating priest.

378. It may be pointed out in conclusion that while the earth, sun and moon, and certain large rivers, are worshipped throughout the province, many of the other objects of adoration are revered only in certain localities. The veneration of deified heroes is more or less confined to Bihar, while snake worship prevails mainly in West, and parts of North, Bengal. The tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau and some of the Himalayan tribes give the spirits of the mountains a high place in their pantheon while in the greater part of Bengal Proper the old aboriginal godlings have, as a rule, been taken over by the Brāhmins as forms of Kālī and other orthodox deities, and have thus lost their identity. It is only in the extreme north and east that deities who are admittedly non-Hindu, still command the worship of men, while in the West, Buddhism still ekes out an obscure and precarious existence.

## TRACES OF BUDDHISM IN BENGAL.

379. When the East India Company gained a foothold in India Buddhism seemed to have disappeared from the land, and although its doctrines were mentioned, in order to be refuted, in the philosophical works of the Hindus, the word was little more than a name to the Pandits, and was absolutely unknown to the common people. The philosophic side of Buddhism, as ascertained from Hindu sources, was first investigated by Colebrooke,\* but it is to the indefatigable researches of Brian Hodgson that we owe the discovery of Buddhism as a living religion in Nepal. While resident at Khatmandu he investigated the subject closely and the results are embodied in a most interesting paper in the second volume of the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.† He showed how the philosophic agnosticism of Buddha gave way to the theory that the Ādi Buddha, by his union with the primordial female energy called Prajñā, gave birth to five Buddhas, who each produced from himself by *dhyāna* (meditation) another being called his Bodhi-satwa or son. The chief of these latter was Avalokita who, with his Sakti Tārā, eventually became the keystone of northern Buddhism. There arose also numerous other Buddhas, demons and deities, all of which were objects of worship, and then came the introduction of the Tāntrik mysticism, based on the pantheistic idea of *yoga*, or the ecstatic union of the soul with the supreme spirit. At this stage, as in Tāntrik Hinduism, the Saktis, or female counterparts of the Bodhi-satwas, occupied the most prominent position, and the esoteric cult of these female deities became every whit as obscene as that practised by the Kaula or extreme sect of Śākta Hindus. Since Hodgson's time, numerous students have attacked the subject and the early history of Buddhism and its modern developments in other countries are now well known.‡

\* J. R. A. S., Volume 1, pages 549—579.

† This and subsequent papers on the same subject have been reprinted in the "Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet" Trübner and Co., London, 1874.

‡ One of the best of recent works on the subject is, "The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism" by Col. Waddell, I.N.S.



380. All this time it was assumed that, except in Burma and on the borders of Burma, Nepal and Tibet, Buddhism had disappeared from India. This, however, has been proved to be a mistake by the researches of Mahamahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Sāstri who has shown that a corrupt form of Buddhism still survives in the shape of Dharma worship which is current amongst the Pods, Doms and other castes of low rank, and which has already been described in the notes on Popular Hinduism. Dharma or Dharmarāj, it would seem, is none other than Buddha himself. The discovery was announced in an article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1895 and the result of this and further researches were embodied in a pamphlet published in 1897 called the "Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal." I circulated, as a basis for further enquiry, a note giving a brief outline of the facts and arguments adduced in this pamphlet, but without much result beyond the collection of further information regarding the extent to which Dharma worship prevails. The reports thus received were shown to the Pandit, who has favoured me with a résumé of the main points in his argument, which is reproduced verbatim in the following four paragraphs:—

381. "We learn from the Si-u-ki that during the first half of the seventh century Buddhism was the prevailing religion in Bengal. The author, the celebrated Chinese traveller Hsuen Sang, mentions indeed the heretics; but it is not known who these heretics were. Some of them undoubtedly were Brāhmanists.

"During the three or four centuries which followed the composition of the Si-u-ki, the Brāhman came from Kanauj with their ever faithful adherents, the Kāyasthas, and a silent religious and social revolution was accomplished, in which the Brāhman had everything to gain, and the Buddhists everything to lose. Traces of the existence of Buddhism as a living religion can be found even up to the sixteenth century, and then it is completely lost in the populous plains of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In the outlying districts, however, in hill tracts, and in neglected nooks and corners, it is still professed by a few thousands of men. Thus in Chittagong there are the Baruās who profess the Buddhist faith and belong to the southern school of Buddhism. They think that they obtained their Buddhism from Burma and Ceylon, and that within the last two or three centuries. The Chittagong Hill Tracts is a professedly Buddhist district, and the inhabitants seem to have adhered to their Buddhism from very ancient times. Their Buddhism is not altogether of the southern school, because they have their temples of gods and goddesses. In the Sub-Himalayan regions bordering on Bengal, the Bhotias and some other hill tribes profess Buddhism greatly mixed up with the superstitious observances of degenerate later times known as Mantra-yāna, Vajra-yāna, Kāla-chakra-yāna, Lāmāism and Devil-worship. The Newārs of Nepal profess what they call Hinduism, but in their estimation it has two *Mārgas* or ways—the *Siva-Mārga* and the *Buddha-Mārga*. Half the Newārs are Buddhists. Though they profess to be Mahā-yānist, they have mixed up their faith with much that belongs really to the subsequent *Yānas* of Buddhism. But they still adhere to Indian Buddhism, and have not borrowed anything from Lāmāism. In the Orissa Tributary Mahals there is a State known as Baud, the Chief of which derives the name from Buddha, and says that Buddhism is still professed by a considerable portion of his subjects. The Savaras on the borders of Orissa are said to be still Buddhists. The Savaras who cook in the great temple of Jagannāth are supposed to belong to the same religion. There is a small, industrious, but very turbulent, community in Barisal, known as the *Maghs* community, who profess Buddhism. They seem to have settled in that maritime district since the sixteenth century, when the Arakanese, known to the Musalman rulers of Bengal as *Maghs*, were the terror of Lower Bengal and the Bay.

"These are the only people who still profess Buddhism on a soil in which that religion was first preached, where it flourished for thousands of years, but alas! where it is completely forgotten.

"The traces of Buddhism up to the sixteenth century, mentioned above, consist of many references in books, colophons of manuscripts and inscriptions.



Thus we know from Tibetan sources that the great monk, Dipankara Shri Jñāna, known in Tibet as Atisa, was invited from Vikrama Shila in Magadha to Tibet in the eleventh century to reform the Buddhist faith prevailing there. There is a copy of Bodhicharyāvātara-tīkā by Prajñā Kaza Shri Jñāna copied in the same century. The copyist speaks of the author as *tālapāddānam*, showing that he was a pupil of the author. A copy of the Astāsahasrikā prajñāpāramitā made at Nālanda is to be found in the Asiatic Society's collection, bearing the date of the sixth year of Mahāpāladeva, who reigned in the same century. In the twelfth century, the great Naiyāika Gangesopādhyāya, a scholar of Mithila, whose date is universally accepted amongst pandits as 750 years before this time, wrote his work with the avowed object of dispelling the darkness of Pāsandas, i.e., Buddhism. In the same century Sūlapāni, the great writer on Hindu law and ritual, mentions the Buddhists as a naked people whose very sight is to be avoided. In the Ballāla Charita we find Byā-dom-pa fighting with Ballāla to avenge an insult offered to the Buddhist priest of Mahāsthān. In the thirteenth century there is an inscription at Sravasti dedicating a Buddhist temple for the purposes of Buddhist worship, and in the same century a Buddhist priest from Tamluk went to Lower Burma and instituted a reformation along with other Buddhist priests of the place. His deeds are recorded in the *Kalyāni* inscriptions. In the fourteenth century a Bengali Brāhman became a convert to Buddhism and proceeded to Ceylon, where the reigning king Parākrama Vāhu made him the sole supervisor of Buddhist religious establishments in the kingdom. In the fifteenth century Buddhist manuscripts were still copied in Bengal, and a manuscript copied about the middle of the century is now in the Cambridge collection of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts.

382. "In the sixteenth century Chaitanya is said to have met Buddhists in Southern India and Nityānanda in the Himalayan regions. Chūdāmani Dāsa, one of the biographers of Chaitanya mentions the Buddhists as rejoicing at his birth. In the seventeenth century Buddha Guptanātha wandered in various parts of India and found Buddhism flourishing in many places. Then

it is lost altogether. For two or three centuries Buddhism was absolutely unknown in India. The revival of Sanskrit learning fostered by European Orientalists brought Buddhism again to the notice of the Indian public, and it became a problem how to account for the complete disappearance of Buddhism. Brian Hodgson thought that Nāthism was the bridge which joined the corrupt Buddhism of later days with the Tāntrik-Hinduism of modern times. There were Nāthas or Lords who boasted of having attained miraculous powers and who had numerous followers. They were all Buddhists. But their Buddhism was not of the strictest kind. The Saivas claim some of them as their *Gurus*. But the rest were undoubtedly Buddhists. These belonged to the lowest classes of people—Hāris, Doms and Chandāls. This Nāthism appears also to have been the bridge which united Lāmāism, on the one hand, and the Gurus or spiritual guides of the Hindus, on the other. Both these proceeded from the same sort of man-worship which is the essence of Nāthism.\*

383. Brian Hodgson's explanation solves only one or two points of the great problem connected with the disappearance of Buddhism. A few more points are solved by the fact that the writers of Tāntrik compilations among the Hindus incorporated as many of the Tāntrik Buddhist divinities as they could possibly do without jeopardizing their reputation for orthodoxy. For instance, they incorporated *Manjushrī*, *Kshetrapāla*, *Tāra*, without even changing their names or their functions. But still there were divinities to whom, even with their wonderful power of adaptation, they could not venture to give a place in their Pantheon, and one of these is *Dharma*. *Dharma* is the second personage in the Buddhist Trinity. In the *Mahāyāna* school he is changed into *Prajñā*, an abstract idea in the feminine, meaning supreme knowledge, and in the *Mantra-yāna* the feminine idea became *Tārā*, a female divinity with five manifestations. The

#### MODERN SURVIVALS.

\* This adoration of the Guru is one of the most characteristic features of the Vaishnava revival in Bengal. The Vaishnavas say:—"When Hari is angry the Guru is our protector, but when the Guru is angry we have no one to protect us. This service veneration of the Guru is called Gurupādārāya. [Sketch of the Religious sects of the Hindus, page 103]."



processes of spiritualisation proceeded further and the Buddhists conceived of an *Adi Buddha* and an *Adi Tára* probably *Káliká*.

"The word *Dharma*, thus slipping from the second personage of the Buddhist Trinity, became confined to the *Stúpa* worship, the visible emblem of Buddhism, to the ignorant multitude. *Dharma*-worship remained confined to the lowest classes of the people—the dirtiest, meanest and most illiterate classes. All sorts of animal sacrifices are offered before *Dharma*, and the drinking of wine is one of the chief features of his worship. All the lowest forms of worship rejected by the *Bráhmans* gradually rallied round *Dharma*, and his priests throughout Bengal enjoy a certain consideration which often excites the envy of their highly placed rivals, the *Bráhmans*, who, though hating them with a genuine hatred, yet covet their earnings wherever these are considerable, and there are instances in which the worship of *Dharma* has passed into *Bráhma*n hands and has been, by them, transformed either into a manifestation of *Siva* or of *Visnu*.

384. "Doubt has been expressed in many quarters regarding the identification of *Dharma* worship as a survival of Buddhism, and it is, therefore, desirable to recapitulate the facts and arguments by which this has been established. *Dharma* is meditated upon as *Shūnya Mūrti* or void. The great goal of Buddhism is *Sūnyatá*. "As the lamp is extinguished, so is the soul extinguished." This is the original idea of annihilation preached by Buddha. In later times, in

REASONS FOR TAKING DHARMA  
TO BE BUDDHA.

the hands of the schools, this idea came to be termed *Sūnyatá*, concerning which neither existence, nor non-existence, nor a combination of the two, can be predicated. It is void, zero. In Hindu systems of philosophy we find the Buddhists credited with the theory of the evolution of entity from non-entity, and that very non-entity is the essence of *Dharma*, and in that form his votaries are required to meditate upon him. This is an undoubted Buddhist idea. The ceremonies and fasts in honour of *Dharma* all take place on the full moon day of *Baishákh*, the birthday of Buddha. The ignorant worshippers, all of them, are aware that *Dharma* is very much respected in Ceylon. And what religion has a greater vogue in that island than Buddhism? The *Dharma* worshippers are fully aware that *Dharma* is not an inferior deity; he is higher than *Vishnu*, higher than *Siva*, higher than *Brahmá*, and even higher than *Párvatí*. His position is indeed as exalted as that of *Brahmá* in Hindu philosophy. In fact, one of the books in honour of *Dharma* gives an obscure hint that the work has been written with the object of establishing the *Brahmá*hood of *Dharma*. The representation of *Dharma* in many places is a tortoise. Now a tortoise is a miniature representation of a *stúpa* with five niches for five *Dhyáni Buddhas*. At *Salda* in *Bankura* an image of Buddha in meditative posture is still actually worshipped as *Dharma*.

"The worshippers of *Dharma* are unconscious of the fact that they are the survivors of a mighty race of men and that they have inherited their religion from a glorious past. Political and social revolutions of centuries have brought them to the lowest point of degradation. But if they ever become conscious of the fact that they are the survivors of the Indian Buddhists, the civilizers of Asia, they are likely to be better men and more useful members of society. *Dharma*-worship prevails in the whole of Western Bengal, and in almost every village there is a temple of *Dharma*. There are also many places consecrated to *Dharma*, where annual and other festivals take place in his honour."

385. The only fresh light thrown on this interesting subject by the census

THE SARÁKS OF BARAMBA STILL  
BUDDHISTS.

is the fact that Buddhism is still professed by the *Saráks* of *Tigaria* and *Baramba* and the adjoining part of *Cuttack*. The *Saráks* of *Chota Nagpur* are believed to have been formerly Jains, but those here mentioned are still professed Buddhists. Their religion is gradually being merged in Hinduism, but it still possesses many distinct features and they possess religious books of their own, one of the most important of which I have had transcribed, and have given the copy to the *Mahámahopádhya*ya who informs me that it is of considerable value. An account of these *Saráks* will be found in the Chapter on Caste.\*

\* Paragraphs 778 to 780.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—SHOWING THE GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY RELIGION.

RELIGION.	1901.		1911.		1921.		Percentage of variation, increase (+) or decrease (-)		Net varia- tion.		
	Number.	Proportion per 10,000 of the population.	Number.	Proportion per 10,000 of the population.	Number.	Proportion per 10,000 of the population.	1901-1911.			1911-1921.	
							1901-1911.			1911-1921.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
HINDUS.											
PROVINCE	49,687,562	6,350	47,821,681	6,407	45,451,969	6,556	+ 3.9	+ 5.2	+ 9.3		
West Bengal	6,855,144	8,310	6,400,340	8,323	6,207,409	8,293	+ 7.1	+ 3.1	+ 10.4		
Central "	5,883,367	6,018	5,678,792	5,000	5,564,534	4,908	+ 5.6	+ 3.2	+ 8.9		
North "	5,938,528	3,907	5,730,602	3,074	5,623,644	4,009	+ 5.3	+ 3.2	+ 8.5		
East "	5,514,025	8,251	5,156,364	3,800	4,673,715	3,473	+ 6.0	+ 10.3	+ 17.9		
North Bihar	11,579,533	8,372	11,553,465	8,364	10,933,137	5,379	+ 2	+ 5.6	+ 9.0		
South "	6,963,530	9,054	7,230,974	9,089	7,010,150	5,987	- 2.6	+ 3.1	- 0.5		
Orissa	4,004,657	9,710	3,775,086	9,746	3,333,789	5,738	+ 6.7	+ 6.9	+ 14.7		
Chota Nagpur Plateau	6,312,510	7,023	6,280,636	6,877	5,905,542	7,342	+ 10.1	+ 6.3	+ 17.1		
MUSALMANS.											
PROVINCE	25,495,416	3,248	23,658,108	3,170	21,705,641	3,122	+ 7.7	+ 8.9	+ 17.4		
West Bengal	1,084,580	1,317	990,191	1,300	888,429	1,204	+ 8.3	+ 4.2	+ 13.1		
Central "	3,773,321	4,378	3,610,106	4,007	3,512,893	4,296	+ 4.5	+ 2.7	+ 7.4		
North "	6,876,408	6,873	6,576,455	5,959	6,353,549	6,056	+ 6.3	+ 3.6	+ 9.1		
East "	11,230,427	6,017	9,935,781	6,505	8,541,406	6,360	+ 13.3	+ 16.9	+ 31.3		
North Bihar	2,341,942	1,621	2,230,730	1,615	2,093,874	1,605	+ 6.5	+ 6.5	+ 7.0		
South "	744,509	965	785,029	939	770,284	900	- 3.0	+ 1.4	+ 4.4		
Orissa	102,851	218	92,742	229	85,336	293	+ 11.0	+ 8.6	+ 20.6		
Chota Nagpur Plateau	451,000	458	395,923	429	351,000	437	+ 18.0	+ 11.6	+ 22.4		
CHRISTIANS.											
PROVINCE	278,366	36	192,484	26	128,134	18	+ 44.5	+ 50.2	+ 117.9		
West Bengal	9,403	12	6,312	8	4,460	6	+ 40.9	+ 41.5	+ 112.4		
Central "	61,141	79	30,656	69	47,700	67	+ 20.6	+ 5.9	+ 27.6		
North "	8,194	9	3,358	3	1,880	2	+ 173.7	+ 78.6	+ 288.9		
East "	20,944	10	22,013	14	18,159	13	+ 22.3	+ 31.2	+ 48.3		
North Bihar	5,374	4	4,032	3	3,830	3	+ 32.0	+ 6.0	+ 40.6		
South "	4,623	6	4,605	6	4,051	5	+ 6.3	+ 13.7	+ 14.1		
Orissa	5,404	12	1,638	13	3,970	11	+ 7.8	+ 18.0	+ 25.8		
Chota Nagpur Plateau	136,634	120	96,847	100	49,603	85	+ 61.7	+ 120.1	+ 236.0		
ANIMISTS.											
PROVINCE	2,780,468	354	2,753,061	368	2,055,408	296	+ 9	+ 33.0	+ 53.2		
West Bengal	220,134	551	222,671	508	219,814	507	+ 2.6	+ 28.7	+ 32.1		
Central "	12,430	16	9,720	13	897	1	+ 27.6	+ 1,061.2	+ 1,355.0		
North "	107,200	107	41,769	44	7,468	6	+ 150.3	+ 450.3	+ 1,350.6		
East "	33,750	19	30,203	20	24,753	23	+ 6.6	+ 63.8	+ 61.3		
North Bihar	3,375	2	24,742	19	16,600	13	+ 60.3	+ 49.3	+ 79.6		
South "	2,693	4	3,706	5	7,183	12	+ 27.3	+ 45.4	+ 62.5		
Orissa	8,303	21	.....	.....	4,361	12	.....	.....	+ 112.3		
Chota Nagpur Plateau	3,333,413	2,353	2,350,793	2,584	1,714,080	2,152	- 1.5	+ 37.0	+ 35.0		
BUDDHISTS.											
PROVINCE	257,893	30.3	194,717	26	125,809	22.3	+ 29.9	+ 24.9	+ 52.7		
West Bengal	68	.....	71	.....	323	.....	+ 23.9	+ 80.4	+ 73.6		
Central "	5,003	4	2,951	3	1,007	2	+ 31.6	+ 17.7	+ 60.3		
North "	70,945	71	43,125	46	19,379	21	+ 64.3	+ 112.2	+ 206.0		
East "	163,014	96	148,165	96	133,427	89	+ 10.0	+ 11.05	+ 22.2		
North Bihar	52	.....	31	.....	.....	.....	+ 67.7	.....	.....		
South "	22	.....	44	.....	.....	.....	+ 50.0	.....	.....		
Orissa	4	.....	129	.....	1	.....	+ 60.0	+ 1,743.5	+ 42.0		
Chota Nagpur Plateau	765	1	568	1	606	1	+ 11.9	+ 24.7	+ 9.9		
OTHERS.											
PROVINCE	13,903	1.7	23,080	3	39,979	5.7	- 40.3	- 41.7	- 65.2		
West Bengal	417	1	604	1	3,679	6	- 31.0	- 63.0	- 85.7		
Central "	6,723	8	5,860	8	3,937	6	+ 14.7	+ 40.8	+ 49.2		
North "	2,616	3	3,617	4	3,404	4	- 22.2	+ 6.0	- 17.1		
East "	937	1	6,864	6	238	.....	- 87.9	+ 5,847.6	+ 502.1		
North Bihar	644	1	1,673	1	23	.....	- 40.7	+ 2,103.6	+ 3,050.6		
South "	902	1	900	1	60	.....	+ 0.3	+ 1,545.3	+ 1,545.3		
Orissa	290	.....	1,147	3	1,400	4	- 82.6	- 21.9	- 80.4		
Chota Nagpur Plateau	977	1	2,327	3	27,116	33	- 61.3	- 9.7	- 60.4		



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—SHOWING THE PROPORTIONAL STRENGTH OF THE MAIN RELIGIONS IN EACH DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION AT EACH OF THE LAST THREE CENSUSES.

NATURAL DIVISION AND DISTRICT.	HINDUS.			MUSLIMANS.			AJINKISTS.			OTHERS.		
	Proportion per 10,000 of the population.			Proportion per 10,000 of the population.			Proportion per 10,000 of the population.			Proportion per 10,000 of the population.		
	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
PROVINCE	6,330	6,407	6,536	3,243	3,170	3,122	354	368	296	68	53	46
WEST BENGAL	8,510	8,343	8,595	1,517	1,300	1,296	351	368	397	13	9	12
Bardham	7,965	8,030	8,040	1,570	1,921	1,896	137	30	46	19	10	7
Birbhum	7,293	7,406	7,764	2,253	2,127	2,053	405	429	182	10	8	1
Bankura	8,740	8,004	8,743	558	424	444	709	970	812	3	2	1
Midnapore	8,545	8,522	8,573	804	851	822	494	581	453	7	6	17
Hoochly	8,207	8,143	8,033	1,760	1,832	1,937	24	19		8	7	10
Howrah	7,908	7,225	8,009	2,022	2,943	1,364	1	3	4	33	20	31
CENTRAL BENGAL	5,018	5,000	4,925	4,875	4,907	4,926	16	13	1	21	80	74
24 Parganas	6,304	6,277	6,208	3,624	3,621	3,733	6	2		67	70	63
Calcutta	6,165	6,217	6,300	2,946	2,981	3,178				547	502	563
Nadia	4,026	4,139	4,328	8,895	5,762	5,573				40	40	30
Murshidabad	4,527	4,068	5,174	5,077	4,946	4,889	65	74	7	11	22	16
Jessore	3,971	3,905	3,908	6,134	6,059	6,036		1		5	5	2
NORTH BENGAL	3,937	3,974	4,009	5,873	5,929	5,956	107	44	8	33	53	27
Rajshahi	3,222	3,223	3,232	7,763	7,774	7,760	11	3		2	2	1
Dinajpur	4,026	4,114	4,737	4,957	5,191	5,300	401	73	10	6	13	2
Jalpaiguri	6,790	6,595	6,320	2,902	3,263	3,591	194	95	55	114	44	34
Darjeeling	7,542	7,605	8,171	370	444	537	138		40	1,930	1,887	1,923
Benapur	3,926	3,720	3,822	6,307	6,371	6,099	30	3		8	7	9
Bogra	1,894	1,833	1,890	8,132	8,140	8,119	13	24		1	1	1
Pabna	2,614	2,609	2,733	7,453	7,437	7,244				3	4	3
Maldia	4,942	5,291	5,343	4,507	4,750	4,492	209	254	25	2	1	
Kuch Bihar	7,019	7,023	7,004	2,947	2,950	2,896	4	17	7	10	10	3
Shikim	4,491			4						3,503		
EAST BENGAL	3,251	3,380	3,473	6,617	6,593	6,350	19	20	63	113	115	119
Khulna	4,941	4,963	4,840	3,846	3,129	3,144	3			10	8	7
Dacca	3,729	3,830	4,000	6,226	6,084	5,867		1		45	40	43
Mymensingh	2,781	3,011	3,023	7,141	6,902	6,682	74	83	55	3		
Faizpur	3,726	3,838	3,807	6,190	6,145	6,026				24	20	17
Buckargunge	3,115	3,150	3,286	6,829	6,791	6,680				56	50	45
Tippura	2,030	2,125	2,361	7,004	6,867	6,035				7	8	3
Noakhali	2,404	2,458	2,577	7,587	7,533	7,413				9	9	8
Chittagong	2,332	2,344	2,430	7,153	7,108	7,093	5	1		490	487	468
Chittagong Hill Tracts	2,918	2,405	1,997	208	453	715	3	43		6,094	7,009	7,255
Hill Tippura	6,877	6,680	1,023	2,613	2,026	2,812	154		6,149	354	633	12
NORTH BIHAR	3,372	3,364	3,379	1,621	1,613	1,605	2	18	15	5	3	3
Barn	3,318	3,318	3,326	1,131	1,131	1,173				1	1	
Champanan	3,511	3,501	3,579	1,475	1,475	1,410				14	11	11
Munafarpur	3,771	3,771	3,774	1,226	1,227	1,224				3	2	2
Darbhanga	3,786	3,787	3,825	1,211	1,209	1,174				3	4	1
Rhagapur	3,977	3,911	3,973	1,049	903	944	15	122	80	6	5	3
Purua	3,781	3,596	3,524	4,233	4,141	4,170	2		4	4	3	2
SOUTH BIHAR	9,024	9,029	8,957	965	959	920	4	5	9	7	7	5
Patna	8,435	8,448	8,772	1,147	1,144	1,213				18	18	15
Gaya	8,903	8,868	8,902	1,064	1,060	1,037				1	2	1
Shahabad	9,271	9,376	9,222	725	720	747				4	4	1
Monghyr	9,022	9,033	9,006	951	942	922	13	15	36	7	7	6
ORISSA	9,719	9,746	9,758	348	339	255	21		19	19	13	13
Cuttack	9,708	9,712	9,717	278	273	264				14	15	19
Balasore	9,445	9,744	9,685	264	244	231	79		46	13	12	15
Puri	9,819	9,815	9,838	170	165	158				11	20	9
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	7,025	6,577	7,542	458	439	437	2,358	2,564	9,132	161	110	89
Hazaribagh	2,100	2,347	3,071	1,016	958	901	867	764	603	17	13	5
Ranchi	2,004	2,041	2,320	353	320	297	4,000	5,068	5,471	1,084	671	540
Palamna	2,006	2,310	2,500	345	343	334	421	724	801	129	112	6
Manbhum	2,704	2,180	2,948	483	446	430	709	1,291	468	23	13	228
Singbhum	4,131	4,235	4,509	88	89	51	4,578	6,017	14	119	89	66
South Parganas	3,013	3,134	3,408	840	691	606	3,403	4,141	3,692	44	34	39
Tributary States, Chota Nagpur	6,146	6,490	9,500	86	76	68	3,740	3,422	33	19	6	3
Ditto, Orissa	9,133	9,023	7,638	40	37	41	818	616	2,313	3	20	7
Angul	7,753	8,007	7,093	19	12	17	2,226	20	2,320	2	1	60



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—SHOWING THE VARIATIONS IN THE NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS IN EACH DISTRICT.

DISTRICT.	NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS IN—			VARIATION.		
	1901.	1891.	1881.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1881—1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>PROVINCE</b> ... ..	<b>278,366</b>	<b>192,484</b>	<b>128,154</b>	<b>+ 85,882</b>	<b>+ 64,350</b>	<b>+ 150,232</b>
<b>WEST BENGAL</b> ... ..	<b>9,463</b>	<b>6,312</b>	<b>4,460</b>	<b>+ 3,151</b>	<b>+ 1,859</b>	<b>+ 5,003</b>
Bardwan ... ..	2,060	1,408	810	+ 1,552	+ 408	+ 2,550
Birbhum ... ..	819	522	48	+ 297	+ 474	+ 771
Bankura ... ..	383	132	26	+ 251	+ 76	+ 327
Midnapore ... ..	1,974	1,545	740	+ 429	+ 805	+ 1,234
Hooahly ... ..	780	635	553	+ 126	+ 22	+ 164
Howrah ... ..	2,589	2,072	2,001	+ 516	+ 21	+ 497
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b> ... ..	<b>61,141</b>	<b>59,656</b>	<b>47,700</b>	<b>+ 10,485</b>	<b>+ 2,866</b>	<b>+ 13,351</b>
24 Parganas ... ..	13,322	12,925	10,192	+ 840	+ 2,700	+ 3,630
Culcutta ... ..	37,925	28,007	30,314	+ 8,918	+ 1,217	+ 7,711
Nadia ... ..	6,031	7,397	6,422	+ 794	+ 875	+ 1,669
Murshidabad ... ..	301	540	470	+ 140	+ 70	+ 70
Jessore ... ..	912	840	425	+ 72	+ 345	+ 420
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b> ... ..	<b>9,193</b>	<b>3,358</b>	<b>1,880</b>	<b>+ 5,835</b>	<b>+ 1,478</b>	<b>+ 7,313</b>
Rajshahi ... ..	331	105	121	+ 246	+ 16	+ 230
Dinajpur ... ..	779	511	457	+ 268	+ 64	+ 332
Jaipalpur ... ..	2,455	357	159	+ 2,129	+ 198	+ 2,327
Darjeeling ... ..	4,467	1,502	843	+ 2,965	+ 663	+ 3,628
Rangpur ... ..	453	343	80	+ 113	+ 267	+ 347
Boagra ... ..	40	15	27	+ 25	+ 12	+ 13
Pabna ... ..	168	129	114	+ 4	+ 48	+ 52
Makla ... ..	173	75	20	+ 101	+ 40	+ 147
Kuch Bihar ... ..	143	201	43	+ 148	+ 243	+ 391
Sikkim ... ..	135	.....	.....	+ 135	.....	+ 135
<b>EAST BENGAL</b> ... ..	<b>26,934</b>	<b>25,013</b>	<b>18,159</b>	<b>+ 4,991</b>	<b>+ 3,854</b>	<b>+ 8,775</b>
Khulna ... ..	1,273	863	747	+ 319	+ 216	+ 535
Dacca ... ..	11,559	10,470	8,797	+ 1,080	+ 1,673	+ 2,753
Mymensingh ... ..	1,201	211	151	+ 1,050	+ 60	+ 1,110
Faridpur ... ..	4,641	3,330	2,742	+ 1,311	+ 796	+ 2,007
Backergunge ... ..	5,301	4,683	3,717	+ 918	+ 948	+ 1,874
Tippara ... ..	202	122	110	+ 90	+ 17	+ 73
Noakhali ... ..	622	641	585	+ 21	+ 56	+ 77
Chittagong ... ..	1,137	1,191	1,055	+ 40	+ 136	+ 186
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	282	18	40	+ 234	+ 51	+ 285
Hill Tippara ... ..	137	123	111	+ 4	+ 20	+ 24
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	<b>3,374</b>	<b>4,052</b>	<b>3,890</b>	<b>+ 1,329</b>	<b>+ 932</b>	<b>+ 1,354</b>
Saran ... ..	314	278	282	+ 36	+ 4	+ 82
Champaran ... ..	2,417	2,100	1,930	+ 317	+ 170	+ 487
Muzaffarpur ... ..	719	671	372	+ 348	+ 1	+ 347
Darbhanga ... ..	710	350	225	+ 380	+ 55	+ 435
Bhagalpur ... ..	775	578	578	+ 229	+ 42	+ 277
Purnea ... ..	439	357	227	+ 53	+ 60	+ 112
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	<b>4,623</b>	<b>4,608</b>	<b>4,051</b>	<b>+ 15</b>	<b>+ 557</b>	<b>+ 572</b>
Patna ... ..	2,502	2,633	2,583	+ 271	+ 245	+ 516
Gaya ... ..	253	174	96	+ 70	+ 78	+ 174
Shahabad ... ..	373	277	370	+ 63	+ 7	+ 137
Monghyr ... ..	1,495	1,324	1,001	+ 190	+ 223	+ 413
<b>ORISSA</b> ... ..	<b>3,004</b>	<b>4,653</b>	<b>3,976</b>	<b>+ 368</b>	<b>+ 669</b>	<b>+ 1,025</b>
Cuttack ... ..	2,652	2,729	2,342	+ 71	+ 381	+ 452
Balasore ... ..	1,274	1,075	815	+ 199	+ 260	+ 459
Puri ... ..	1,078	949	819	+ 238	+ 21	+ 259
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU</b> ... ..	<b>156,634</b>	<b>96,847</b>	<b>43,998</b>	<b>+ 59,787</b>	<b>+ 52,849</b>	<b>+ 112,636</b>
Hazaribagh ... ..	1,163	889	352	+ 274	+ 537	+ 811
Ranchi ... ..	124,958	73,000	36,203	+ 49,958	+ 36,797	+ 86,755
Palamau ... ..	7,308	6,676	18	+ 1,632	+ 6,658	+ 8,290
Manbhum ... ..	2,919	1,532	888	+ 1,381	+ 650	+ 2,031
Singbhum ... ..	6,961	4,804	2,045	+ 2,917	+ 1,876	+ 4,793
Scotthal Parganas ... ..	2,875	2,043	6,055	+ 3,082	+ 3,987	+ 7,069
Tributary States, Chota Nagpur ... ..	1,876	528	105	+ 1,348	+ 423	+ 1,771
Ditto, Orissa ... ..	950	705	457	+ 247	+ 240	+ 487
Angul ... ..	32	19	7	+ 14	+ 12	+ 26



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIANS BY RACE AND SECT (ACTUAL NUMBERS.)

SECT.	EUROPEAN.		EURASIAN.		NATIVE.		TOTAL.		Variation + or -
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	1901.	1911.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Anglican Communion ...	19,802	2,000	4,492	4,941	19,004	17,365	61,024	48,950	+ 12,074
Armenian ...	334	260	10	15	3	3	574	435	+ 139
Baptist ...	314	280	353	330	10,092	9,013	21,821	14,747	+ 6,874
Congregationalist ...	65	47	11	10	947	971	2,051	1,254	+ 797
Greek ...	90	28	22	2	8	8	167	192	- 25
Indefinite belief ...	8	.....	1	.....	1	.....	8	13	- 5
Lutheran and allied deno- minations.	198	51	5	1	34,727	34,567	69,580	23,475	+ 46,105
Methodist ...	421	291	202	238	1,200	1,070	5,858	917	+ 4,941
Minor denominations ...	57	33	23	14	277	120	528	459	+ 69
Presbyterian ...	1,813	356	287	243	1,714	1,940	8,691	4,737	+ 3,954
Roman Catholic ...	3,710	1,011	6,067	6,207	44,429	42,870	108,194	90,117	+ 18,077
Sect not returned ...	140	79	30	107	1,740	1,948	4,070	7,203	- 3,133
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>18,029</b>	<b>9,450</b>	<b>11,480</b>	<b>11,634</b>	<b>115,362</b>	<b>114,201</b>	<b>278,566</b>	<b>192,484</b>	<b>+ 86,082</b>

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION PER 1,000 (a) OF EACH RACE OF CHRISTIANS BY SECT, AND (b) OF EACH SECT BY RACE.

SECT.	RACES DISTRIBUTED BY SECT.				SECTS DISTRIBUTED BY RACE.			
	European.	Eurasian.	Native.	Total.	European.	Eurasian.	Native.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Anglican Communion ...	610	374	156	219	275	143	553	1,000
Armenian ...	20	1	.....	2	592	53	11	1,000
Baptist ...	22	31	89	78	25	33	900	1,000
Congregationalist ...	4	1	9	7	55	10	325	1,000
Greek ...	5	1	.....	1	700	144	26	1,000
Lutheran and allied denom- inations.	10	.....	304	250	4	.....	990	1,000
Methodist ...	38	25	11	14	187	148	665	1,000
Minor denominations ...	5	2	2	2	101	70	789	1,000
Presbyterian ...	57	27	16	24	366	94	548	1,000
Roman Catholic ...	305	531	307	589	61	113	345	1,000
Sect not returned ...	8	7	16	14	54	40	306	1,000
<b>Total</b> ...	<b>1,000</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>818</b>	<b>1,000</b>

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—COMPARING THE DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION.

NATURAL DIVISIONS.	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF URBAN POPULATION WHO ARE.—					NUMBER PER 10,000 OF RURAL POPULATION WHO ARE.—				
	Hindu.	Mohammedan.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Mohammedan.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>6,959</b>	<b>2,794</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>6,207</b>	<b>3,272</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>51</b>
West Bengal ...	8,198	1,747	85	7	3	3,331	1,266	6	577	.....
Central .....	6,717	2,915	301	1	46	4,029	5,323	28	29	.....
North .....	5,370	4,310	113	4	301	3,000	4,008	7	110	.....
East .....	3,285	4,501	65	1	68	2,251	2,667	10	20	.....
North Bihar ...	7,292	2,628	70	1	9	8,406	1,589	2	3	.....
South .....	7,534	2,305	50	.....	14	9,153	809	.....	4	.....
Orissa ...	8,441	1,220	102	.....	7	9,700	204	6	.....	.....
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	7,561	1,609	374	404	22	7,015	430	138	2,302	.....



## Chapter V.

## AGE.

386. THE statistics regarding the age-distribution of the total population, and of the adherents of each religion in the Province as a whole, and in each district, will be found in

REFERENCE TO STATISTICS.

Imperial Table VII. Similar information for a number of selected castes is given in Table XIV, but the age periods selected for these tables are somewhat less elaborate than those for Table VII. The following subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter illustrate the more important points in the statistics by means of proportional figures:—

*Subsidiary Table I.*—Unadjusted age return of 100,000 of each sex.

*Subsidiary Table II.*—Age distribution of 100,000 of each sex, at each of the last of these Censuses, for the Province as a whole, and for each Natural Division.

*Subsidiary Table III.*—Age distribution of 100,000 of each sex by religion.

*Subsidiary Table IV.*—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes.

*Subsidiary Table V.*—Proportion of children under 10 years of age, and of persons over 60, to persons aged 20 to 40, and also of married females to total females of certain ages.

*Subsidiary Table VI.*—Proportion of female children under 12 to married females, and of married, to total, females in certain castes.

*Subsidiary Table VII.*—Showing the reported death-rate at certain ages in 1897 and 1900.

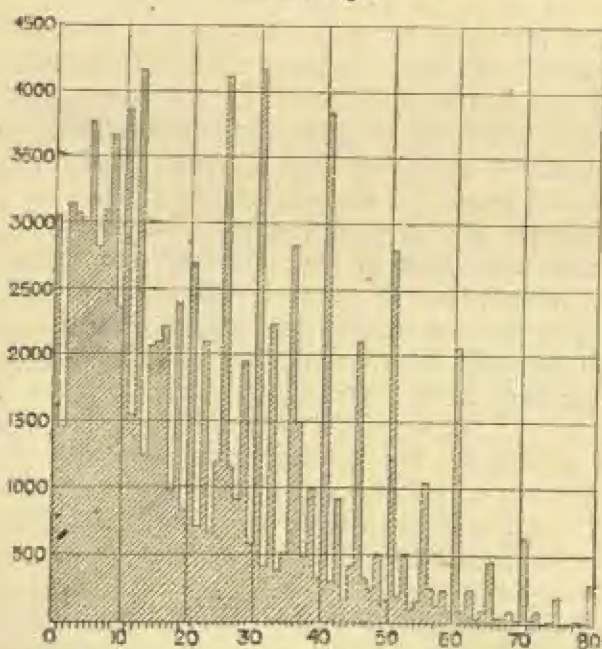
387. There is no question but that the return of age is the least reliable of all the statistics collected at the Census. Even in

INACCURACY OF AGE RETURN.

England it was stated in the Census Report for 1891 that “not improbably the greater number of adults do not know their precise age and can only state it approximately.” Amongst adults, says a leading statistician, “there is a great tendency to return ages at some exact multiple of 10” while in the case of children under 5 years of age, “the vagueness with which parents use the terms ‘one year old’ ‘two years old’ etc., when the children are only in their first or second year respectively, is a cause of considerable error.”\* There is also a wilful mis-statement of age on the part of women, while there is a marked tendency for old persons to overstate their ages.

If the age return is thus inaccurate in England it is infinitely more so

Diagram showing the actual number of males returned at each age.



NOTE:—The figures at the bottom indicate age and those at the side the number of persons returned at it.

as numerous as those of 1 year, but that they are considerably exceeded

in India. Nothing is more, common when a witness is asked his age in court, than for him to reply *bis challis* ‘twenty to forty,’ or to say that he has not the faintest idea on the subject. The Enumerators were almost as ignorant on this subject as the enumerated, and it must be confessed that the entries made in the schedules were often little better than very wild guesses. The tendency to select certain round numbers is far greater than it is in England, and the inaccuracy of the entries for children under 5 years of age is still more marked. It will be seen from the diagram in the margin, which has been prepared from the unadjusted return for males (*Subsidiary Table I*), that the children shown as 5 years of age are more than twice

\* Dr. Newsholme, in the third edition of his book on Vital Statistics, page 2.



by the number of males returned at the ages of 10, 12, 25 and 30. In a progressive or stationary population, however, the greatest number should be at the age "under 1 year" and it should steadily decrease from year to year. That it does not do so is due mainly to the tendency, already alluded to as existing even in Europe, to fix on certain favourite numbers. If the vagueness in respect of age, of which this is an indication, were the only error in the returns, and if there were no general tendency either to overstate or to understate ages, it would be possible by an elaborate system of adjustment or smoothing, to eliminate the defect, and to deduce a fairly accurate estimate of the actual ages of the population. It will be desirable, therefore, to consider the figures in some little detail.

388. The instructions which were given to the enumerators were:—

Enter the number of years which each person has completed. For infants less than one year old enter the word 'infant.'

The figures for children under 5 years of age show remarkable fluctuations. The number returned as between 1 and 2 years of age is barely half the number under 1 year, and the latter again is smaller than the number aged 2 years and still smaller than the number aged 3 years. Finally, the total number of children under 5 years of age is less than the number over 5 but under 10. The main features of these variations are not new, nor are they confined to this Province; they are common to all Provinces both at the present and all previous enumerations.

The very small number returned as 1 year of age appears to be due in part to the rule that children under 1 year of age should be entered as 'infants.' The object of this provision was to avoid the confusion between months and years, which would arise if the ages of such children were stated in months. This source of error was probably obviated, but, on the other hand, many children over 1 year of age who were still unweaned and were, therefore, popularly regarded as infants, were shown as such in the Census schedules and were accordingly classed as "under 1 year of age" in the course of tabulation.\* But the main reason appears to be that it is the usual practice to count the current year as part of a person's age. This has been proved to be the case in the Punjab, and the enquiries I have made indicate that it is usually so in Bengal also.† In the earlier years of life, however, the tendency is checked to some extent by the use of the terms *derh*, "one and a half," and *árhái* "two and a half." As soon as a child ceases to be classed as an infant he is described as "*derh baras*," or one and a half years of age, and the Enumerator would enter him as 1. When he has completed 18 months or so, he will be called two years old, until he passes the age of two, when he will be described as "*árhái baras*," or two and a half, which will be taken by the enumerator to mean 2 years. The age return for "two years" will thus include all children from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$ . After  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years a child will ordinarily be called 3 till he has passed his third birthday. There is no word denoting  $3\frac{1}{2}$  or other similar fractions, so that according to the general system of counting the current year, the tendency would then be to call him 4, and so on for the higher ages.

389. So far as these considerations go, it would seem that the word "infant" will include all children under one year of age, and also some over that age who are still at the mother's breast, that the year 1 will include such children between the ages of 1 and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  as are not classed as "infants," and also possibly some children under 1 year of age who should under the rules have been entered as "infant;" the year 2, all children from about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years of age, and the year 3 those from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3; while from 4 onwards, the age actually returned will be a year in excess of the actual facts, so that the return for the years 0—5† will include only those who have not completed their 4th year; while that for 5—10 will include all who have completed their 4th, but have not completed the 10th year of their age. There are, however, other

\* The birth returns show a considerably larger number of births in 1899 than in either 1900 or 1898.

† The same tendency is noticed in England, and it has been suggested that a more accurate return would be obtained if the instructions were modified accordingly. (Journal of the Institute of Actuaries for 1900, page 368.) The practice in this respect is not uniform throughout Bengal and there are places where there is said to be no special tendency to return either the cardinal or the ordinal year of one's age.

‡ By "0-5" is meant all children under 5. Similarly "5-10" refers to those who have passed their 5th, but have not yet reached their 10th, birthday.



complications. It was distinctly laid down in the instructions that only the number of completed years should be counted, and where the enumerators were well drilled and supervised this must have affected the return to some extent. As a general rule, however, I doubt if special attention was given to the detailed explanation of this rule. The tendency of the people to count the current year of age was not specially pointed out before the census, and apart from this, the general feeling amongst the higher officers was that the age return must, in any case, be so very unreliable, that there was nothing to be gained by laying much stress on the subject, especially when there were so many other matters where the time devoted to instruction would be more likely to produce good results. No doubt obvious mistakes in the age column would be corrected, when they came to notice in the course of testing the schedules, but in other respects I doubt if any special effort was generally made to secure accuracy in a return where accuracy cannot be expected.\*

390. According to the general explanation, the number of children entered as 3 years of age should be below the actual number of children of this age, but this does not seem to be the case. The reason is that "3" is a favourite number, and that its losses in the one direction are counterbalanced by a tendency to describe as 3 years of age, children who are no longer infants, but are not yet old enough to be shown as 5, the next number to which natives are specially partial. Another source of error is the omission of a certain number of infants from the returns. It is believed that the proportion of persons who escaped enumeration was exceedingly small, but it is probable that of those who were left out of account, the great majority were children of tender age. The Census refers to the state of the population on the 1st March 1901, but the preliminary record was prepared about six weeks before this date. At the final enumeration there was no alteration of the ages of persons still living, but those who had died in the interval were struck out, while infants since born should have been added.† It is, however, not unlikely that some of the births, which occurred after the date of the preliminary record, escaped notice when the Enumerators made their rounds, on the night of the actual Census, to bring the preliminary record up to date. According to the Census the total number of infants, *i.e.*, of children under one year of age, was 2,264,527. The vital statistics of the Province show that in the twelve months preceding the 1st March 1901, the total number of births was 2,698,379, to which should be added about 146,000 for areas where birth registration is not in force, making a total of about 2,844,000 altogether. According to the life statistics of the proclaimed clans in the United Provinces, to which reference will again be made further on, about 29 per cent. of infants die during the first year of life. If it be assumed that the births and deaths are distributed equally over each month,‡ the number of births reported would indicate a total of about 2,432,000 infants in existence at one time. So that even if the return of births includes all which take place, which is certainly not the case, the Census figures for infants under one year of age would seem to be incomplete. It is, however, impossible to say how far this is due to omissions and how far to the neglect of the rule that children under one year of age should be entered as infants. Occasionally the number of months may have been entered and mistaken for years in the course of tabulation, while some may have been entered as 1 year of age.

\* The variations between the returns for neighbouring tracts were often remarkable. Thus in Tippera two charges not far apart disclosed the following figures for the local Muhammadans:—

CHARGE.	0		1		2		3		4		Total 0-3		Total 4-10	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
V.	736	736	449	470	1,054	11,021	924	944	1,053	963	4,185	4,173	4,501	4,591
XVIII.	947	917	89	114	928	909	702	796	848	873	3,469	3,089	4,132	4,066

The results were noticed and specially tested by the Deputy Superintendent, Mr. Howard, who brought them to my notice.

† It may be pointed out incidentally that the result of this arrangement was to make this population seem slightly younger than it really is. People dying during the six weeks were struck out and replaced by newly born infants.

‡ This is not the case. Births are most numerous in the latter part of the year, while the mortality is probably greatest in the first few months after birth. The two irregularities, however, have opposite effects and may be taken as cancelling each other.



391. The other ages may be dealt with more briefly. Amongst men, and especially amongst widowers, there is a general desire to be considered young, and it is not uncommon for

OTHER AGES.

men of 40 to describe themselves as 25 years of age, and a comparison of the age-return for the present census with that of 1891 shows that the number of persons now entered under the age-period 25—30 exceeds by nearly 15 per cent. the number returned under the age-period 15—20, ten years ago. With females the tendency to misdescription comes earlier. It is considered a disgrace for a girl to attain puberty while still unmarried, and when this happens, her father will either not mention her existence to the Census Enumerator or, if he does so, he will understate her age. It is for this reason that while females aged 0—5 invariably outnumber the males, at the age-period 10—15 they are in great defect. Once a woman is married, her age is often exaggerated while she is still very young, but the estimate then remains unchanged so long as she is capable of child-bearing, and until this period of life has passed, she is often shown as much younger than she really is. Amongst old people of both sexes, but especially in the case of females, exaggeration in the matter of age is very common. These are the main causes of error, so far as I can trace them, but the mistakes which are made are by no means confined to them and they are often due to pure ignorance.

392. The age statistics of the censuses of 1881 and 1891 for the larger provinces of India, including Bengal, were subjected to a close analysis by Mr. Hardy, F.I.A., F.S.S., whose later pronouncement on the subject will be found in the Imperial Census Report of 1891, Vol. II, pages 143 to 185. The general results, so far as this province is concerned, are noted briefly below.

LIFE TABLE.

Mr. Hardy noticed three main sources of error in the figures, viz:—

- (1) a fondness for certain special numbers ;
- (2) a heaping up of the figures about the age 25—30 “at the expense of the preceding and following ages,” and
- (3) a tendency to exaggerate the ages after about age 65.

These errors were eliminated by an elaborate process of smoothing, and the ages during the early years of life were further adjusted according to the rates of mortality, shown by the statistics maintained under the special law for preventing infanticide; amongst certain proclaimed clans in the United Provinces, which are believed to be specially accurate.\* The corrected age distribution in 1881 was then compared with that in 1891 and the observed rate of increase in the population,† and it was calculated how many persons living at each age  $x$  in 1881 were surviving at the age  $x+10$  in 1891. From these results the mortality tables for the province were worked out. The general conclusion to which Mr. Hardy came was that the birth-rate in Bengal, during the decade 1881—1891, was 51·8 per 1,000 (males 52·9 and females 50·8), and the death-rate 44·8 (males 45·9 and females 43·8). The estimated annual rate of increase was taken at 7 per 1,000, which corresponded with the actual rate disclosed by the census of 1891. We have seen, however, that, of the increase brought out by the census of 1891, about half a million was due to better enumeration. No allowance was made for this in Mr. Hardy's calculation, and it would seem, therefore, that his birth rate, at least, must have been pitched somewhat too high. Moreover, when adjusting the ages, except for the two extremes of life, it was apparently assumed that the excess population returned at certain favourite numbers should be assigned half to ages below, and half to ages above, the number in question, whereas, in some cases at least, the under-statement of age is very much more frequent than the error in the other direction. It seems probable that the mean age of the population as a whole is greater, and the death-rate smaller, than would appear even from the corrected age return. However that may be, the subject is much too complicated for it to be possible for any one who is not a trained actuary to deal with it, and as Mr. Hardy himself is, I understand, again to undertake the examination of the age statistics, any

\* It was assumed that the mortality amongst these clans is a fair index to the mortality amongst children throughout India; but if the general rate of mortality varies, as it undoubtedly does, it seems very uncertain how far the mortality under the age of 10 years, which forms a very large proportion of the total, is really uniform.

† In some Provinces migration was allowed for, but in Bengal it was thought that the net result of the movements of the people, to and from the Province, was so small that it might safely be left out of account.

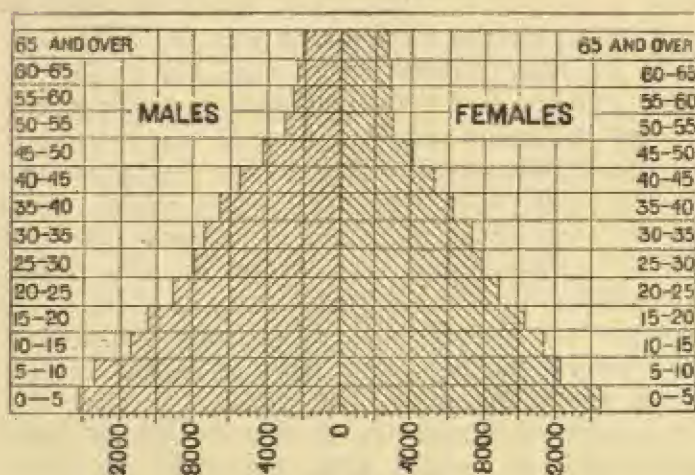


attempt on my part to forestall his conclusions would be not only supererogatory but presumptuous.

393. At the same time there are certain comparative results which can be deduced without any elaborate calculations, and I propose briefly to draw attention to these. And first comes the question of the relative longevity of the people of different religions

MEAN AGE.

Diagram showing the distribution of corrected age periods of 100,000 persons of each sex.



of smoothing known as "Bloxam's method," and the mean age has then been calculated from the number shown as living at each age period in the manner described in the report on the census of France in 1891,\* *i.e.*, the totals showing the number of persons living at the end of each quinquennial period have been multiplied by 5 and raised by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the total number of persons dealt with, and the sum thus obtained has then been divided by the number of persons. The method employed in adjusting the irregularities in the age return is a very rough one, and it is based on the assumption, which I have already shown to be erroneous, that the heaping up of ages at certain favourite numbers is due in equal proportions to over and under statements of the true ages. The diagram in the margin shows the distribution of the total population by age according to the method of smoothing adopted, but it will be seen from the figures for the higher ages, especially those for females, that although the irregularities in the original return have been got rid of, the result cannot be accepted as showing the actual age distribution. The number of females living at the age "60 to 65" must necessarily be much smaller than the number at the age "50-55" but in the diagram the figures for the two age periods are very nearly identical. It should, therefore, be clearly understood that I make no pretence to absolute accuracy in my estimates of the mean age. But the errors involved in the calculation, and in the figures on which it is based, may be assumed to be constant, and if so, the results can be relied on for comparison between different censuses, localities, and religions.

But before dealing with the results from this point of view, it should be explained that the expression 'mean age' refers to the mean age of the living, *i.e.*, of the persons enumerated, and does not correspond to the mean expectation of life at birth, save in the exceptional case where the population has been stationary for at least a generation.† Where the population is growing, *i.e.*, where the births exceed the deaths, there will be an excess of young persons and the mean age of the living will be reduced accordingly.‡ Variations in the mean age as calculated in Subsidiary Tables II and III may, therefore, be due to a change either in the proportion of births or in the rate of mortality.

394. In discussing variations in the mean age it seems desirable to consider only the figures for males, as it is believed that there is less inaccuracy in the return of their ages than is the case with females. In the Province as a whole the mean age of males

\* Resultats Statistiques du Dénombrement de 1891, Paris 1894, pages 223, 324 and 414.

† For a discussion of this subject see Bertillon's *Cours Élémentaire de Statistique*, page 503 and Newsholme's *Vital Statistics*, page 92.

‡ Thus in France during the period 1840-49, when the population was growing rapidly, the mean expectation of life was 40·05 years, whereas the mean age of the living was only 30·92.



fell slightly during the decade 1881—1891, and rose again during that preceding the present Census. The earlier decade was uniformly prosperous, and there were no serious epidemics. The population had been growing more rapidly than usual, and the mean age accordingly fell. Since 1891 the growth of the population has been less rapid, and the proportion of children is smaller. There has, consequently, been a rise in the mean age of the living.\*

The figures for Natural Divisions show that the mean age is highest in Central Bengal, where the proportion of immigrants, who are usually adults, is greatest. The mean age in this tract is now the same as it was in 1881. It was slightly lower in 1891 owing to the fact that the decade preceding that Census was one of more rapid growth than usual, owing to the disappearance of the Burdwan fever which had previously caused a serious loss of population. In spite of the large

Natural Division.	Mean age of males in years.		
	1891.	1891.	- 1881.
<b>PROVINCE</b> ... ..	<b>24.3</b>	<b>24.0</b>	<b>24.2</b>
West Bengal ... ..	24.8	24.7	24.8
Central " ... ..	25.1	24.9	25.1
North " ... ..	23.8	24.1	24.3
East " ... ..	23.5	23.6	23.8
North Bihar ... ..	24.4	24.4	24.4
South " ... ..	25.0	24.7	24.9
Orissa ... ..	24.4	24.1	24.7
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	22.6	22.4	22.0

number of emigrants the mean age in South Bihar is very nearly as great as in Central Bengal. This is only what is to be expected in a declining population where births are comparatively few in number, and having regard to the decrease in the population which has taken place, the wonder is that the average age has not risen to a higher figure. It would doubtless have done so but for the great emigration of adults from this tract to other parts of the Province. In West Bengal, which stands next, the mean age is very slightly less than in South Bihar, but its position is due, not so much to a small birth-rate, as to immigration. The mean age in North Bihar is exactly the same as in 1881. The population has been stationary since 1891, and the absence of any variation as compared with the Census in that year is, therefore, easily explicable, but it is not so clear why there should have been no change during the previous ten years when the population grew by nearly 6 per cent. The average age of the population is the same in Orissa as in North Bihar. It has been steadily increasing since 1881, when there had been an exceptionally rapid growth of population after the famine of 1866 and the proportion of young people was much above the normal. The mean age is comparatively low in North and East Bengal. In the former tract it is due in part to the unhealthiness near the foot of the hills which reduces the average longevity of the people, while in the latter it is attributable to the rapid rate at which the population is growing, *i.e.*, to the high birth-rate which raises the proportion of children. Compared with the previous decade, when several districts were recovering from the disastrous effects of a cyclone and storm-wave, the rate of growth in East Bengal has fallen slightly, and this has resulted in a small advance in the mean age. The fecundity of the inhabitants of the Chota Nagpur Plateau is even greater than that of those of East Bengal, while the number who attain old age is smaller. The mean age, therefore, is lower there than in any other part of the Province.

There is no need to linger long over the average age of the population according to religion. The Animists are, on the whole, the youngest community, then follow the Muhammadans, and then the Hindus. In the case of Animists the low average age is due to greater fecundity and a shorter span of life. The Muhammadans have a lower mean age than the Hindus because they

Religion.	Mean age of males.
Hindu ... ..	24.8
Musliman ... ..	23.1
Animist ... ..	21.9

\* If the calculation of mean age were correct, an average age of 24.3 in a stationary population would indicate a death-rate per 1,000 of  $\frac{1,000}{24.3}$  or about 41. As the population is not stationary but growing the death-rate calculated on this basis would be somewhat less than 41. The average yearly increase in the population is 4.9 per 1,000, and a death-rate of 41 per 1,000 would, therefore, give a birth-rate of about 46 per 1,000. The death-rate estimated by Mr Hardy for Bengal, as a whole, in 1891, was, as already stated, 44.8, and the birth-rate 51.8. M. Bertillon divides the number of births per 1,000 women of child-bearing age (which he places at from 15 to 60) the first class consists of those with a high birth-rate, *i.e.*, exceeding 180 per 1,000; then come those with a moderate one, *i.e.*, exceeding 120 per 1,000; then those with a low birth-rate, *i.e.*, 120 per 1,000 or less. Class I includes the Slav and Teutonic races; Class II England, Scotland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Roumania, Ireland, Norway and Denmark; and Class III Sweden, Greece, Switzerland; then, a long way behind, Ireland and, last of all, France. In Bengal the extreme child-bearing age is probably 40; but even if we take it at 45, a birth-rate of 46 per 1,000 of the total population would give 125 births per 1,000 married women of child-bearing age.



are more prolific: there is no reason to suppose that there is any marked difference in their relative longevity.

395. The proportional age-distribution of some of the main castes will be found in Subsidiary Table IV. It would be tedious to discuss the figures at length, but, taking males only, a few interesting results may be briefly noticed. Excluding Baishnabs, where the proportion is disturbed by new accretions of adults from outside, the castes which have the largest number of persons over 40 per 1,000 are those which rank highest in the Hindu social system,\* viz., Bráhmans (225), Káyasths (224), Rájputs (220) and Bábhans (217). Conversely the communities with the smallest proportion of persons of this age are the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur, such as Ho (156), Oráon (159), Santál (171), Pán (174), Bhuiyá (175), Bhumij (180) and Munda (183). These proportions are determined, as already explained, not only by the relative longevity of the various groups but also by their fecundity.†

Where the proportion of children is large that of adults must necessarily be smaller, and the average age of the community will be less even if the actual duration of life be the same. Amongst the high castes the proportion of children is much smaller than it is amongst the aboriginal tribes.

It is interesting to notice the very close resemblance which the age distribution of the Chandál of East Bengal bears to that of the Rájbansi, and it would seem that the likeness must be due to something more than mere accident.‡ It is possible that a more extended study of the age statistics of the various castes would throw a good deal of light on their racial affinities. The low proportion of old men amongst the Gauras of the Orissa States, for example, points clearly to the non-Aryan sources from which the caste is there mainly recruited, while the corre-

sponding figure for the Bábhans of Hazaribagh suggests either that they have there intermixed with lower races, or else that, in compiling the figures, there has been some confusion between Bhuinhár used as a synonym for Bábhan and the same word employed as a title of Mundas and Oráons, or as referring to the tribe commonly known as Bhuiyá. The Telis and Lohárs of the Chota Nagpur Plateau present in their age distribution the characteristics of the aborigines around them, while the same castes in Bengal Proper resemble in this respect the higher rather than the lower classes of the community.

396. Another point to be noticed is that there appears to have been a general and progressive decline in the birth-rate since 1881. The actual number of male children under 5 (excluding Sikkim and Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts) shows a small increase, as compared with 1891, while that of females has declined by nearly 5 per cent. With the exception of Darbhanga, where the number of children under 5 has increased by about 4 per cent., and of Muzaffarpur, where there has been practically no change, all the districts in the Patna Division contain a smaller number of such children than they did ten years ago. Five years, however, is too short a period from which to draw any general conclusions. In the Province, as a whole, the number of children under 10 years of age shows an increase since 1891 of nearly 2 per cent. for males, and of rather less than 3 per cent. for females, i.e., the children of this age have increased less than half as rapidly as the general population. In the Patna Division, however, the decrease amongst children aged 5 to 10 is even greater than that at the earlier age-period, being about 8 per cent. compared with about 4 per cent.

#### GENERAL DECLINE IN THE BIRTH-RATE.

Caste or Tribe.	Number of male children under 5 per 1,000 of population.
Bráhmán	119
Káyasth	106
Rájput	115
Bábhán	112
Ho	141
Oráon	146
Santál	145
Pán	156
Bhuiyá	147
Bhumij	124
Munda	153

Age.	PROPORTION PER 1,000.	
	Rájbansi.	Chandál.
0-5	123	131
5-15	199	200
15-20	160	158
20-40	261	303
40 and over.	997	204

\* There are exceptions, e.g., the Sunri (224) and the Goálá of Bengal Proper (224).

† The difference in the degree of education must also be remembered. The age-return of Bráhmans and Káyasths must be much more accurate than that of Santáls and Oráons.

‡ The affinities of the Rájbansis will be further discussed in the Chapter on Caste (paragraph 817).



Natural Division.	NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION.					
	Male.			Female.		
	1891.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1891.	1881.
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	<b>143</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>148</b>
West Bengal ...	130	132	130	131	132	126
Central Bengal ...	123	125	130	130	130	136
North Bengal ...	164	164	163	166	155	151
East Bengal ...	155	161	156	159	158	157
North Bihar ...	142	142	145	137	147	147
South Bihar ...	120	127	143	128	141	145
Orissa ...	128	131	146	131	134	140
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	122	123	107	120	100	100

tract, and a corresponding increase in Bihar. It must also be remembered that variations in the proportion borne by children to the total population depend not only on the changes in the birth-rate, but also on the deaths which occur. If, owing to the prevalence of epidemics or general unhealthiness, the mortality amongst adults is high, the proportion of children will be greater even though the number of births remains the same as before. On the other hand a general increase in the longevity of the people due to an improvement in their material condition would tend to reduce the proportion which children bear to the total population. Similarly, if there are any causes of mortality specially affecting the life of children, the proportion of the latter will be reduced accordingly.

397. It is very difficult to ascertain how far the proportions have been affected in different parts of the Province by considerations such as these; but taking the figures as they stand it may be observed that, as compared with 1881, there has been a slight increase in the proportion of children in East, West and North Bengal, but that the gain in these directions has been more than counterbalanced by a decline in all other parts of the Province, especially in Orissa, South Bihar and the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The increase in West Bengal would have been more marked but for the growth of the immigrant population. The greater number of immigrants is also mainly responsible for the smaller proportion of children now recorded in Central Bengal. The decline in Orissa may be ascribed to the fact that, in 1881, this tract was recovering from the great famine of 1866, *i.e.*, its population was growing at a specially rapid rate and the proportion of children was, therefore, exceptionally high.\* The population has now regained its normal condition, and the proportion of children has fallen accordingly. The decrease in Bihar admits of no such satisfactory explanation and the actual falling off is greater than would appear from the census figures, which do not allow for the growing volume of emigration of adults to Bengal Proper.

Of all the Bihar districts Darbhanga alone shows a slight increase, while the decline is most marked in the districts south of the Ganges and in Champaran. It is somewhat greater in the case of children between the ages of 5 and 10 than in that of those between 0 and 5. There must, therefore, have been either a lower birth-rate between 1891 and 1896 than between 1881 and 1886, or the mortality amongst children of this age must have been greater in the present decade than in the previous one. The possible causes of mortality amongst children which were present in the decade 1891—1901 and absent in the previous one are plague and famine. It does not appear that plague has any special tendency to attack children; while if the famine were the cause, it would follow that the diminution would be greatest in the districts which suffered most from that calamity. This, however, is not the case, and the worst famine district, Darbhanga, is the only one which has maintained its position. It would seem, therefore, that the real cause must be a fall in the birth-rate.

\* A rapid rise in the birth-rate after such catastrophes is a well known phenomenon. M. Bérillon says "la natalité s'abaisse, à la suite de l'immortalité, lorsque la population subit quelque désastre (guerre, disette, chômage, etc.). La période de crise une fois passée, la natalité devient plus forte qu'elle n'était avant la crise, comme si la population éprouvait le besoin de réparer le temps perdu. (Cours Élémentaire de Statistique Administrative, p. 477.)"



398. A fall in the birth-rate is a phenomenon with which European Statisticians are well acquainted. In France it has diminished to such an extent that in 1899 the deaths exceeded the births in half the departments, and the birth-rate, which in 1851 was only 26 per mille, has declined since then by 15 per cent. In England also the birth-rate has been steadily falling. The causes usually assigned for these results in Europe are—first, a postponement of marriage and a larger degree of celibacy and, secondly, the deliberate and voluntary avoidance of child-bearing on the part of a steadily increasing number of married people. To the above, it would be thought, might be added for India the gradual spread of the prejudice against the remarriage of widows, but as a matter of fact, in Bengal at least, widows remarry more freely now than they did even ten years ago. The prejudice against this practice is spreading amongst a few castes or sub-castes which are endeavouring to obtain a higher social position: but their number is small compared with that of the Muhammadan community, which is not only increasing more rapidly than the total population of the Province, but is also, in response to the preaching of the Maulavis, gradually divesting itself of the prejudices against widow marriage which it had imbibed from the Hindus. In the Province, as a whole, the proportion of widows to 1000 females aged 15 to 40 has fallen from 165 in 1881 and 154 in 1891 to 149 at the present Census. On the other hand, although the proportion of married women is no smaller than it was ten years ago, there has been a slight tendency to postpone the age of marriage. The proportion of married females under 10 is the same as before, but there has been a slight decline in the proportion of females who are married between the ages of 10 and 20. Between the ages 20 and 40 the proportion has remained unaltered, while that at the higher ages has risen. In Bihar the results are different from those in the rest of the Province. The general proportion of married women is the same as in 1891, but while infant marriage has become more common, there has been a diminution in the proportion of married women at the child-bearing ages. The falling-off is very marked in Saran and Champaran, especially in the former district.

399. The postponement of the age of marriage, however, can not wholly account for the diminished rate of reproduction. The deliberate avoidance of child-bearing must also be partly responsible. It has more than once been pointed out by Settlement Officers that the size of a landless labourer's family is smaller than that of a cultivator,\* and there seems to be no reason why this should be the case unless preventive checks of some sort were employed. Mal-nutrition would account for the diminished fecundity of the labouring classes in years of famine or great scarcity, but this by itself would, as a rule, merely postpone conception. A low birth-rate immediately after a famine is usually followed by a period in which the number of births is exceptionally great, and there is no reason to suppose that in ordinary years the conditions under which the labouring classes live are unfavourable to child-bearing. Moreover, the phenomenon is not confined to the labourers. Mr. Stevenson-Moore finds that amongst cultivators also the size of the family varies with the size of the holding.† It is a matter of common belief that amongst the tea-garden coolies of Assam means are frequently taken to prevent conception, or to procure abortion; and if so, it is not by any means improbable that the poorer classes in Bihar should adopt similar measures to avoid the embarrassment of a large family. Regarding the actual means by which the number of children is kept down I have no information, but it may be noted that in the districts where there has been a falling off in the proportion of children, the decrease in the number of females is somewhat greater than that in the number of males.

400. The proportion of children to the number of married females aged 15 to 40 is highest in Chota Nagpur and next highest in East and North Bengal; then follows Central Bengal, then West Bengal and North Bihar, then Orissa, and, last of all, South Bihar. In North Bengal the population is not growing very rapidly, and the large proportion of children seems, therefore, to

RELATIVE FECUNDITY IN DIFFERENT NATURAL DIVISIONS.

\* Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, page 364, and Report on Material Condition of small Agriculturists and Labourers in the Gaya District, page 17.

† *Op. Cit.*, page 23.



be due to a great extent to the comparatively short duration of life enjoyed by the people in that part of the Province. Many of the North Bengal districts are very unhealthy and the mortality is high. In one tract, as we have already seen, the average death-rate during the last decade was 59·8 per mille, while in one year it reached the appalling figure of 71 per 1,000.\* In Orissa, on the other hand, in spite of the low proportion of children, the population has grown by more than the provincial average, and it may, therefore, be concluded that the people in that Division enjoy a longer span of life than those in many other parts of the Province.

401. Turning to the proportion of children amongst the different religions, we notice that it is highest amongst the Animistic tribes and lowest amongst the Hindus, while the Muhammadans occupy a middle place approaching more nearly to the Animists than to the Hindus. There is probably no marked difference in the relative longevity of Hindus and Musalmans, and the excess of children amongst the latter is due, doubtless, to a higher birth-rate. The aboriginal tribes are believed to be comparatively short-lived and, although they are very prolific, the greater number of their children, as compared with the Muhammadans, may also be due in part to the fact that there are fewer old people amongst them. The true growth of

RELIGION.	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 PER 10,000.	
	Male.	Female.
Hindu ... ..	2,085	2,742
Muselman ... ..	3,112	3,211
Animist ... ..	3,332	3,345

the Animistic population is obscured by emigration to Assam and conversions to Hinduism, but so far as can be gathered from the analysis given in Chapter II of the variations in the population of the districts where they form the bulk of the population, they are increasing even more rapidly than the Muhammadans and, if so, it would seem that their greater fecundity is the main factor in producing the high proportion of children.

The greater apparent prolificness of the Muhammadans, as compared with Hindus, is due partly to the fact that they live mainly in the part of the Province where the conditions are favourable to a rapid increase of the population, but this is by no means the only reason. Even in East Bengal the proportion of children under 10 is far greater than amongst Hindus, and in every Natural Division Muhammadan children are relatively far more

NATURAL DIVISION.	PROPORTION OF MALE CHILDREN UNDER 10 PER 10,000.	
	Hindu.	Muselman.
West Bengal ...	2,502	2,725
Central " ...	2,435	2,853
North " ...	2,585	3,803
East " ...	2,755	3,329
North Bihar ...	2,777	2,911
South " ...	2,677	2,679
Orissa ...	2,681	2,771
Chota Nagpur ...	3,026	3,166

numerous than those of Hindu parents. The main reason for this result, which fully accords with the observed variations in the rate of growth of the two communities, appears to be that among the Musalmans there are fewer unmarried women at the productive ages. The proportion of the married to the total number of females is about the same in both cases, but amongst Hindus girls of tender age bulk more largely in the former category. The distribution of 1,000 women of each religion by age and civil condition shows that there are 343 married women amongst the Musalmans between the ages of 15 and 40 compared with only 325 amongst the Hindus. The Muhammadan girls marry at a later age than do the Hindus, and when they become widows, they more frequently expouse a second husband. Apart from this it would seem that the Muhammadan population as a whole is more fecund than the Hindu. The circumstances which seem to account for this result have already been discussed in the last Chapter (paragraph 310)

402. I have already referred incidentally to the varying fecundity of different castes and tribes in connection with their longevity. A high proportion of children may be due either to greater productiveness or to a lower average span of life. In Subsidiary Table VI the comparison is made between the number of female children under 12 and the number of married females of child-bearing age, *i.e.*, from 15 to 40. The variations in the longevity of different classes probably affect the figures after the age of 40 in a far greater degree than those at the lower ages. The elimination of the persons living at the higher ages, however, does not materially affect the result, and it still appears, as before, that the

\* Ante page 62, paragraph 12v.

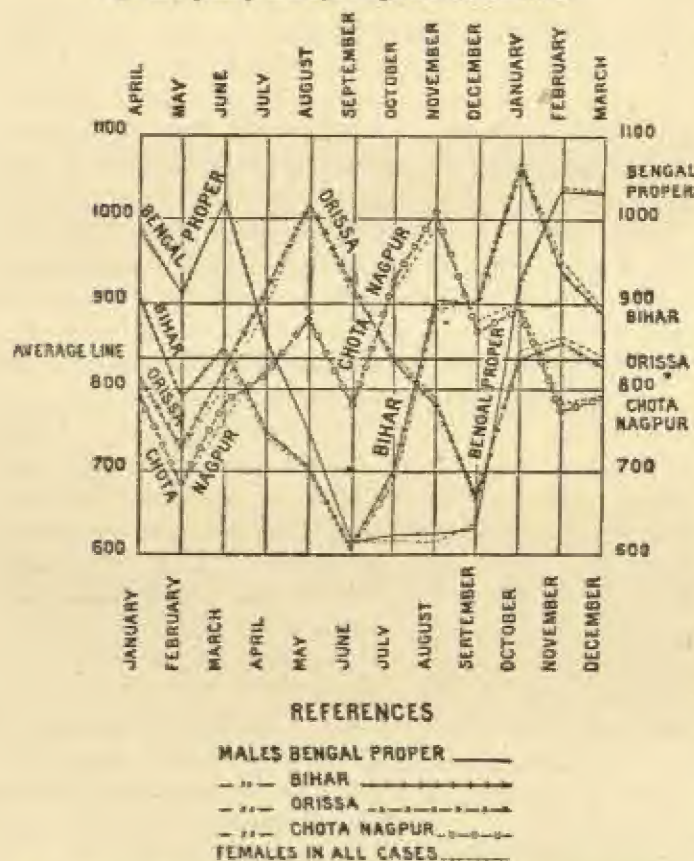


fecundity of the aboriginal tribes is far greater than that of the Hindus. If the inferior prolificness of the Hindus were confined to or were chiefly found amongst the higher castes, the result might be explained by the inactive and secluded life which their women live in their zenanas, but it is not so. With the exception of a few race castes, such as the Chandáls and Rájbangsis, the variations in the different ranks of the Hindu community are not very great, and if fewer children are born to high caste parents the loss is made good by the greater care which they receive and the consequently lower rate of mortality amongst them. Whatever the causes may be, it would seem that they must be such as are generally applicable to the whole Hindu community, such as infant marriage, greater inequality in the age of husband and wife; the treatment which a Hindu woman has to submit to at child-birth and when ceremonially unclean, and, lastly, the more extensive resort to preventive checks.

The figures for the Muhammadan functional groups differ but little from those for Hindu castes. It is the cultivating Musalmans, who do not belong to any functional group, who form the most prolific section of the Muhammadan community. Amongst the Buddhists the proportion of children is high in the case of the Maghs and Chákmás of South-East Bengal, and very low amongst the Sikkim Bhotias and Lepchas of the sub-Himalayan region.\*

403. There are some curious variations between different parts of the province in respect of the time when births are most numerous. The average monthly number per 10,000 births yearly, calculated on the returns for the period 1892—1900, is shown in the diagram in the margin.

*Diagram showing the average monthly number of births per 10,000 reported yearly during the period 1892—1900.*



NOTE.—The month in which the births were reported is shown at the bottom and the probable month of conception at the top of the diagram.

The months noted at the bottom refer to the date of birth and those at the top to the probable time of conception, *i.e.*, nine months earlier. In Bengal Proper the months most favourable to conception are February, March, April and June. From June to September (*i.e.*, during the course of the monsoon) the extent to which conception takes place shows a steady decline; from September to December, *i.e.*, from the cessation of the rains until well on in the cold weather, the fecundity of the people remains at a minimum, and it then again rises rapidly as the cold weather advances and the spring draws near.

In Bihar the reproductive forces come chiefly into play between November and April, and reach their zenith in January. There is a rapid fall in May

\* The figures for Lepchas seemed so small that I caused them to be worked out a second time, but the result was the same. The general impression is that the Lepchas have large families. It may be that the Census of Sikkim, where the proportion of children is lowest, is still not as accurate as that of the rest of the Province, and that of the omissions most refer to children. At the same time the result accords very closely with the opinion of Brian Hodgson, who possessed an unrivalled knowledge of the Himalayan country. Speaking of the Bodo and Dhimal of the sub-Himalaya he says: "though healthy races, they are not long-lived nor prolific. Gray hairs are less common than in the hills or in the plains; sixty is deemed a great age; a family of 8 or 9 living children is scarcely known; 5 or 6 alive is nearly the maximum, and 3 to 4 the mean." The Dhimals and Lepchas resemble each other very closely in many respects.

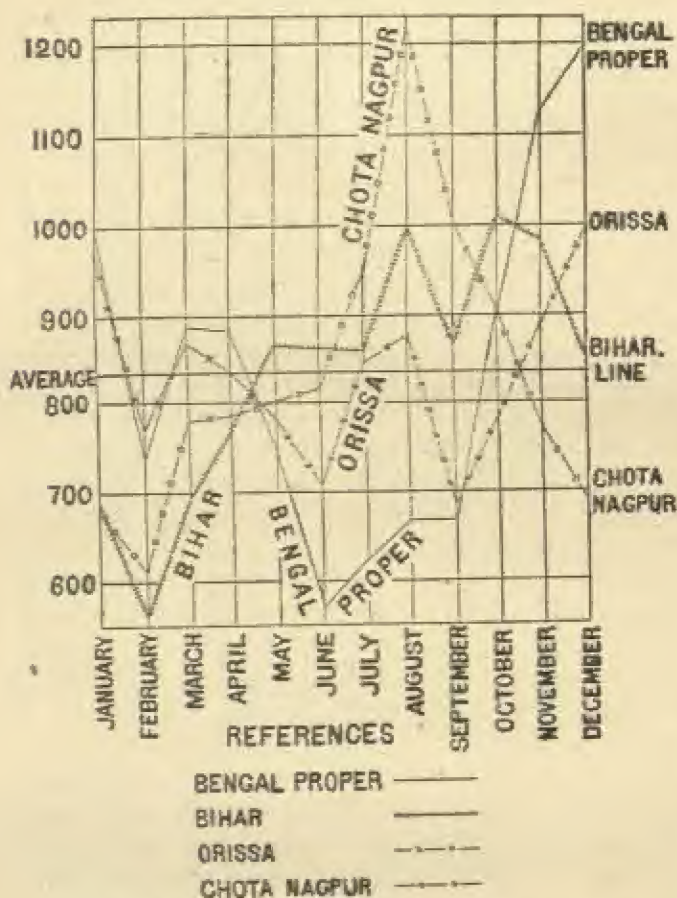


and a slight recovery in June. Then, as in Bengal Proper, the curve falls steadily until September, but, unlike the Bengal line, it again rises immediately, so that in November the amount of conception is once more well above the average.

The fluctuations in Orissa follow an entirely different direction, and the monsoon months are the time when the reproductive principle is most active. During the spring it is about normal, and it is at a minimum in the cold weather. The fall during the month of May is the only feature which is common to Orissa and the other Sub-Provinces. The curve for Chota Nagpur is noticeable mainly for the relatively narrow limits within which it oscillates. Conception takes place most freely in August, and again in the cold weather months; and least so between February and July, the minimum being reached in the month of May.

404. The diagram in the margin shows for each Sub-Province the number per 10,000 deaths yearly which occur in each month of the year. In Bengal Proper the death rate is lowest in June. It rises slowly as the monsoon progresses, and rapidly when the monsoon fades away and the cold weather begins. The greatest number of deaths occur in December. In February the mortality suddenly diminishes, and after a slight rise in March and April it again falls until, as already stated, it reaches its minimum in June. In Bihar the fluctuations

*Diagram showing the average monthly number of deaths per 10,000 reported during the period 1892-1900.*



are smaller. The lowest death-rate is in February, and it rises steadily until May, when it slightly exceeds the yearly average. The mortality then remains fairly constant for the rest of the year, except in August, October and November, when it is relatively high. In January it falls considerably, and is lower than in any month except February.

In Orissa the mortality is about the average in April and July, below it in February, May, June, September and October, and above it during the other months, being highest in December and January. In Chota Nagpur, as in Bihar, the mortality is lowest in February, from which month it rises continuously until August, when it is nearly 50 per cent. above the mean, and then again falls. From November to June it is below and from July to October it is above the average.

There seems to be no correlation between the rate of mortality and the effective strength of the reproductive principle. In Bengal Proper June is the month, alike of the smallest number of deaths and the largest amount of conception, but next to June and July, August and September are the months of least mortality, while conception takes place most extensively in February, March and April. The reason seems to be partly that death is often due to illnesses contracted some months previous to death, and partly that the mortality generally is greatest amongst the very young and very old, who are unable to bear the cold of winter, which does no harm to those in the prime of life, who are responsible for the birth-rate. It is unnecessary, in these circumstances to compare the statistics for the other Sub-Provinces.



405. It is often said that the reporting of births in towns is very defective; but the low figures for urban areas are due to a

BIRTH-RATE IN TOWNS.

great extent to the fact that the crude birth-rate is taken, *i.e.*, the number of births per 1,000 of the total population. The number of births, however, depends on the number of married women of child-bearing age, and the proportion of such women in towns is usually much smaller than in rural areas. The only accurate way of testing the completeness of reporting in towns is by comparing the number of births with the number of married women aged 15 to 40. In Appendix III, I have shown the extent to which the proportion of such women in each town differs from the provincial average. It will be seen that the deficiency is often very considerable. In Nasirabad, for example, there are barely three-fifths as many married women of these ages as there are in the general population. It is, therefore, obvious that the crude birth-rate must also be greatly in defect.\*

\* Even if the birth-rate be calculated on the number of married women aged 15 to 40 there will still be some deficiency in all towns with a large immigrant population, partly owing to the practice, already adverted to, of women going to their parents' houses for their first confinement, and partly to the fact that many of the immigrants from places in the neighbourhood have two establishments—a temporary house in the town and a permanent one a few miles away. In such cases their wives would usually go to the permanent home in the country when the time of their confinement came near.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—UNADJUSTED AGE RETURN OF 100,000 OF EACH SEX.

AGE.	MALE.			FEMALE.		
	Hindu.	Moham- madan.	Average.	Hindu.	Moham- madan.	Average.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0	2,006	2,231	3,056	3,045	3,825	2,954
1	1,404	1,504	1,450	1,710	1,303	1,554
2	2,585	3,470	3,158	3,222	3,224	3,226
3	2,400	3,240	3,074	3,229	3,400	3,393
4	2,717	3,223	3,000	2,545	3,126	3,012
5	3,415	4,181	3,770	3,574	3,890	3,720
6	2,385	3,336	2,825	2,447	3,118	2,767
7	2,957	3,276	3,094	3,074	3,226	3,179
8	3,081	4,341	3,665	2,636	3,492	3,038
9	2,347	2,506	2,367	2,228	2,110	2,161
10	3,348	4,470	3,867	2,665	3,267	2,952
11	1,821	1,563	1,540	1,452	1,478	1,465
12	3,017	4,445	4,161	2,747	2,980	2,858
13	1,259	1,315	1,239	1,174	1,064	1,122
14	1,023	2,220	2,065	1,308	1,819	1,813
15	2,169	2,008	2,085	1,966	1,857	1,929
16	2,072	2,330	2,219	2,240	2,973	2,405
17	1,110	819	875	1,124	873	1,005
18	2,308	2,414	2,405	2,543	2,360	2,394
19	942	701	833	1,081	923	1,000
20	2,304	2,569	2,695	3,519	3,830	3,671
21	838	500	701	781	321	800
22	2,300	1,866	2,089	2,420	2,451	2,439
23	758	518	660	701	631	715
24	1,233	1,692	1,178	1,236	1,308	1,321
25	4,423	3,752	4,115	4,334	4,607	4,482
26	1,315	1,051	1,139	1,100	1,000	1,071
27	1,007	802	914	910	743	880
28	3,033	1,854	1,950	1,833	1,791	1,813
29	653	456	575	536	533	535
30	4,463	3,833	4,171	4,394	4,431	4,407
31	444	365	417	442	456	434
32	2,360	2,104	2,241	2,044	1,897	1,974
33	443	309	380	333	290	309
34	565	441	508	522	431	479
35	3,073	2,553	2,833	2,769	2,578	2,873
36	1,507	1,476	1,492	1,245	1,206	1,289
37	573	377	462	424	301	361
38	1,127	230	989	926	748	841
39	379	307	327	341	361	350
40	4,084	3,611	3,849	4,121	3,284	4,061
41	327	269	300	291	330	305
42	1,043	792	927	856	745	803
43	170	152	162	181	133	158
44	457	363	414	423	374	399
45	2,189	2,090	2,108	2,169	1,914	2,048
46	370	277	327	203	220	263
47	286	163	229	225	133	210
48	287	420	509	679	433	561
49	177	167	168	219	197	208
50	2,307	2,639	2,801	3,110	3,023	3,068
51	190	202	195	173	181	177
52	540	465	505	519	429	476
53	115	77	99	169	79	92
54	178	144	162	135	110	134
55	1,110	964	1,042	1,180	953	1,061
56	274	223	253	283	234	260
57	199	160	132	142	108	126
58	305	177	246	236	178	209
59	73	126	97	78	67	87
60	2,069	2,037	2,054	2,716	2,429	2,680
61	67	60	84	119	121	117
62	278	191	238	316	245	282
63	40	32	36	41	26	34
64	90	73	83	81	75	83
65	454	466	459	573	429	504
66	45	40	43	74	112	92
67	61	37	45	58	55	56
68	91	87	89	110	71	91
69	35	20	28	31	28	30
70	539	550	551	595	786	846
71	33	23	30	34	35	35
72	94	90	96	125	96	111
73	12	7	10	19	12	15
74	20	21	20	13	13	12
75	196	196	191	235	206	221
76	13	16	16	20	16	21
77	17	12	15	14	16	15
78	27	18	22	27	29	28
79	11	13	12	13	10	12
80	223	314	291	469	401	432
81	13	11	12	10	21	15
82	12	25	21	35	23	29
83	4	1	2	3	6	5
84	13	11	12	9	9	9
85	47	45	46	72	44	59
86	10	4	7	4	1	3
87	6	3	5	3	1	2
88	14	4	10	9	6	8
89	1	1	1	3	4	3
90	52	77	84	51	60	71
91	2	5	3	5	5	5
92	6	9	8	5	3	4
93	7	1	4	3	3	1
94	3	1	1	1	2	1
95	11	11	11	23	17	20
96	5	2	3	6	2	4
97	3	1	2	1	1	2
98	10	3	7	1	4	3
99	4	1	3	3	4	5
100 and over	24	23	23	19	15	17

Note.—This return was prepared from a few units taken at random in different parts of the Province. It is merely designed to illustrate the tendency of the people to pitch on certain numbers and not to show the general age distribution of the population.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 100,000 OF EACH SEX.

1901.							1901.							1901.						
AGE.	Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(1) WHOLE OF BENGAL.							(5) NORTH BIHAR.							(9) CHOTA NAAGPUR PLATEAU.						
Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0-5	2,885	3,715	3,165	3,335	2,315	2,333	0-5	12,741	13,061	15,984	13,736	13,747	14,482	0-5	7,422	11,084	.....	.....	.....	.....
5-10	1,376	1,505	1,416	1,516	2,348	2,405	5-10	10,627	14,553	15,163	14,880	15,728	14,589	5-10	7,301	10,347	.....	.....	.....	.....
10-15	2,971	3,277	2,929	3,232	2,934	3,219	10-15	12,011	9,873	12,144	9,671	11,444	9,929	10-15	8,720	8,874	.....	.....	.....	.....
15-20	3,145	3,507	3,347	3,733	3,512	3,837	15-20	8,238	7,487	7,636	6,801	7,160	6,445	15-20	8,318	8,021	.....	.....	.....	.....
20-25	2,839	3,090	3,071	3,122	3,199	3,205	20-25	6,906	6,234	6,399	5,931	6,099	5,805	20-25	11,808	8,652	.....	.....	.....	.....
25-30	15,308	14,897	15,564	14,744	15,338	14,440	25-30	6,020	5,068	5,226	4,953	5,085	4,950	25-30	12,447	8,117	.....	.....	.....	.....
30-35	12,474	10,151	12,194	9,740	11,388	9,010	30-35	6,152	5,927	6,321	6,809	6,051	6,055	30-35	12,052	9,861	.....	.....	.....	.....
35-40	8,261	8,990	8,178	8,575	7,564	7,646	35-40	6,356	6,386	6,463	6,470	6,351	6,251	35-40	7,443	5,976	.....	.....	.....	.....
40-45	7,325	8,944	7,922	8,268	7,110	8,421	40-45	5,979	6,122	6,435	6,429	6,001	6,549	40-45	8,003	8,141	.....	.....	.....	.....
45-50	8,978	9,040	8,492	8,941	8,899	8,943	45-50	4,970	3,966	4,048	3,877	3,864	3,697	45-50	4,070	5,796	.....	.....	.....	.....
50-55	7,052	7,752	8,077	8,193	8,505	8,557	50-55	4,035	4,118	4,208	4,346	4,341	4,331	50-55	4,807	5,796	.....	.....	.....	.....
55-60	6,248	5,514	6,446	5,661	6,222	5,596	55-60	1,811	1,995	1,747	1,571	1,729	1,871	55-60	1,845	2,095	.....	.....	.....	.....
60 and over	5,961	4,841	6,370	6,088	6,523	6,530	60 and over	4,814	6,619	4,933	6,629	4,596	6,381	60 and over	1,945	2,095	.....	.....	.....	.....
Unspecified	1,679	1,677	1,667	1,677	1,631	1,655	Unspecified	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	52	Unspecified	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
MEAN AGE	24.3	24.5	24.0	24.8	24.2	25.9	MEAN AGE	24.4	25.7	24.4	25.7	24.4	25.5	MEAN AGE	24.3	27.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
(2) WEST BENGAL.							(7) SOUTH BIHAR.							(10) CITIES (1901 ONLY).						
Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0-5	11,909	12,967	12,532	13,132	12,950	12,754	0-5	12,596	12,925	13,006	13,032	14,454	15,048	0-5	7,422	11,084	.....	.....	.....	.....
5-10	13,974	13,583	14,341	13,063	13,659	11,090	5-10	13,728	12,509	15,348	13,869	14,731	13,897	5-10	7,301	10,347	.....	.....	.....	.....
10-15	12,313	9,690	11,804	8,843	11,118	8,501	10-15	12,176	9,783	12,635	9,990	11,209	8,666	10-15	8,720	8,874	.....	.....	.....	.....
15-20	9,200	9,264	8,814	9,071	8,933	8,916	15-20	8,344	7,594	7,691	6,994	6,904	6,236	15-20	8,318	8,021	.....	.....	.....	.....
20-25	7,005	8,828	7,553	8,691	8,066	8,304	20-25	8,011	9,103	7,218	8,043	7,097	8,041	20-25	11,808	8,652	.....	.....	.....	.....
25-30	9,045	8,986	8,976	9,000	9,340	10,160	25-30	8,953	8,194	8,118	8,079	8,524	9,137	25-30	12,447	8,117	.....	.....	.....	.....
30-35	7,743	7,011	8,242	8,411	8,555	8,505	30-35	8,427	8,619	8,100	8,641	8,841	8,913	30-35	12,052	9,861	.....	.....	.....	.....
35-40	8,646	5,868	6,960	6,188	6,713	5,932	35-40	6,170	6,536	6,021	6,236	5,876	6,066	35-40	7,443	5,976	.....	.....	.....	.....
40-45	6,593	6,382	6,048	6,546	6,401	6,706	40-45	6,229	6,506	6,503	6,744	6,846	6,814	40-45	8,003	8,141	.....	.....	.....	.....
45-50	4,046	3,784	3,940	3,625	3,581	3,417	45-50	4,040	3,901	3,892	3,746	3,781	3,923	45-50	4,070	5,796	.....	.....	.....	.....
50-55	4,067	4,438	3,829	4,297	3,916	4,736	50-55	4,294	4,506	4,465	4,038	4,598	4,725	50-55	4,807	5,796	.....	.....	.....	.....
55-60	2,120	2,247	2,069	2,367	1,930	2,116	55-60	1,840	1,954	1,806	1,890	1,889	1,888	55-60	1,845	2,095	.....	.....	.....	.....
60 and over	4,476	6,192	4,342	6,220	4,558	6,577	60 and over	5,113	7,021	5,184	7,042	5,346	7,333	60 and over	1,945	2,095	.....	.....	.....	.....
Unspecified	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	50	Unspecified	.....	.....	.....	.....	55	61	Unspecified	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
MEAN AGE	24.8	25.8	24.7	26.1	25.8	26.6	MEAN AGE	25.0	26.5	24.7	26.1	24.9	26.5	MEAN AGE	24.3	27.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
(3) CENTRAL BENGAL.							(8) ORISSA.							(10) CITIES (1901 ONLY).						
Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0-5	12,072	13,809	13,310	13,413	13,228	14,126	0-5	13,959	13,053	13,461	12,553	14,472	14,089	0-5	7,422	11,084	.....	.....	.....	.....
5-10	13,284	13,397	13,261	12,465	14,341	13,466	5-10	13,188	12,464	14,086	13,480	15,213	14,158	5-10	7,301	10,347	.....	.....	.....	.....
10-15	11,589	9,569	11,222	8,713	10,738	8,603	10-15	12,723	10,927	13,629	11,682	11,479	9,774	10-15	8,720	8,874	.....	.....	.....	.....
15-20	8,836	9,094	8,381	8,938	7,001	7,919	15-20	9,522	9,410	10,200	9,474	8,049	7,191	15-20	8,318	8,021	.....	.....	.....	.....
20-25	8,343	8,702	7,547	8,534	5,753	5,710	20-25	8,816	9,264	8,430	8,146	8,098	8,771	20-25	11,808	8,652	.....	.....	.....	.....
25-30	9,794	9,340	8,908	9,210	9,511	9,541	25-30	8,596	8,181	8,001	7,172	8,420	8,267	25-30	12,447	8,117	.....	.....	.....	.....
30-35	7,469	7,445	8,509	8,444	8,013	8,503	30-35	7,643	8,017	7,601	8,255	8,408	8,740	30-35	12,052	9,861	.....	.....	.....	.....
35-40	6,632	6,019	6,980	5,752	6,553	6,393	35-40	6,019	6,899	5,740	5,966	5,376	4,773	35-40	7,443	5,976	.....	.....	.....	.....
40-45	6,511	6,230	6,710	6,364	6,763	6,079	40-45	6,275	7,372	6,953	7,568	6,004	7,181	40-45	8,003	8,141	.....	.....	.....	.....
45-50	4,012	3,828	3,887	3,157	3,691	3,312	45-50	4,013	3,177	3,377	2,854	2,845	2,468	45-50	4,070	5,796	.....	.....	.....	.....
50-55	3,051	4,435	3,792	4,253	4,045	4,702	50-55	5,098	5,414	4,419	5,086	4,447	5,270	50-55	4,807	5,796	.....	.....	.....	.....
55-60	2,040	2,282	2,075	2,904	1,842	1,960	55-60	1,749	1,899	1,467	1,378	1,521	1,384	55-60	1,845	2,095	.....	.....	.....	.....
60 and over	4,738	6,050	4,822	6,543	5,185	7,051	60 and over	4,365	6,444	4,488	6,906	4,571	7,240	60 and over	1,945	2,095	.....	.....	.....	.....
Unspecified	.....	.....	.....	.....	52	49	Unspecified	.....	.....	.....	.....	77	63	Unspecified	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
MEAN AGE	25.1	25.5	24.9	25.7	25.1	26.2	MEAN AGE	24.4	25.9	24.1	25.8	23.7	25.7	MEAN AGE	24.3	27.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
(4) NORTH BENGAL.							(9) CHOTA NAAGPUR PLATEAU.							(10) CITIES (1901 ONLY).						
Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Total	100,000	100,000	100,00			



# SUBSIDIARY TABLE III—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 100,000 OF EACH SEX BY RELIGION.

## (1) HINDU.

Age.	1901.		1901.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0	2,766	2,613	3,082	3,185	2,906	2,219
1	1,369	1,383	1,646	1,385	2,303	2,441
2	2,661	2,075	2,679	2,972	2,759	3,037
3	2,967	2,901	3,149	3,535	3,328	3,076
4	2,725	2,599	2,874	2,957	2,941	3,066
5-10	14,389	14,004	14,925	14,153	14,940	13,867
10-15	12,181	9,536	12,022	8,609	11,161	8,907
15-20	7,715	5,711	8,365	6,005	7,707	7,417
20-25	7,869	5,778	7,312	6,147	7,350	6,370
25-30	9,102	9,025	8,321	8,286	8,695	9,419
30-35	8,180	8,015	8,262	8,206	8,784	8,728
35-40	6,328	5,849	6,567	6,033	6,354	5,513
40-45	6,258	5,710	6,567	6,226	6,494	6,500
45-50	5,934	5,419	6,350	5,406	5,643	5,379
50-55	4,129	4,324	4,131	4,317	4,222	4,551
55-60	1,928	1,904	1,786	1,848	1,797	1,814
60 and over	4,651	6,210	4,782	6,310	4,943	6,704
Unspecified					31	35
Mean Age	24.6	23.5	24.6	25.6	24.6	25.4

## (2) MUHAMMADAN.

Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0	3,072	3,158	3,475	3,780	2,553	2,501
1	1,510	1,673	1,664	1,815	2,402	2,559
2	3,254	3,331	3,390	3,737	3,232	3,534
3	3,300	3,223	3,229	4,019	3,727	4,035
4	3,271	3,440	3,353	3,234	3,461	3,474
5-10	10,600	14,376	16,464	15,239	16,477	15,835
10-15	12,830	10,323	12,266	9,622	11,707	9,136
15-20	8,230	6,422	7,906	5,914	7,287	6,124
20-25	6,932	6,651	6,515	6,813	6,619	5,569
25-30	8,842	9,135	8,315	9,120	8,547	9,200
30-35	7,667	7,806	7,645	7,801	8,265	8,253
35-40	6,204	4,913	6,490	4,965	6,302	4,912
40-45	5,520	5,215	5,780	5,531	5,650	5,067
45-50	3,452	2,737	3,330	2,640	3,306	2,759
50-55	3,440	3,029	3,647	3,779	3,880	4,208
55-60	1,451	1,265	1,455	1,377	1,443	1,340
60 and over	4,254	4,709	4,490	5,272	4,747	5,880
Unspecified					44	54
Mean Age	23.1	23.0	23.2	23.5	23.6	24.5

## (3) CHRISTIAN.

Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0	2,540	2,750	2,863	3,197	2,842	2,925
1	1,919	2,149	2,161	2,810	2,243	2,706
2	3,085	2,445	3,091	3,315	2,732	3,159
3	3,265	3,780	3,675	4,182	3,283	3,063
4	3,047	3,327	3,292	3,754	3,025	2,336
5-10	14,781	15,347	15,108	15,785	13,604	25,019
10-15	12,021	12,473	12,127	12,237	10,984	10,927
15-20	8,968	9,121	8,837	8,739	8,080	8,124
20-25	8,414	8,356	8,201	8,341	10,633	9,650
25-30	9,806	8,556	8,550	8,304	10,267	9,081
30-35	7,710	7,263	7,868	7,545	8,008	7,716
35-40	6,022	6,348	6,115	5,416	6,963	5,304
40-45	5,301	4,964	5,572	5,068	5,503	4,787
45-50	3,256	3,036	3,223	2,664	3,562	2,965
50-55	3,464	3,209	3,681	2,060	3,065	3,200
55-60	1,081	1,613	1,689	1,023	1,509	1,697
60 and over	3,002	4,252	3,619	4,361	3,784	5,000
Unspecified					129	124
Mean Age	23.1	22.7	22.8	22.5	23.6	23.5

## (4) ANIMIST.

Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	Not available.	
0	2,477	2,494	2,625	2,504		
1	1,803	2,000	2,121	2,223		
2	3,395	2,648	2,255	3,528		
3	3,860	4,314	4,290	4,761		
4	3,477	3,607	3,771	3,945		
5-10	15,109	17,222	18,982	17,674		
10-15	14,323	12,145	14,153	11,860		
15-20	8,694	6,141	6,193	6,595		
20-25	6,714	6,280	6,189	7,454		
25-30	7,847	6,125	7,059	7,715		
30-35	7,621	7,102	6,702	7,229		
35-40	4,533	5,108	5,390	5,178		
40-45	6,422	5,064	6,407	5,001		
45-50	1,093	2,603	3,676	2,587		
50-55	3,523	3,243	3,274	3,006		
55-60	1,305	1,343	1,442	1,083		
60 and over	3,603	4,338	4,031	4,717		
Mean Age	21.9	22.2	21.8	22.2		



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN CERTAIN CASTES.

CASTE.	NUMBER PER 1,000 MALE AGED.					NUMBER PER 1,000 FEMALE AGED.				
	0-5	5-12	12-20	20-40	40 & over.	0-5	5-12	12-20	20-40	40 & over.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>AHIR AND GOALA</b> ... ..	125	196	163	308	208	153	189	140	325	220
Bengal Proper ... ..	112	164	164	338	234	125	167	168	308	235
Bihar ... ..	125	201	150	306	212	134	182	131	331	222
Chota Nagpur ... ..	144	205	220	282	169	137	200	170	301	192
<b>AJLAJ (Musalman)</b> ... ..	139	212	162	289	197	155	187	180	308	172
Bengal Proper ... ..	139	212	162	289	197	155	187	180	308	172
<b>BABHAN</b> ... ..	112	184	167	300	217	111	165	115	351	278
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	112	160	170	310	217	110	174	114	326	270
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	111	181	163	295	218	110	162	114	343	281
Hazaribagh ... ..	125	201	150	307	227	133	185	142	328	250
<b>BAGDI</b> ... ..	196	199	161	311	210	153	171	157	314	225
West Bengal ... ..	125	192	162	313	211	126	176	158	317	220
Central Bengal ... ..	157	192	162	303	210	154	173	155	307	211
<b>BAISHNAB</b> ... ..	119	175	164	303	259	105	143	144	324	284
Bengal Proper ... ..	120	176	164	301	259	103	139	143	327	286
Orissa and Manbhumi ... ..	116	170	163	314	258	121	178	147	300	256
<b>BARHI</b> ... ..	135	205	165	285	210	141	183	141	310	225
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	147	222	166	280	195	151	194	156	300	219
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	139	204	160	286	216	138	177	131	320	224
Hazaribagh, Cuttack and Puri ... ..	125	195	173	298	209	139	185	165	298	214
<b>BARHI (Musalman)</b> ... ..	134	228	174	253	201	151	170	171	312	207
Champanan ... ..	134	228	174	253	201	151	170	171	312	207
<b>BAURI</b> ... ..	130	198	180	291	199	149	187	170	297	197
West Bengal ... ..	141	203	175	268	190	154	190	150	308	192
Manbhumi ... ..	145	217	197	284	187	153	193	158	299	197
South Parganas ... ..	140	229	171	294	180	155	200	173	287	183
Orissa ... ..	139	178	177	297	215	136	177	178	295	214
<b>BHUIYA</b> ... ..	147	222	166	290	173	151	198	173	300	178
Midnapore ... ..	138	203	190	291	178	143	193	170	293	211
Gaya and Bhagalpur ... ..	140	214	141	301	196	162	194	179	296	189
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	147	225	174	286	168	145	200	171	301	180
<b>BHUMIJ</b> ... ..	135	222	159	281	180	136	200	189	284	191
West Bengal ... ..	138	210	195	279	188	150	213	173	276	188
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	139	224	186	282	177	132	197	192	286	193
<b>BRAHMAN</b> ... ..	110	179	166	311	225	125	166	140	310	261
Bengal Proper ... ..	120	176	167	309	228	125	170	161	292	232
Bihar ... ..	119	195	165	315	218	122	166	113	322	271
Orissa ... ..	121	173	167	304	223	119	157	150	308	266
Chota Nagpur ... ..	117	160	160	320	214	134	179	164	307	228
<b>CHAMAR</b> ... ..	140	210	166	285	190	150	191	142	323	208
Bengal Proper ... ..	140	193	161	297	192	153	190	158	319	191
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	130	219	168	277	197	125	191	142	318	224
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	136	217	164	287	194	154	188	137	332	209
Cuttack ... ..	148	202	188	279	189	134	166	178	301	227
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	150	243	173	275	167	150	210	165	294	178
<b>CHASA</b> ... ..	122	188	167	306	205	140	183	152	301	224
Orissa ... ..	122	188	167	306	205	140	183	152	301	224
<b>DHANUK</b> ... ..	130	212	180	303	205	159	184	135	320	251
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	126	220	142	301	201	151	190	129	308	236
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	132	203	155	304	206	162	178	150	298	229
<b>DHORA</b> ... ..	151	198	167	301	203	135	185	160	304	216
Bengal Proper ... ..	120	195	163	306	216	130	187	165	306	200
Bihar ... ..	137	201	162	297	203	152	182	147	309	230
Orissa ... ..	130	196	171	304	193	130	179	164	295	220
Chota Nagpur ... ..	143	210	185	279	174	141	204	160	301	184
<b>DHOB (Musalman)</b> ... ..	143	219	171	272	196	152	194	159	329	213
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	131	219	155	281	214	125	201	120	320	225
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	145	219	176	270	199	154	191	133	325	210
<b>DHUNIA (Musalman)</b> ... ..	155	227	146	274	198	141	195	156	299	229
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	143	213	143	280	200	140	194	153	308	223
Other Bihar Districts, including Malda ... ..	161	218	167	282	192	142	201	138	294	228
<b>DOM</b> ... ..	132	197	166	304	201	146	180	174	291	209
West Bengal ... ..	157	182	164	313	211	155	172	169	310	214
Monghyr and South Parganas ... ..	142	222	166	287	185	146	180	160	280	205
Manbhumi ... ..	129	212	158	283	180	153	189	159	279	185



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN CERTAIN CASTES.

CASTE.	NUMBER PER 1,000 MALE AGED.					NUMBER PER 1,000 FEMALE AGED.				
	0-5	5-12	12-20	20-40	40 & over.	0-5	5-12	12-20	20-40	40 & over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>DOSADH</b> ... ..	127	201	160	304	208	128	183	138	330	221
Muzaffarpur ... ..	120	210	154	291	215	123	185	122	322	223
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	124	195	181	310	210	129	181	139	333	215
Chota Nagpur ... ..	141	234	179	277	169	132	205	164	315	182
<b>HURASIAN (Christian)</b> ... ..	118	164	166	387	165	150	201	190	334	145
<b>PAKIR (Musalman)</b> ... ..	143	233	146	278	200	151	199	126	319	238
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	156	227	137	285	205	148	194	109	300	245
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	140	233	150	273	195	128	200	125	313	236
<b>FIRINGI (Christian)</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
East Bengal ... ..	127	185	140	307	201	140	214	185	279	182
<b>GAUR</b> ... ..	134	193	180	300	193	135	180	155	305	225
Orissa Districts ... ..	134	187	181	297	201	130	165	132	306	244
Orissa States ... ..	134	206	178	306	176	146	202	161	304	187
<b>HAIJAM AND NAIT</b> ... ..	127	198	168	300	207	135	184	155	309	217
Bengal Proper ... ..	123	197	167	298	215	132	178	148	302	222
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	130	204	169	290	216	139	190	141	317	211
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	137	207	184	284	196	135	180	149	312	220
Chota Nagpur ... ..	127	216	197	232	178	140	205	165	299	188
<b>HAIJAM (Musalman)</b> ... ..	133	220	168	272	207	137	185	134	317	227
Bengal Proper ... ..	123	193	128	235	193	137	164	165	331	203
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	141	215	154	282	225	127	187	114	305	257
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	131	228	175	264	202	129	195	152	320	220
<b>HO</b> ... ..	141	234	196	273	156	121	222	190	308	159
Singbhum ... ..	141	220	206	273	151	106	217	197	314	163
Tributary States ... ..	140	244	174	279	163	142	231	176	295	149
<b>JOLAH</b> ... ..	147	212	159	282	200	143	189	149	310	209
Bengal Proper ... ..	140	199	165	297	195	152	191	163	303	189
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	146	229	141	254	200	125	192	143	308	232
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	169	209	151	277	213	189	178	131	321	241
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	156	232	167	279	169	162	222	150	287	172
<b>JUGI</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper ... ..	125	190	159	302	224	123	180	164	308	206
<b>KAHAR</b> ... ..	137	190	167	307	209	133	181	135	326	245
Bihar ... ..	137	188	154	310	211	134	185	184	309	249
Chota Nagpur ... ..	135	200	185	292	199	156	185	142	300	217
<b>KAIBARTTA (Unspecified)</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper ... ..	104	162	164	345	225	117	161	160	326	250
<b>KAIBARTTA (Chasi)</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper ... ..	131	183	175	300	200	122	171	161	319	217
<b>KAMAR AND LOHAR</b> ... ..	132	202	160	284	203	140	189	153	307	212
Bengal Proper ... ..	122	181	172	297	215	134	176	169	302	210
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	134	210	169	279	215	131	192	155	318	237
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	131	212	158	298	202	128	185	139	317	221
Orissa ... ..	129	186	174	290	204	129	171	162	304	224
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	151	225	172	278	176	141	219	160	287	172
<b>KANDU</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bihar ... ..	136	208	160	284	222	129	178	132	320	240
<b>KAYASTHA</b> ... ..	126	182	166	302	224	124	168	144	306	258
Bengal Proper ... ..	129	185	167	296	223	120	169	150	302	255
Bihar ... ..	116	175	162	316	229	117	162	125	317	273
Orissa ... ..	118	167	180	244	221	115	149	142	305	259
<b>KHANDAIT</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa ... ..	131	189	182	297	201	122	172	153	302	241
<b>KOIRI</b> ... ..	139	194	150	311	213	137	177	150	328	228
Bihar ... ..	131	192	149	311	217	135	175	129	320	232
Chota Nagpur ... ..	162	218	167	300	193	152	201	159	312	182
<b>KUMHAR</b> ... ..	52	107	167	297	207	14	183	164	303	267
Bengal Proper ... ..	127	182	171	293	217	141	175	171	302	211
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	131	223	159	276	212	155	182	139	290	230
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	126	199	160	300	219	135	185	150	316	212
Orissa ... ..	126	174	168	284	210	134	166	170	304	224
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	144	213	177	292	189	151	199	177	296	177



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN CERTAIN CASTES.

CASTE.	NUMBER PER 1,000 MALE AGED					NUMBER PER 1,000 FEMALE AGED				
	0-5	5-12	12-20	20-40	40 & over.	0-5	5-12	12-20	20-40	40 & over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>KURMI</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>226</b>
West Bengal	120	212	199	305	103	123	204	175	300	180
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	132	209	160	283	214	125	179	174	318	200
Other Bihar Districts	118	109	153	327	233	120	164	125	323	261
Chota Nagpur Plateau	144	213	192	284	125	141	219	179	292	187
<b>MUCHI</b>										
Bengal Proper	137	107	136	319	200	151	154	162	305	199
<b>MUNDA</b>										
Chota Nagpur	153	247	174	243	183	162	224	155	273	196
<b>MUNDA (Christian)</b>										
Ranchi	184	136	185	253	161	160	224	168	279	169
<b>MURAHAR</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>313</b>	<b>186</b>
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	138	254	140	275	193	156	217	131	300	196
Other Bihar Districts	133	210	142	307	208	159	199	161	315	185
<b>NAMASUDRA (Chandal)</b>										
Bengal Proper	131	200	158	303	208	140	181	162	311	206
<b>NUNIYA</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>225</b>
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	131	220	155	293	201	128	182	139	314	239
Other Bihar Districts	162	274	157	249	188	133	187	140	319	218
<b>OBAON</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>145</b>
Jalpaiguri	138	147	134	420	181	162	146	175	370	141
Chota Nagpur	171	248	167	250	154	177	229	136	286	172
<b>OBAON (Christian)</b>										
Ranchi	175	247	179	238	161	150	234	147	266	169
<b>PAN</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>178</b>
Orissa	144	194	174	300	188	150	185	162	308	200
Chota Nagpur Plateau	164	221	168	283	164	183	217	154	303	163
<b>POD</b>										
Bengal Proper	155	214	164	282	185	165	191	167	299	178
<b>RAJBANSI (Koch)</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>179</b>
North Bengal	132	190	106	306	207	158	203	140	319	180
Assam and Mymenstagh	142	194	164	297	203	160	178	139	290	177
<b>RAJPUT</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>275</b>
West Bengal	123	172	180	309	221	121	188	158	318	217
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	109	196	134	311	231	110	178	180	306	206
Other Bihar Districts	117	193	154	317	219	116	165	167	323	274
Chota Nagpur	115	183	170	321	209	120	179	143	311	229
<b>SADGOP</b>										
Bengal Proper	169	169	169	326	224	110	160	158	301	283
<b>SANTAL</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>219</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>169</b>
West Bengal and Malda	133	208	190	282	188	150	200	180	290	168
Bihar	145	219	157	302	167	168	224	160	283	163
Sonthal Parganas	154	221	202	222	167	172	213	175	294	170
Chota Nagpur Plateau	136	237	186	276	165	150	226	177	277	170
<b>SUNBI (Shaha)</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>314</b>	<b>233</b>
Bengal Proper	122	182	165	301	220	123	167	180	313	237
Bihar	125	198	153	319	211	122	179	161	321	227
Hazaribagh	147	219	207	254	173	146	209	151	312	182
<b>TANTI AND TATWA</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>232</b>
Bengal Proper	122	167	163	324	225	122	164	168	314	237
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	129	210	161	293	207	124	181	126	313	222
Other Bihar Districts	127	204	149	299	211	137	183	139	313	228
Orissa	129	173	169	308	220	138	163	163	307	223
Chota Nagpur Plateau	132	204	182	285	185	133	204	180	297	201
<b>THLI</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>226</b>
Bengal Proper	115	177	170	320	213	120	165	164	318	225
Muzaffarpur	135	210	161	293	212	131	180	127	319	227
Other Bihar Districts	129	203	156	304	203	135	178	128	323	224
Orissa	133	193	169	298	206	125	161	160	308	220
Chota Nagpur Plateau	142	208	176	293	181	151	205	149	305	190



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OF MARRIED FEMALES TO FEMALES OF CERTAIN AGES; ALSO OF PERSONS OVER 60 TO THOSE AGED 20—40.

DISTRICTS.	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN (BOTH SEXES COMBINED) UNDER 10 TO 100.						PROPORTION OF MARRIED FEMALES TO 100 OF ALL CIVIL CONDITIONS AGED										PROPORTION OF PERSONS OVER 60 TO 100 PERSONS AGED 20-40.			
	Persons aged 20-40.		Married Females all ages.		Married Females aged 15-40.		All ages.		0-10.		10-15.		15-20.		20-40.		1901.		1901.	
	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
BENGAL	93	98	114	129	174	180	48	47	9	9	57	60	86	88	80	80	14	18	15	19
WEST BENGAL	83	82	110	114	163	167	47	45	9	11	72	75	88	88	73	70	14	20	14	19
Burdwan	77	74	102	100	157	156	47	45	12	12	73	77	89	88	73	60	14	21	12	19
Birbhum	91	80	114	108	172	169	43	47	10	11	72	75	91	90	78	74	15	20	14	19
Bankura	97	94	118	121	182	180	47	46	10	11	69	67	87	86	74	74	15	21	15	17
Midnapore	83	83	112	117	161	167	47	45	8	10	72	70	87	87	73	70	13	17	13	17
Hoochly	70	74	101	100	148	164	45	44	8	12	76	83	86	80	68	66	14	20	14	20
Howrah	79	86	112	114	180	183	40	46	6	8	76	81	88	89	73	70	13	20	15	21
CENTRAL BENGAL	81	85	117	124	174	181	46	45	9	9	73	77	89	89	74	72	14	19	15	20
24 Parganas	86	80	117	120	178	180	49	47	9	10	76	79	89	89	75	74	17	14	15	18
Calcutta	82	82	91	91	130	139	44	45	5	3	55	53	80	79	70	67	8	10	8	17
Nadia	95	100	122	129	183	189	45	44	7	7	75	79	91	90	75	73	10	21	18	23
Murshidabad	100	90	127	127	181	187	45	44	8	9	75	79	91	90	75	71	15	22	16	23
Jessore	81	81	112	122	168	176	47	45	9	9	73	77	89	90	74	72	14	18	17	19
NORTH BENGAL	96	96	139	138	190	192	46	45	6	7	63	68	90	90	79	77	13	14	14	16
Rajshahi	95	94	113	131	183	178	47	40	8	7	72	78	93	95	79	73	11	14	12	15
Dinajpur	88	90	143	139	191	180	45	47	5	6	59	61	91	89	83	81	11	11	13	12
Jalpaiguri	86	89	146	144	185	190	45	44	3	3	41	40	80	83	80	81	13	12	13	14
Darjeeling	74	70	126	126	168	166	44	45	1	1	14	13	47	53	62	65	10	12	10	12
Manipur	84	80	120	132	192	180	46	46	8	9	70	79	92	91	77	75	12	15	14	15
Bogra	100	105	140	139	191	191	48	48	5	8	70	76	94	95	84	83	13	12	14	16
Palma	104	107	140	144	198	198	44	45	4	4	69	72	90	90	80	80	15	18	17	22
Molda	101	107	139	140	195	203	44	43	6	6	80	85	97	99	79	74	13	16	16	21
Kuch Bihar	93	94	151	147	212	210	42	42	8	9	71	71	87	87	67	68	14	14	17	18
Sikkim	81	...	144	...	157	...	41	...	1	...	15	...	69	...	89	...	21	20	...	...
EAST BENGAL	106	109	140	149	190	196	45	45	4	5	53	60	90	92	82	81	15	16	16	18
Khulna	94	97	125	132	184	188	46	47	8	9	74	77	90	95	76	75	13	16	16	18
Dacca	107	112	130	144	180	189	44	44	3	4	60	58	91	92	81	80	10	18	17	20
Mymensingh	107	107	130	148	190	204	44	45	3	4	84	68	91	93	81	80	13	15	14	18
Pardipur	97	100	123	132	181	182	47	46	8	7	67	79	93	93	79	77	13	15	14	18
Backergunge	97	101	123	131	175	184	45	46	6	7	60	64	94	94	82	82	16	15	15	16
Tippura	100	106	142	146	198	193	44	44	3	3	42	47	89	92	84	84	14	13	15	16
Noakhali	125	129	162	162	201	203	44	45	2	3	41	49	90	94	81	87	10	14	13	16
Chittagong	121	125	162	159	194	200	40	41	1	1	29	37	94	97	81	81	11	13	17	21
Chittagong Hill Tracts	95	...	164	...	208	...	43	...	...	...	1	...	53	...	92	...	10	10	...	...
Hill Tracts	90	...	153	...	196	...	44	...	1	...	30	...	70	...	86	...	12	13	...	...
NORTH BIHAR	90	93	99	105	163	167	54	54	19	17	61	64	67	83	83	86	16	21	16	20
Saran	90	97	100	100	163	161	47	50	4	6	57	68	80	86	80	87	19	22	20	23
Champaran	82	88	104	104	157	163	50	59	9	8	46	63	80	86	84	85	15	19	17	20
Muzaffarpur	87	95	91	90	143	164	50	56	20	19	61	67	88	90	85	87	13	24	19	23
Darbhanga	90	92	87	90	168	160	63	62	38	32	80	80	92	96	86	88	16	20	16	19
Bhagalpur	91	95	96	103	165	174	60	57	35	24	78	79	90	92	84	85	13	19	13	19
Purnea	91	92	120	101	197	185	48	46	11	10	62	65	85	83	77	80	12	16	13	17
SOUTH BIHAR	80	91	93	101	147	162	53	53	13	12	64	64	57	60	83	85	16	21	17	22
Patna	71	83	85	93	138	150	50	53	10	11	60	62	85	89	84	85	19	24	19	24
Gaya	88	91	94	104	160	166	53	53	10	10	61	61	87	80	82	84	16	18	17	21
Shahabad	70	90	101	105	149	162	40	61	8	9	57	60	84	91	10	94	13	20	15	23
Monghyr	88	90	90	101	154	170	53	56	20	18	73	72	90	94	85	87	16	21	17	21
ORISSA	85	87	119	109	151	151	45	44	1	1	32	34	82	84	84	85	14	21	13	24
Cuttack	83	90	112	117	163	162	44	44	1	1	28	32	81	84	84	85	15	23	17	26
Balasore	84	90	116	119	148	154	44	43	3	3	43	42	86	86	83	80	12	19	13	21
Puri	81	88	100	92	148	150	45	45	1	1	29	30	81	84	80	81	14	20	14	21
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	106	114	135	144	195	210	45	44	5	5	38	37	73	74	83	84	12	13	12	17
Hasaribagh	95	112	113	123	174	190	51	50	13	13	59	66	84	86	83	84	11	13	12	18
Ranchi	120	122	163	155	219	224	41	43	3	4	29	38	71	77	85	84	13	16	13	19
Palamu	103	...	132	...	191	...	47	...	6	...	45	...	83	...	84	...	9	12	...	...
Manbhum	101	113	120	126	179	201	43	47	8	7	53	50	88	85	82	83	13	17	12	19
Singbhum	104	112	122	123	181	202	47	46	2	2	16	14	49	43	74	74	10	13	14	15
Sonthal Parganas	116	124	139	144	210	217	46	46	7	6	45	45	76	76	84	86	10	14	12	15
Angul	95	100	134	141	185	193	44	43	3	3	30	29	61	63	83	86	10	14	12	15
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	113	117	134	129	210	219	43	43	3	1	27	23	64	70	85	87	11	13	11	14
Orissa Tributary States	90	100	121	140	177	189	43	43	3	2	25	20	68	70	84	85	10	15	11	16



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 AND OF MARRIED FEMALES IN CERTAIN CASTES.

CASTES.	Locality.	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 ON THE NUMBER OF—		PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED ON TOTAL AMONGST FEMALES AGED—				
		Females of all ages.	Married females aged 15—40.	All ages.	0—12.	12—15.	15—30.	30—40.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
AGARIA (Hindu)	Chota Nagpur States	25	52	43	13	26	65	71
AGARWALA (Hindu)...	Gaya	27	55	43	5	67	90	71
AHIE AND GOALA (Hindu)	Province	32	92	56	24	75	87	84
	Bengal Proper	29	99	45	21	83	83	67
	Bihar	33	89	58	26	78	89	87
	Chota Nagpur	34	106	40	17	61	77	80
AJLAF (ATRAP) (Musalman)	Bengal Proper	34	95	52	15	92	95	82
ATITH (Hindu)	Saran	39	101	43	6	24	51	74
BABHAN (Hindu)	Province	38	85	47	10	58	65	79
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	35	92	44	9	53	62	77
	Other Bihar districts	37	83	47	10	59	65	78
	Hazaribagh	31	99	53	28	83	86	76
BAGDI (Hindu)	Province	30	97	46	16	55	85	71
	West Bengal	29	95	45	17	54	85	70
	Central Bengal	33	104	45	13	56	82	72
BAISHNAB (Hindu)	Province	35	83	43	16	77	85	63
	Bengal Proper	34	87	41	16	80	85	61
	Orissa and Manbhurn	29	95	42	10	50	84	60
BARHI (Hindu)	Province	32	94	56	23	69	80	88
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	33	103	60	43	78	90	87
	Other Bihar Districts	31	91	55	19	73	88	87
	Hazaribagh, Cuttack and Puri	32	94	51	12	54	67	87
BARHI (Musselman)	Champaran	31	103	45	9	44	62	78
BARNAWAR (Hindu)...	Saran	27	87	46	7	68	83	74
BARUI (Hindu)	Province	32	96	53	23	76	89	79
	Bengal Proper	33	105	48	13	80	89	71
	Saran, Champaran and Monohyr	30	92	54	21	69	84	53
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	32	95	64	43	83	93	85
BAURI (Hindu)	Province	34	95	48	8	51	86	85
	West Bengal	34	99	49	8	69	90	84
	Manbhurn	35	107	46	7	52	91	80
	Sonhal Parganas	36	104	51	10	74	90	85
	Orissa	31	92	45	1	18	75	83
BEDEA (Hindu)	Hazaribagh	29	131	43	10	41	74	84
BEMTA (Musselman)	Bengal Proper and Manbhurn.	31	80	42	15	68	85	82
BEHARA (Musselman)...	Bengal Proper	33	91	54	23	93	95	97
BHANDARI (Hindu)	Orissa	31	67	48	5	63	19	88
BHAT (Musselman)	Bihar	31	93	49	12	57	83	92
BHOOTA (Hindu)	Chota Nagpur	31	98	45	8	41	78	83
BHOTIA (Buddhist)	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling	27	79	46	4	6	41	85
BHUINMALI (Hindu)	Bengal Proper	22	104	42	9	65	86	71
BHUITA (Hindu)	Province	33	108	47	7	53	79	83
	Midnapore	34	110	45	9	64	84	75
	Gaya and Bhagalpur	36	111	23	11	78	85	87
	Chota Nagpur Plateau	33	107	46	6	43	79	83
BHUIYA (Animist)	Chota Nagpur Plateau	37	131	39	3	30	63	80
BHUMIJ (Hindu)	Province	34	108	42	4	33	74	81
	West Bengal	36	121	40	5	36	81	78
	Chota Nagpur Plateau	33	105	42	3	32	79	81



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 AND OF MARRIED FEMALES IN CERTAIN CASTES—*continued*.

CASTES.	Locality.	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 ON THE NUMBER OF—		PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED ON TOTAL AMONGST FEMALES AGED—				
		Females of all ages.	Married females aged 15–40.	All ages.	0–12.	12–15.	15–20.	20–40.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BHUMIJ (Animist) ...	Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	33	132	37	2	12	41	70
BIND (Hindu) ...	Bihar ...	32	93	53	17	63	58	85
BRAHMAN (Hindu) ...	Province ...	29	95	45	12	75	88	74
	Bengal Proper ...	30	98	44	11	80	80	71
	Bihar ...	29	95	45	11	82	84	75
	Orissa ...	28	87	48	12	86	90	78
	Chota Nagpur ...	31	101	50	21	80	85	74
CHAKMA (Buddhist) ...	East Bengal ...	39	114	40	2	10	64	85
CHAMAR (Hindu) ...	Province ...	33	94	56	22	66	87	80
	Bengal Proper ...	34	107	46	11	82	90	76
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	32	90	64	41	82	92	86
	Other Bihar Districts ...	32	92	54	18	63	86	86
	Cuttack ...	30	89	45	4	35	82	83
	Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	37	112	52	17	63	84	86
CHASA (Hindu) ...	Orissa ...	32	95	41	4	30	80	83
CHERO (Hindu) ...	Palaman ...	39	131	45	6	51	82	84
CHIK (Barak) Hindu	Razchi ...	38	130	41	2	26	70	86
CHURIHAR (Muselman)	Bihar ...	32	94	51	10	51	80	87
DAFALI (Muselman) ...	Bihar ...	38	115	49	12	61	81	91
DAI (Muselman) ...	Bengal Proper ...	33	98	54	16	70	92	82
DARZI (Muselman) ...	Province ...	33	104	48	9	45	84	81
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	36	144	43	10	31	83	73
	Other Bihar Districts ...	31	85	51	8	58	85	89
DHANUK (Hindu) ...	Province ...	33	92	61	36	31	89	85
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	31	90	60	50	85	92	87
	Other Bihar Districts ...	31	80	54	59	80	90	84
DHAWA (Muselman) ...	West and Central Bengal ...	30	83	54	18	73	91	81
DHOBA (Hindu) ...	Province ...	32	86	49	12	61	86	81
	Bengal Proper ...	32	100	45	11	70	88	72
	Bihar ...	31	82	50	23	69	84	80
	Orissa ...	32	92	46	4	40	84	87
	Chota Nagpur ...	36	108	50	17	60	88	82
DHOBI (Muselman) ...	Province ...	33	94	54	18	60	86	86
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	33	94	60	30	82	92	86
	Other Bihar Districts ...	32	94	52	14	65	84	85
DHUNIA (Muselman) ...	Province ...	34	103	53	10	74	88	85
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	33	94	58	26	80	91	88
	Other Bihar Districts (including Malda) ...	34	109	50	17	68	87	83
DOM (Hindu) ...	Province ...	33	96	52	17	81	91	83
	West Bengal ...	31	88	52	18	85	92	80
	Monghyr and Santhal Parganas ...	35	112	43	15	77	87	83
	Manbhum ...	30	101	53	12	75	90	87
DOSADH (Hindu) ...	Province ...	31	84	58	25	71	87	86
	Muzaffarpur ...	31	89	60	31	80	91	86
	Other Bihar Districts ...	31	87	58	24	79	88	86
	Chota Nagpur ...	34	95	54	18	67	84	86
EURASIAN (Christian)	Province ...	33	129	38	2	6	24	66
FAKIR (Muselman) ...	Province ...	33	102	40	11	58	83	85
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	34	108	51	15	69	85	86
	Other Bihar Districts ...	33	100	49	9	58	82	85
FIRINGI (Christian)	East Bengal ...	35	122	35	2	20	61	70
GARO (Hindu) ...	Mymensingh ...	44	127	46	4	48	80	92
GARO (Animist) ...	Mymensingh ...	41	114	48	8	54	84	90
GAUR (Hindu) ...	Province ...	31	83	40	6	49	84	85
	Orissa Districts ...	30	88	45	4	44	87	83
	Orissa States ...	33	103	47	9	54	89	86



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 AND OF MARRIED FEMALES IN CERTAIN CASTES—*continued*.

CASTES.	Locality.	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 OF THE NUMBER OF—		PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED ON TOTAL AMONGST FEMALES AGED—				
		Females of all ages.	Married females aged 15—40.	All ages.	0—12.	12—15.	15—20.	20—40.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
GHASI (Hindu) ...	Ranchi and Palaman ...	39	131	41	3	30	72	84
GOND (Hindu) ...	Chota Nagpur States ...	35	119	44	7	45	77	76
GONE (Hindu) ...	Saran ...	32	91	40	5	48	61	60
GURUNG (Hindu) ...	Darjeeling and Sikkim ...	31	97	40	1	13	45	86
HAJJAM and Napt (Hindu)	Province ...	32	89	50	20	77	87	77
	Bengal Proper ...	31	103	44	14	80	87	89
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	33	97	62	38	73	89	85
	Other Bihar Districts ...	32	93	55	31	74	84	86
	Chota Nagpur ...	35	104	53	20	72	87	84
HAJJAM (Musalman) ...	Province ...	32	95	50	10	63	84	86
	Bengal Proper ...	30	83	51	16	87	91	81
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	33	104	48	13	58	77	84
	Other Bihar Districts ...	33	94	61	9	61	85	87
HARI (Hindu) ...	Province ...	33	94	49	13	64	83	82
	Bengal Proper ...	32	91	50	16	74	89	81
	Orissa States ...	37	110	43	3	15	62	80
HO (Hindu) ...	Orissa States ...	37	130	37	1	10	42	80
HO (Animistic) ...	Province ...	34	143	32	7	9	20	67
	Singbhum ...	33	142	31	5	10	23	63
	Tributary States ...	33	148	35	1	7	33	79
JOLAHA (Musalman) ...	Province ...	33	95	54	17	73	91	87
	Bengal Proper ...	34	97	61	15	83	94	84
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	29	77	60	24	71	91	88
	Other Bihar Districts ...	31	89	54	15	67	87	87
	Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	35	114	56	20	79	92	89
JUGI (Hindu) ...	Bengal Proper ...	35	102	44	11	73	83	73
KAHAR (Hindu) ...	Province ...	29	83	53	15	75	91	85
	Bihar ...	29	81	54	15	75	91	85
	Chota Nagpur ...	34	105	43	12	68	83	83
KAIBARTTA (Unspecified) (Hindu)	Bengal Proper ...	35	91	43	15	83	86	65
KAIBARTTA (Chasi) (Hindu)	Bengal Proper ...	30	96	45	14	83	87	71
KAIBARTTA (Jalya) (Hindu)	Bengal Proper ...	33	103	45	11	71	90	73
KALAL (Musalman) ...	Province ...	30	92	53	19	79	83	81
	Bihar ...	27	81	54	18	79	85	81
	Chota Nagpur ...	36	123	52	21	80	87	82
KALU (Hindu) ...	Bengal Proper and Manbhum ...	29	94	45	25	56	85	69
KALWAR (Hindu) ...	Bihar ...	30	90	52	16	68	83	84
KAMAR AND LOHAR (Hindu)	Province ...	33	102	49	13	66	84	80
	Bengal Proper ...	31	102	46	16	81	87	71
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	33	94	60	33	77	87	87
	Other Bihar Districts ...	33	92	51	15	60	84	84
	Orissa ...	30	86	47	6	50	87	85
	Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	35	119	46	7	46	75	85
KANDH (Hindu) ...	Orissa States and Angul ...	33	106	40	1	14	51	52
KANDH (Animist) ...	Orissa States and Angul ...	33	123	34	3	2	20	77
KANDU (Hindu) ...	Bihar ...	31	89	54	16	70	85	86
KARAN (Hindu) ...	Orissa ...	37	91	39	1	11	63	80
KASARWANI (Hindu)	South Bihar ...	30	89	49	11	72	85	80



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 AND OF MARRIED FEMALES IN CERTAIN CASTES—*continued*.

CASTES.	Locality.	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 ON THE NUMBER OF—		PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED ON TOTAL AMONGST FEMALES AGED—				
		Females of all ages.	Married females aged 15—49.	All ages.	0—12.	12—15.	15—20.	20—40.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
KAYASTHA (Hindu) ...	Province ... ..	29	97	43	6	68	88	72
	Bengal Proper ... ..	29	99	41	7	72	89	70
	Bihar ... ..	25	98	45	5	65	84	77
	Orissa ... ..	22	86	40	4	60	89	73
KEWAT (Hindu) ...	Orissa ... ..	32	63	45	3	38	84	87
KHAMBU (Hindu) ...	Darjeeling and Sikkim ...	32	100	43	3	6	34	62
KHANDAIT (Hindu) ...	Orissa ... ..	30	95	42	2	29	77	82
KHARIA (Hindu) ...	Ranchi ... ..	46	133	39	9	21	61	84
KHARIA (Christian) ...	Ranchi ... ..	41	130	40	2	28	62	68
KHARIA (Animist) ...	Ranchi and Manbhum ...	30	140	37	1	21	52	81
KHARWAR (Hindu) ...	Ranchi and Palamanu ...	38	119	44	5	45	72	84
KHAS (Hindu) ...	Darjeeling and Sikkim ...	33	85	40	3	22	72	91
KHATWE (Hindu) ...	Darbhanga ... ..	36	111	70	57	40	83	89
KOIRI (Hindu) ...	Province ... ..	31	91	56	22	70	88	86
	Bihar ... ..	31	90	55	21	68	88	85
	Chota Nagpur ... ..	35	103	54	22	75	89	83
KORWA (Animist) ...	Palamanu ... ..	39	117	45	2	54	80	90
KUKI (Hindu) ...	Hill Tippera ... ..	40	129	41	3	23	55	89
KUKI (Animist) ...	Hill Tippera ... ..	36	105	41	2	24	62	79
KULU (Muselman) ...	Bengal Proper ... ..	24	98	50	14	73	90	83
KUMHAR (Hindu) ...	Province ... ..	33	99	52	20	71	87	81
	Bengal Proper ... ..	32	105	48	15	78	88	89
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	34	104	66	47	80	92	88
	Other Bihar Districts ... ..	32	89	57	23	73	89	87
	Orissa ... ..	30	84	49	8	44	87	88
	Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	32	102	52	15	65	87	83
KUNJRA (Muselman) ...	Province ... ..	33	96	57	27	75	90	86
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	35	101	62	37	77	92	88
	Other Bihar Districts (including Malda) ...	32	98	55	21	74	88	85
KURMI (Hindu) ...	Province ... ..	32	94	53	18	71	89	83
	West Bengal ... ..	34	94	53	19	76	91	84
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	30	88	60	23	83	91	86
	Other Bihar Districts ... ..	28	89	51	17	70	83	80
	Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	35	104	51	13	67	91	86
KURMI (Animist) ...	Orissa States ... ..	39	119	47	10	51	85	88
LAHERI (Muselman) ...	Province ... ..	36	104	53	13	63	89	89
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	37	110	68	13	80	91	90
	Saran ... ..	32	93	51	9	61	86	88
	Champaran ... ..	30	100	52	15	67	76	89
LEPCHA (Christian) ...	Darjeeling ... ..	25	94	59	.....	.....	7	67
LEPCHA (Buddhist) ...	Darjeeling and Sikkim ...	24	74	63	2	12	42	85
LIMBU (Hindu) ...	Darjeeling and Sikkim ...	26	94	46	3	12	43	90
MAGH (Buddhist) ...	East Bengal ... ..	33	112	40	1	30	68	81
MAHURI (Hindu) ...	Patna and Gaya ... ..	29	91	45	5	67	84	76
MALAKAR (Mali) (Hindu)	Muzaffarpur ... ..	33	110	57	30	88	86	85
MALI (Muselman) ...	Saran ... ..	29	89	50	6	47	73	83
MALLAH (Hindu) ...	Patna, Shahabad and Saran ...	28	83	51	12	39	81	83
MALLIK (Muselman) ...	West Bengal ... ..	30	87	49	10	78	98	79



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 AND OF MARRIED FEMALES IN CERTAIN CASTES—*continued*.

CASTES.	Locality.	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE CHILDREN UNDER 12 OF THE NUMBER OF—		PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED OF TOTAL AMONGST FEMALES AGED				
		Females of all ages.	Married females aged 15–40.	All ages.	0–12.	12–15.	15–20.	20–40.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
MALPAHARIA (Hindu) ...	Sonthal Parganas ...	35	102	49	3	41	86	87
MANGAR (Hindu) ...	North Bengal ...	35	124	46	3	11	53	80
MUCHI (Hindu) ...	Bengal Proper ...	33	97	52	18	87	22	92
MUKERI (Musalman) ...	Bihar ...	34	104	51	10	61	74	90
MUNDA (Hindu) ...	Oboto Nagpur ...	34	116	41	2	30	64	82
MUNDA (Christian) ...	Ranchi ...	35	137	39	5	9	46	66
MUNDA (Animist) ...	Chota Nagpur ...	38	130	35	2	21	54	83
MURMI (Buddhist) ...	Darjeeling and Sikkim ...	33	103	43	3	6	37	86
MUSAHAR (Hindu) ...	Province ...	35	101	55	10	64	88	89
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	37	108	61	30	78	81	90
	Other Bihar Districts ...	35	29	54	15	60	89	90
NAGARCHI (Musalman) ...	Jessore ...	32	95	51	22	95	96	78
NALITA (Naiya) (Musalman) ...	Nadia and Jessore ...	33	99	49	13	98	92	84
NAMASUDESA (Chandal) (Hindu) ...	Bengal Proper ...	33	105	44	13	75	80	70
NATIVE (Christian) ...	Province ...	37	119	40	7	23	70	81
	Bengal Proper ...	37	108	42	7	31	53	83
	Bihar ...	33	131	35	1	8	52	75
	Orissa ...	31	116	36	3	4	41	70
	Chota Nagpur ...	40	142	37	7	20	55	60
NIKARI (Musalman) ...	Bengal Proper ...	39	96	50	17	84	92	80
NUNITA (Hindu) ...	Province ...	31	94	53	19	58	85	85
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	31	87	63	30	80	91	89
	Other Bihar Districts ...	32	96	49	19	49	92	83
ORAON (Hindu) ...	Province ...	33	92	48	4	39	61	84
	Jalpaiguri ...	31	83	49	3	28	68	83
	Chota Nagpur ...	41	123	41	4	35	72	87
ORAON (Animist) ...	Chota Nagpur ...	41	140	41	3	42	74	83
ORAON (Christian) ...	Ranchi ...	42	140	39	3	30	65	86
PAN (Hindu) ...	Province ...	30	108	42	2	13	72	77
	Orissa ...	34	98	43	2	19	79	87
	Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	33	115	42	2	17	67	80
PAN (Animist) ...	Province ...	37	119	44	2	26	58	87
	Angul ...	36	130	33	2	3	31	75
	Chota Nagpur Tributary States ...	37	117	45	2	28	65	86
PASI (Hindu) ...	Province ...	32	92	57	22	73	90	88
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	33	99	56	21	75	88	80
	Other Bihar Districts ...	32	91	57	22	73	90	87
PAWARIA (Musalman) ...	Shahabad and Saran ...	22	91	53	10	61	64	91
POD (Hindu) ...	Bengal Proper ...	36	113	40	20	91	80	74
RAJBANSI (Koch) (Hindu) ...	Province ...	33	114	43	9	70	84	74
	North Bengal ...	30	115	42	8	71	88	74
	Dacca and Mymensingh ...	34	107	43	6	61	81	76
RAJPUT (Hindu) ...	Province ...	29	95	44	6	55	83	76
	West Bengal ...	31	96	46	12	73	80	73
	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ...	29	107	42	6	65	82	73
	Other Bihar Districts ...	28	91	44	7	63	81	77
	Chota Nagpur ...	32	104	45	14	60	82	73
BAJWAR (Hindu) ...	Gaya ...	34	93	56	16	79	88	87
RANGREZ (Musalman) ...	Bihar ...	40	119	50	8	58	91	84







## Chapter VI.

## SEX.

406. In all European countries, except Italy and Bulgaria, the females outnumber the males, the excess varying from 5 females per 1,000 males in the case of France to 91 in Portugal. In India, on the other hand, the male population is generally in excess, and in the whole country taken together there are only 965 females to 1,000 males. The only exceptions to the general rule are furnished by Madras and the Central Provinces. At the census of Bengal taken in 1872 there was an equal number of each sex, but in 1881 the females exceeded the males by 8 per 1,000. Ten years later the excess fell to 5 per mille, and now the females are fewer than the males by 2 per mille. The actual deficiency in the number of the weaker sex at the present census is 62,962, but this result is due to migration. If only persons born in Bengal are taken into consideration, the females outnumber the males by 160,375, or about 3 per mille. The question how far the low average number of females compared with European countries is due to their omission from enumeration has often been discussed, but no final conclusion has been arrived at. It is theoretically possible that a certain number of unmarried girls who have passed the age of puberty and of young married women are not reported, but there is no evidence of this. If it occurred, the greatest deficiency of females would be amongst the highest castes and in the Muhammadan community. This, however, is not the case. It occurs mainly amongst certain race castes of East and North Bengal whose women move about freely, and many of whom suffer no loss of position if they fail to marry their girls before they attain the age of puberty. So far as I am aware, there is no reason to suppose that the return of females in Bengal is appreciably less accurate than that of males.

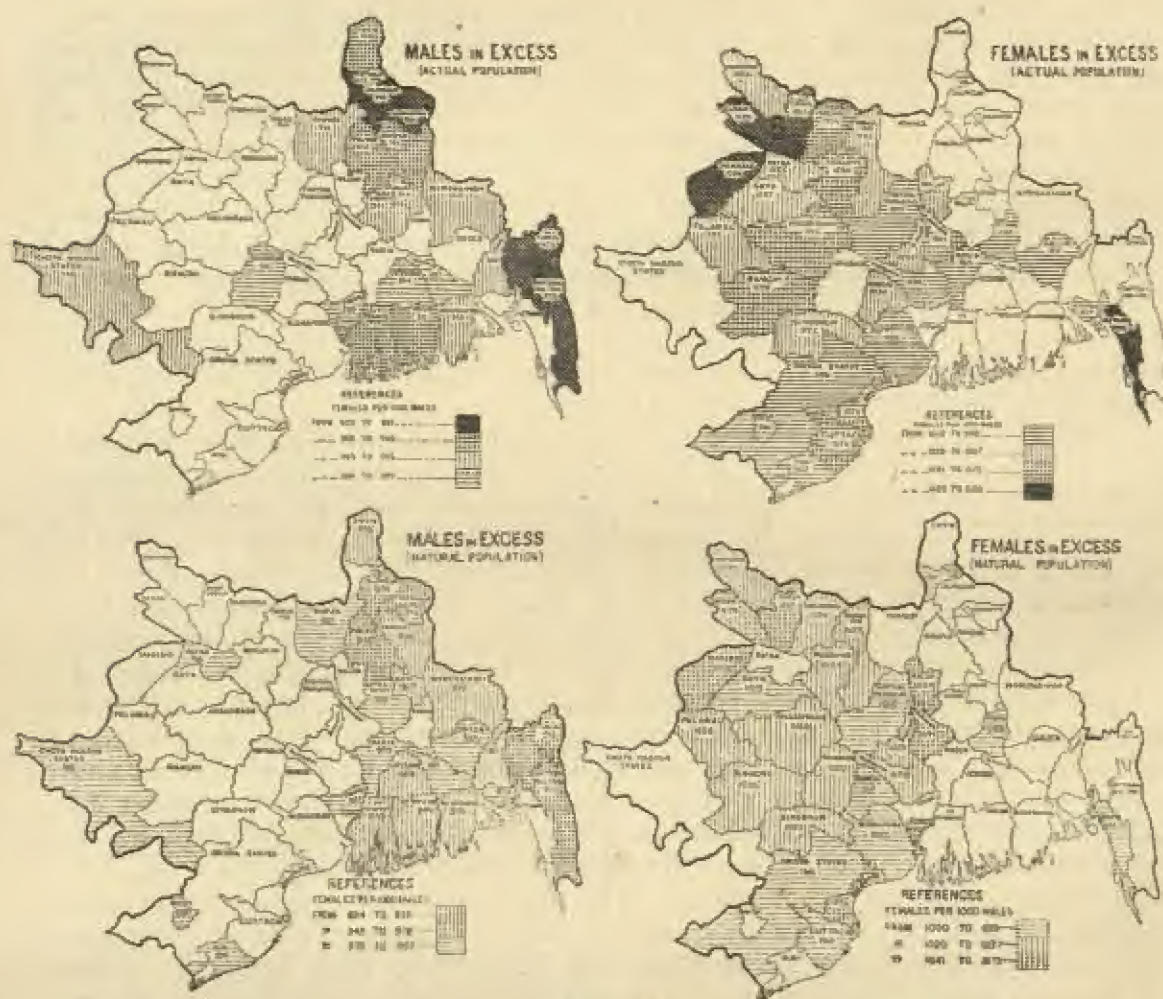
407. The great diversity which exists in the conditions of different parts of this great Province is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the varying proportions of the sexes. Except in Purnea, a considerable part of which is more nearly allied to North Bengal than to Bihar, there is a marked excess of females throughout Bihar, and also in Orissa and the Chota Nagpur Plateau, but in Bengal Proper the only tract with more females than males is West Bengal. East of the Bhágirathi the proportion of females steadily diminishes, especially towards the north-east. In many districts, however, the results, are much disturbed by the movements of the people from one district to another, and by immigration from the United Provinces and elsewhere, and in order to gather a true idea of the relative number of each sex, it is necessary to consider not the actual, but the natural, population, *i.e.*, the number of persons of each sex who were born in each district regardless of where they were enumerated. The proportions calculated on the natural population will be found in column 3 of Subsidiary Table I, but the extent to which migration affects the figures will be best seen from the maps on the next page. The first two are shaded to show the proportion of males and females respectively in the actual population, or the persons *enumerated* in each district, while the second two show the corresponding proportions on the natural population, *i.e.*, the persons *born* in each district. The proportion of females to males in Chittagong is 1,110 per 1,000 if calculated on the number of persons of each sex enumerated in the district, but if we take into account the men temporarily absent in Akyab the proportion falls to 1,011. Though less marked, similar deviations occur in almost all districts. Bengal Proper contains numerous temporary immigrants from Bihar, Orissa and elsewhere, and most of these are males.

The differences in the proportion of the sexes, so far as they are due to the movements of the people, are of no physiological importance; it is the natural population which should be considered when comparing one tract with another.



The main result, however, is the same as before. Bihar shows a general excess of females, broken only in the case of Purnea, already referred to, and Patna. In North Bihar a steady decline may be observed in the proportion of females as one proceeds from west to east through Saran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Bhágalspur and Purnea,\* and the same phenomenon continues on crossing into North Bengal and traversing Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri. West of the Bhágirathi the proportions in Bengal Proper resemble those in Bihar, but east of that river only Pabna and Chittagong contain more females than males.† The number of females per 1,000 males is least where the Mongoloid element in the population is strongest, *viz.*, in Jalpaiguri (894), the Chittagong Hill Tracts (901), Kuch Bihar (911), Hill Tippera (913), and Dinajpur (932). The proportion for the whole of Mymensingh is 943, but if we consider separately the police circles which adjoin the Garo Hills it appears that the proportion is there only 902 compared with 950 in the rest of the district.

In the Chota Nagpur Plateau the females are in excess everywhere except in the Chota Nagpur States and Angul. In Orissa their number is very high in Balasore, and fairly high in Cuttack, while in Puri it is slightly less than that of males.





408. It might naturally be supposed that the Muhammadans, with their greater reticence in all matters which concern their women, would be credited with a smaller proportion of women at the census than the Hindus, but this is not the case. In the Province, as a whole, the proportion is smaller, but this is merely because the Muhammadans are found chiefly in the tracts where women are most in defect. If the figures for different parts of the Province are examined, it will be seen that in every Natural Division except Chota Nagpur, the proportion of females is higher amongst the Muhammadans than amongst the Hindus. There are no statistics showing the religion of immigrants, who are mostly males, but it is well known that the great majority of them are Hindus. If these could be excluded, there would be a nearer approach to equality between the figures for the two religions, but even then, the proportion would probably still be higher amongst the Muhammadans. The Animistic tribes have a relatively larger number of women than either Hindus or Muhammadans.

409. An examination of the figures for each sex in individual castes and tribes (Subsidiary Table IV) shows that, on the whole, the smallest proportion of females is found amongst the tribes and race castes of Bengal Proper, *viz.*, Chákmá, Tipará, Rájbansi, Mech, Hájang, Pod, Namasudra and Kaibartta. The Maghs appear at first sight to form an exception, but this is due to the figures for Chittagong where many of the men were away in Akyab at the time of the census. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts where the results are not disturbed by migration, males are in marked excess. The lowest proportions of all are found amongst the Mech, Tipará and Rájbansi. As regards the Nepalese and Himalayan castes and tribes, the figures are too small for much stress to be laid on them, especially as amongst the immigrant from Nepal there are only 964 females to every 1,000 males. It appears, however, that females are generally in a minority except amongst the Murmis and Gurungs. The great majority of the Lepchas live within the area dealt with at the Census, and with them there are only 989 females to 1,000 males, or exactly the same proportion as in the case of the Namasudras and Kaibarttas. The Thárus of Champaran, who are supposed to have come from the north, have almost as low a proportion of females as the Rájbansis. So have the Dhárhis of Monghyr and Patna, whose original home was probably in the Nepal Terai. Next to these tribes and race castes the smallest proportion of women is found in a few of the lower functional groups such as Sutradhar, Bhuinmáli and Kalu, mostly belonging to Bengal Proper. The proportion is low also in several castes, such as Pási and Ahir, whose local head-quarters is in Bihar, but in their case it may be due in part to the immigration of males from the Upper Provinces. Then come some of the higher castes. The Baidyas have a slight excess of women, but with the Káyasths and Bábhans the two sexes are on a par, while with the Bráhmans and Rájputs males are in excess, especially in the latter caste. There has doubtless been some immigration of Rájputs from other Provinces, but the excess of males is characteristic of this caste not only in Bengal but also in Upper India. The two local Orissa castes of fairly high status (Karan and Khandáit) have a far larger proportion of women than those of equal rank elsewhere.\* Amongst the functional groups the females are usually slightly in excess, but more so in Bihar than in Bengal, and most of all in Orissa. Some of the lower Bihar castes such as Bind and Dhánuk, have a very great excess of females, and the same is the case with most of the purely Orissa castes. The northern tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, *viz.*, the Chero, Munda, Oráon and Santál have either an equality, or only a very slight excess, of women, but further south, amongst the Páns, Kandhs and Hcs, the disproportion becomes more marked.

410. In Europe, as a whole, there are 1,019 females to every 1,000 males. The number of males born exceeds that of females in the ratio of 1,005 to 1,000† but “the rate of mortality of boys in every month of the first year

\* It is unfortunately impossible to compare the proportions of the sexes amongst Bráhmans and Káyasths in different parts of the Province owing to the disturbing effect of immigration.

† Bertillon—“Cours Élémentaire de Statistique Administrative,” page 469.

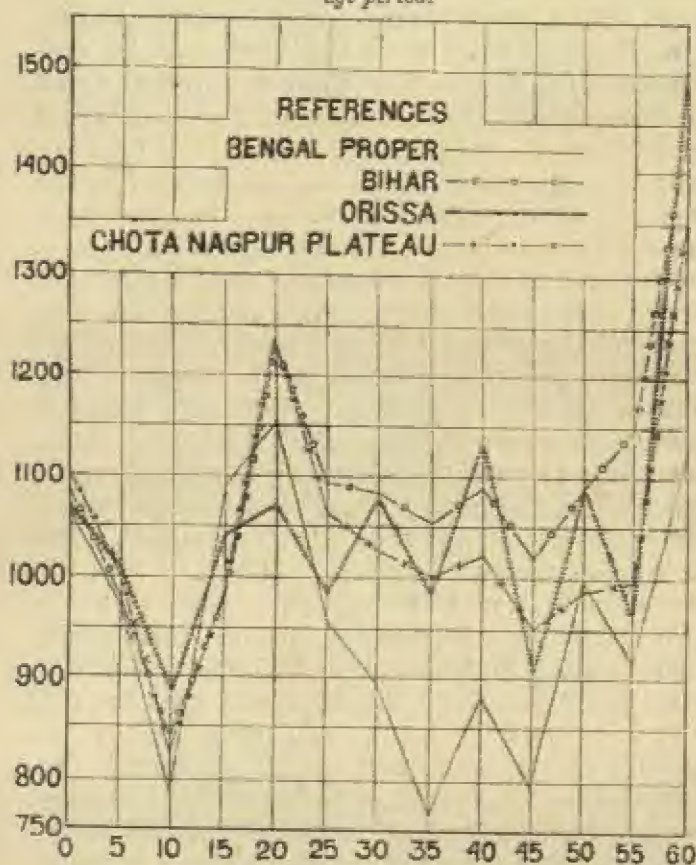


of life exceeds that of girls, so that in spite of the much larger number of boys at birth, they are fewer in number than girls at the end of the first year of life.\* The general facts in Bengal are similar, but the excess number of boys born is greater, while the females living at the age 0—5 outnumber the males to a larger extent than in Europe. During the eight years 1892—1900, on an average, 1,065 male births were reported to every 1,000 female, while the Census shows that of the persons enumerated at the age 0—5 there are 1,073 females to every 1,000 males, compared with only 1,007 in England.

Locality.	Number of boys born to 1,000 girls.
<b>Province</b> ...	<b>1,065</b>
Bengal Proper ...	1,068
Bihar ...	1,064
Orissa ...	1,059
Chota Nagpur ...	1,049

to the fact that in the population as a whole the proportion of males is greater than in Europe, a larger proportion at birth is naturally to be expected, and there seems no *a priori* reason for supposing that the reporting of female births is much less accurate than that of males.†

Diagram showing the number of females to 1,000 males at each age period.



*Notes.*—The numbers at the foot of this diagram refer to the initial figure of each age period *s.p.*, '0' means the period '0-5', 5 refers to '5-10' and so forth. The last number '60' includes all returned at the ages of 60 upwards.

\* Newsholme's Vital Statistics, page 121.

† In an official paper relating to the vital statistics for 1892 the excess of male births reported was held to be due to the inaccuracy of the returns, and this may be so to a certain degree, but, having regard to the proportions existing in Europe, and to the fact that there has since been but little change in Bengal, in spite of greatly improved registration, it is possible that male births do really exceed those of females to a considerable extent. The same conclusion may also be drawn from the proportion of still-births reported for either sex. The proportion of male to 100 female still-births reported has varied from 127 in 1896 to 131 in 1899. In Europe the proportion ranges between 127 in Bavaria and 142 in France. It may be noted also that the proportion of still-births to total births reported is very much the same in Bengal as in European countries.

‡ It is a question whether this is not the case amongst the castes which pay a bridegroom price, when a woman gives birth to a number of girls in succession.

The greater extremes shown by the Bengal figures compared with those of Europe must be due to one of three causes, *vis.*, (1) a greater relative infantile mortality amongst boys, (2) a greater degree of inaccuracy in the reporting of female, than in that of male, births, or (3) the under-statement of ages of girls, which has exaggerated the apparent number living at the earlier ages. Having regard to the fact that in the population as a whole the proportion of males is greater than in Europe, a larger proportion at birth is naturally to be expected, and there seems no *a priori* reason for supposing that the reporting of female births is much less accurate than that of males.† It is also very unlikely that infantile mortality is greater in the case of boys. Indeed the probabilities point in the other direction. The universal desire amongst natives of India is for male offspring, and when the desire is fulfilled, the child is treated with much more care than it would be if it proved to be a girl; boys are better clothed and better fed, and more thoroughly rubbed with mustard oil as a prophylactic against the colds and chills to which the greater part of the mortality amongst young children in this country is due. Girls are not as a rule actively neglected;‡ but there can, I think, be no doubt that, on the whole, they receive less care than boys, and it would be strange if the mortality amongst them compared with that amongst boys were relatively less than in Europe. The real reason appears to be that in this country there is a tendency to understate the ages of girls who are not yet married. This becomes very



apparent when we compare the number of girls between 10 and 15 years of age with the corresponding number of boys. According to the census there are only 813 girls of this age to every 1,000 boys. A slur generally attaches to the parents of girls of this period of life if they are not married and their age is, therefore, in many cases, deliberately understated. There is also a certain, though smaller, error in the other direction. Once a girl is married, she is frequently reported to be older than she really is, and some of the married girls under 15 years of age have probably been shown in the next higher age period, while many properly belonging to that category have been returned as between 20 and 25 years of age.

Between the ages of 35 and 50, females are constantly in defect as compared with the other sex. There seems to be a greater tendency to exaggeration in one direction or the other in the case of women who have arrived at this time of life—those still capable of bearing children being returned as younger, while those who have passed the change of life, are said to be much older, than they really are. This accounts for the piling up of females at the age "60 and over," in the one direction, and at "20 to 25" in the other. The greater inaccuracy in the return of female ages may possibly be due in part to the fact that the enumerators were more dependent in their case on the statements of the house-holders, whereas in respect of men they were generally able to check the statements made by their own observation of the individuals concerned.\* However that may be, there can be no doubt of the far greater inaccuracy in the age return of females, and there is nothing to be gained in lingering longer over the proportions which they bear to males at the different age periods.

411. There has been a fall in the number of females per 1,000 males from 1,008 in 1881 and 1,005 in 1891 to 998 at the present census. A small part of this decline is due to the industrial development of the metropolitan area, which attracts an ever-growing number of workmen from the United Provinces, but although males largely predominate amongst these immigrants, they are not, to any great extent, responsible for the variation which has taken place during the decade in the proportion of the sexes in this Province. If the natural population alone be considered, the present proportion of females per 1,000 males is 1,003 compared with 1,009 in 1891. The result is due mainly to the varying rate of growth in the general population in different parts of the Province. In East Bengal, where the proportion of females, is very deficient, the general rate of increase has been high, whereas in Bihar where the women preponderate, the population is decadent. The proportion is much the same now as it was ten years ago in East and West Bengal; it has risen in North Bihar and Chota Nagpur and has fallen in Orissa, North and Central Bengal, and South Bihar. In the two tracts last mentioned the diminution in the proportion of women is very considerable.

412. It remains to discuss as briefly as possible the extent to which the theories which have been put forward at different times as to the causes which influence sex are supported or contradicted by the conditions which prevail in this province.† It has

\* The enumerators themselves were but indifferent judges of age, but, being literate, they were less liable to fall into serious error than the great majority of the persons whom they enumerated.

† There are some theories which cannot be confronted with the census statistics, e.g., the view that the sex is inherent in the germ itself, or that it is determined by the degree of ovarian maturity at the time of conception.

Many of the modern theories regarding the causation of sex have been anticipated by ancient Hindu writers. The idea underlying many of these theories, both ancient and modern, is that sex is determined by the preponderance of the male over the female principle, or the reverse, at the time of conception. It was stated, for example, in old Hindu work on the subject, that the female principle is weaker on certain days than on others, and that conception on even days following the commencement of the menses tends to result in male, and on odd days in female, children. This general tendency, however, might be counteracted if one sex or the other were specially strong, and a strong and healthy woman is advised to fast, or reduce her diet, at the time when she expects to conceive, if she wishes to be blessed with male offspring. For the same reason it was ordained that the husband should be older than his wife, as he would then ordinarily be more vigorous and have a greater chance of influencing the sex. The great authority on sex amongst the Hindus is the *Adi Shāstra* which is attributed to Nāgarjuna, but some of the observations in this work, though they indicate an immense amount of research, are not fit for reproduction.

Male children are greatly desired by Hindus and many are the expedients resorted to in order to secure them. There is a special ceremony called *Punarban*, which is often performed after *Garbhādhāna* with the object of obtaining male offspring.



been said that the ratio of females to males has a tendency to be higher along the coast or within the influence of sea air, but Bengal Proper, which receives the monsoon current direct from the sea, has a much smaller proportion of females than Bihar. It has again been said to be higher in hill tracts, but we have seen that in the case of the Nepal and Sikkim tribes, and amongst those of Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hills, women are very deficient. They are more plentiful in parts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, but not so much so as in the plains of Bihar and Orissa. Various theories are connected with the amount of nutrition and the kind of food eaten by the mother. It has been suggested that if a woman is well nourished during the period of gestation, she is more likely to give birth to a girl, but the part of Bengal where girls are fewest is precisely the part where the people are most prosperous.\*

With reference to the properties of the food eaten, it may be observed that rice is the main article of diet both in Orissa, where women are plentiful, and in Bengal Proper, where they are scarce. In Bihar millets of various kinds enter more largely into the dietary of the people, while in Chota Nagpur the wilder tribes rely to a great extent on fruits and roots and other products of the forest. As regards climate, Bihar is subject to greater extremes of temperature than Bengal, and Bengal than Orissa. Bengal and Orissa are damp, while Bihar is relatively dry, but North Bihar is considerably less so than South Bihar. In North and East Bengal the houses are larger, lighter and better ventilated than in West Bengal and Bihar. It seems difficult to establish any connection between these conditions and the proportions of the sexes. Neither does the extent to which the females share in the work of the men appear to affect the problem. The delicately-nurtured and secluded women of the higher castes (outside Orissa) occupy a middle place, and both extremes are found amongst the tribes and low castes whose women take their part in cultivation or other forms of labour.

413. I have been at some pains to analyse the annual returns of births and

CONNECTION BETWEEN SEX AND  
SEASON OF CONCEPTION.

deaths in order to see if any connection could be traced between the season of conception and the sex of the child. The results are exhibited in Appendix IV, which shows for each sub-Province the number of births male and female, reported in each month from 1892 to 1900, the proportion which they bear to the yearly total, and the number of female, to 100 male, births,† but I must confess to having failed to trace any correlation between the two sets of figures. The statistics for the districts which suffered most from famine have been given separately on the last page of the Appendix, but here, too, the periods during and succeeding the famine disclose no abnormal features.

414. In the English Census report for 1881 the view was repeated "that

CONNECTION BETWEEN SEX AND  
RELATIVE AGE OF PARENTS.

there are some reasons for believing that one, at any rate, of the causes that determine the sex of an infant, is the relative ages of the father and mother, the offspring having a tendency to be of the same sex as its elder parent." Space forbids a complete examination of the statistics of marriage by caste in order to see how far this or some kindred theory will fit in with the observed facts in India; but it may be noted generally that amongst the Rājbangsis, Kaibarttas and other race castes of Bengal Proper the men are usually married as adults to girls much younger than themselves, usually before they have reached the age of puberty, and that co-habitation commences as soon as puberty is attained. The same custom generally prevails amongst the high castes throughout the province and almost all castes of Bengal Proper. In many parts of Bihar, amongst the

\* So far as they go the facts in Bengal seem to confirm the opposite theory, that mal-nutrition on the part of the female leads to the production of female children, which was suggested by Sir Lewis Mclver in the Madras Census Report for 1881. But too much reliance cannot be placed on a few coincidences of this sort. The figures require to be collated for many countries and a series of enumerations. There was no rise in the proportion of female children born in Bihar during the recent famine. It has been mentioned in the footnote on the last page that the Hindus attach importance to nutrition in connection with the causation of sex, but they do so only in so far as it affects the relative strength of the male and female principles at the time of conception.

† The results are exhibited graphically in the diagram shown against paragraph 403 of the last chapter.



lower castes, boys and girls alike are usually married in early youth, and in the Chota Nagpur Plateau there are very few marriages until both sexes have reached maturity; in both cases, therefore, there is less difference between the ages of husband and wife than there usually is in Bengal Proper and amongst the higher castes generally.

415. In 1891 Mr. O'Donnell suggested that the differences in the sex proportions noticed were due to race rather than climate or locality, and there seems to be no doubt that there is some kind of correspondence between sex and race. Women are fewest amongst the Mongoloid tribes of East and North Bengal and their Muhammadan congeners; and the proportion of females increases as one departs from the area where the Mongoloid element in the population is greatest. In Purnea and Malda there are marked differences in the proportion of the sexes on each side of the Mahánandá, which has already been mentioned as a great ethnic boundary, and in Bihar women are fewest in the case of tribes reputed to have immigrated from Nepal. The tracts bordering on Nepal, moreover, show a much smaller proportion of females than the rest of the districts concerned.\* Away from Mongoloid influences the proportion of women is smallest in the Rájput and other high castes in which the Aryan strain is presumably strongest. On the other hand, women are, generally speaking, most numerous amongst the Dravidian tribes and the lower castes, especially those of Bihar and Orissa, which have been recruited mainly from Dravidian sources. In the Punjab women are very deficient,† and they are also in a minority, though to a less extent, in the United Provinces. The only Provinces where they preponderate lie to the south, where the population is in the main Dravidian. Women are most numerous in Madras, but chiefly in the south, where other races have least affected the population. Further north and west the males as a rule outnumber the females.‡

It does not, of course, follow that because the sex proportions appear to follow racial lines they are necessarily dependent on anything inherent in any particular race. They may equally well be the result of certain social practices peculiar to particular races. The Rájputs, for example, formerly practised female infanticide, and Darwin says that "we have some reason to believe that female infanticide, consistently practised for a long time, tends to make a male-producing race." There are numerous traces of polyandry amongst the Mongoloid tribes, including the Tipará, Gáro, Koch and Mech, and it still exists amongst the Bhotias, and it is possible that this practice may have had the same effect as that attributed by Darwin to the persistent destruction of female children.

\* In the part of Champaran bordering on Nepal there are only 1,007 females per 1,000 males compared with 1,039 in the rest of that district; in Muzaffarpur 1,034 compared with 1,112; in Darbhanga 1,034 as against 1,065; and in Bhagalpur 1,001 as against 1,040. Similarly in Mymensingh as already noted, the thanas under the Garo Hills have only 902 females per 1,000 males, while in the rest of the district there are 960. It must, however, be remembered, in the case of the Bihar districts, that there is more emigration from the southern than from the northern thanas.

† In the Punjab Census report for 1891 (page 218) Mr. MacLagan notices that even there the highest castes have the smallest, and the vagrants and menials, the largest proportion of females.

‡ In his report on the Madras Census of 1891 Mr. Stuart points out that the sex proportions vary with the language. Amongst the hill tribes and castes speaking Telugu and Canarese, males are in the majority, but they are outnumbered by the females in the case of the Tamil, Malayálam and Oriyá speaking castes.

## SUBSIDIARY TABLES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER VI—SEX.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Showing the general proportion of the Sexes by Natural Divisions, Districts and Cities.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Showing the number of females to 1,000 males at each age by Natural Divisions and Religion.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Showing the actual excess or deficiency of females by Natural Divisions.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Showing by Religion the number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes.



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. I—SHOWING THE GENERAL PROPORTION OF THE  
SEXES BY NATURAL DIVISIONS, DISTRICTS AND CITIES.**

		NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 1,000 MALES.						
		1861.		1881.		1891.		1872.
		Actual popula- tion.	Natural popula- tion.	Actual popula- tion.	Natural popula- tion.	Actual popula- tion.	Natural popula- tion.	Actual popula- tion.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL		998	1,003	1,005	1,009	1,008	1,014	1,000
WEST BENGAL		1,001	1,015	1,023	1,019	1,050	1,045	1,041
Burdwan		1,004	1,028	1,036	1,028	1,043	1,081	1,044
Birbhum		1,020	1,024	1,044	1,049	1,053	1,094	1,060
Bankura		1,032	1,012	1,034	1,011	1,034	1,030	1,016
Midnapore		1,004	1,003	1,019	1,011	1,028	1,015	1,021
Hooghly		996	997	1,031	1,004	1,071	1,041	1,069
Howrah		933	1,050	984	1,044	1,011	1,020	1,038
CENTRAL BENGAL		911	981	944	1,002	971	1,087	973
24 Parganas		902	970	913	935	940	.....	983
Calcutta		967	925	926	963	954	1,018	952
Nadia		1,015	993	1,020	1,021	1,054	.....	1,028
Morshidabad		1,041	1,044	1,050	1,053	1,092	1,008	1,083
Jessore		954	970	1,007	961	1,022	.....	1,027
NORTH BENGAL		938	969	955	985	973	995	973
Bajshahi		972	990	1,001	1,023	1,026	1,043	1,014
Dinajpur		902	932	915	936	953	934	931
Jalpaiguri		902	904	899	903	904	934	938
Darjeeling		873	1,011	915	923	742	815	786
Rangpur		915	960	945	970	905	953	964
Bogra		934	967	958	960	908	1,003	981
Pabna		1,002	1,008	1,010	1,015	1,023	1,043	1,011
Malda		1,020	1,054	1,034	1,075	1,047	1,060	1,043
Kuch Bihar		881	911	914	963	969	947	913
Sikkim		918	960	935	.....	.....	.....	.....
EAST BENGAL		976	975	975	976	990	999	928
Khulna		918	945	906	940	900	.....	867
Dacca		1,010	995	1,017	1,002	1,043	1,015	1,047
Mymensingh		943	992	941	965	965	979	975
Faridpur		907	984	1,012	954	1,024	993	1,038
Backergunge		940	970	980	972	952	993	956
Tippura		950	961	965	968	970	975	950
Noakhali		1,007	979	985	963	977	970	973
Chittagong		1,110	1,011	1,066	1,011	1,120	1,124	1,103
Chittagong Hill Tracts		938	901	901	896	796	.....	793
Hill Tippura		874	913	920	986	839	.....	831
NORTH BIHAR		1,004	1,038	1,049	1,050	1,026	1,015	999
*Saran		1,200	1,073	1,176	1,077	1,105	1,022	1,070
*Champaran		1,028	1,030	999	1,023	977	999	954
*Muzaffarpur		1,080	1,035	1,077	1,025	1,040	1,023	1,028
*Darbhanga		1,006	1,035	1,034	1,034	1,022	1,029	973
*Bhagalpur		1,033	1,023	1,023	1,021	1,008	1,013	991
Purnea		956	983	967	973	973	987	957
SOUTH BIHAR		1,050	1,020	1,059	1,047	1,045	1,027	1,043
Patna		1,030	891	1,047	1,015	1,048	1,029	1,047
Gaya		1,037	1,000	1,040	1,036	1,036	1,026	1,043
Shahabad		1,004	1,064	1,022	1,026	1,028	1,023	1,004
Monghyr		1,045	1,024	1,053	1,023	1,039	1,028	1,021
ORISSA		1,055	1,020	1,044	1,039	1,032	1,018	1,031
Cuttack		1,073	1,015	1,000	1,034	1,046	1,014	1,055
Balasore		1,070	1,050	1,055	1,064	1,044	1,042	1,032
Puri		1,007	906	991	990	989	1,001	976
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU		1,016	1,017	1,015	1,011	1,009	1,002	984
Rasbigh		1,000	1,024	1,053	1,005	1,027	1,026	944
Ranchi		1,034	1,036	1,044	1,040	1,022	1,016	964
*Palaman		1,029	1,036	1,029	1,025	1,016	1,016	964
*Manbhum		992	1,020	1,019	1,012	1,014	1,020	985
Singbhum		1,009	1,023	1,010	1,008	1,009	1,009	998
South Parganas		1,019	1,008	1,015	1,010	1,009	1,009	1,000
Tributary States, Chota Nagpur		974	981	994	948	967	965	973
Ditto, Orissa		1,008	1,014	967	1,003	979	971	980
Angul		1,000	990	983	984	965	972	970
CITIES		656	.....	712	.....	755	.....	740
Calcutta		907	.....	856	.....	886	.....	853
Howrah		877	.....	955	.....	700	.....	781
Patna		1,011	.....	1,014	.....	1,051	.....	1,006
Dacca		891	.....	831	.....	806	.....	851
Bhagalpur		967	.....	901	.....	954	.....	923
Darbhanga		1,013	.....	923	.....	861	.....	1,013
Chupra		1,053	.....	996	.....	1,007	.....	1,002
Muzaffarpur		895	.....	811	.....	802	.....	770
Bihar		1,112	.....	1,081	.....	1,058	.....	1,044
Serampur		651	.....	790	.....	946	.....	905
Comptur-Chitpur		630	.....	618	.....	625	.....	704
Monghyr		1,030	.....	1,090	.....	1,126	.....	1,079
Manicktolla		602	.....	715	.....	701	.....	609
Garden Reach		607	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bally		630	.....	755	.....	891	.....	907
Gaya		950	.....	902	.....	985	.....	1,021

NOTE.—Famine districts are marked with an asterisk.  
The Natural population of 1872 cannot be ascertained.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. II—SHOWING THE NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 1,000  
MALES AT EACH AGE BY NATURAL DIVISIONS AND RELIGION.

AGE AND RELIGION.	Bengal.	West Bengal.	Central Bengal.	North Bengal.	East Bengal.	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALL RELIGIONS	998	1,001	911	938	976	1,064	1,050	1,055	1,019
0-5	1,073	1,062	1,047	1,079	1,046	1,093	1,078	1,055	1,098
5-10	978	972	919	955	1,000	989	967	997	1,001
10-15	813	787	752	753	816	853	841	898	844
15-20	1,645	1,085	839	1,129	1,149	907	955	1,043	1,011
20-25	1,173	1,100	969	1,225	1,239	1,237	1,183	1,049	1,201
25-30	1,060	995	859	1,060	991	1,118	1,077	1,001	1,030
30-35	977	985	844	964	904	1,113	1,074	1,122	1,000
35-40	981	973	872	791	909	1,072	1,078	1,030	962
40-45	975	973	824	721	755	1,089	1,101	1,223	1,010
45-50	854	959	924	721	755	1,034	1,014	923	933
50-55	1,034	1,100	1,031	933	999	1,088	1,108	1,137	993
55-60	907	1,002	1,008	880	787	1,172	1,118	979	1,004
60 and over	1,263	1,360	1,102	1,090	1,033	1,463	1,442	1,537	1,342
HINDU	1,005	1,000	893	901	969	1,063	1,036	1,055	1,014
0-5	1,076	1,048	1,031	1,008	1,070	1,095	1,077	1,058	1,101
5-10	982	973	990	977	1,008	990	963	999	1,009
10-15	820	791	754	737	805	838	833	898	834
15-20	1,003	1,077	917	1,025	1,090	905	930	1,039	1,000
20-25	1,131	1,085	866	1,070	1,125	1,240	1,167	1,047	1,178
25-30	1,066	998	850	905	960	1,102	1,058	1,000	1,030
30-35	988	980	787	886	894	1,095	1,051	1,120	995
35-40	929	885	779	682	707	1,071	1,038	1,032	946
40-45	907	907	855	749	905	1,093	1,078	1,230	1,012
45-50	925	935	863	690	812	1,053	999	924	899
50-55	1,032	1,113	1,033	882	991	1,086	1,078	1,134	1,031
55-60	1,047	1,067	1,064	884	862	1,101	1,101	970	964
60 and over	1,344	1,411	1,183	989	1,136	1,485	1,438	1,535	1,374
MUSALMAN	983	1,013	953	963	978	1,066	1,193	1,090	997
0-5	1,098	1,059	1,043	1,087	1,050	1,088	1,080	1,007	1,061
5-10	970	963	916	943	907	985	993	850	979
10-15	791	754	745	746	818	805	919	860	814
15-20	1,136	1,117	1,006	1,197	1,165	975	1,127	1,183	1,012
20-25	1,291	1,234	1,107	1,254	1,301	1,300	1,503	1,140	1,213
25-30	1,022	1,044	903	1,008	1,010	1,208	1,340	1,044	1,017
30-35	948	1,007	914	892	999	1,203	1,344	1,225	940
35-40	779	885	796	679	739	1,080	1,315	900	878
40-45	928	1,020	894	827	909	1,120	1,340	1,376	1,056
45-50	788	958	783	746	710	940	1,181	1,100	902
50-55	1,003	1,114	1,013	885	983	1,086	1,227	1,286	1,001
55-60	871	1,004	915	681	738	1,073	1,104	1,041	966
60 and over	1,102	1,293	1,183	1,089	970	1,303	1,513	1,728	1,307
ANIMIST	1,031	1,013	985	954	969	983	1,025	1,022	1,040
0-5	1,007	1,123	1,116	1,098	1,040	1,137	1,117	1,064	1,006
5-10	954	1,012	1,057	993	972	904	1,051	1,016	981
10-15	875	821	831	958	943	948	881	929	877
15-20	1,071	1,147	1,102	1,210	1,471	1,087	915	1,207	1,045
20-25	1,279	1,245	1,339	1,376	1,736	1,068	1,041	1,051	1,372
25-30	1,008	1,095	1,134	1,063	1,139	1,014	1,290	879	1,074
30-35	1,043	1,022	1,002	879	929	801	837	1,035	1,040
35-40	999	866	901	846	873	878	1,056	926	1,043
40-45	963	910	894	631	663	703	932	942	985
45-50	997	843	685	821	416	840	1,023	943	1,063
50-55	851	1,000	824	570	810	751	1,073	984	972
55-60	1,063	804	600	482	321	607	833	984	1,154
60 and over	1,290	1,125	917	634	702	1,123	1,183	1,340	1,282
BUDDHIST	971	56	199	264	1,001		294		905
0-5	998	1,000	898	1,015	993				1,000
5-10	936		755	974	952				951
10-15	808		653	687	802				937
15-20	1,028		904	928	1,124				1,179
20-25	1,124		177	985	1,288		500		950
25-30	1,064		190	1,018	1,138				1,194
30-35	905	53	114	942	947				690
35-40	820		154	931	838				862
40-45	988		122	1,013	1,617				1,317
45-50	904		125	805	856				789
50-55	863		190	653	593		1,000		607
55-60	1,040		102	997	1,132				977
60 and over	998		100	110	107		1,099		1,167
CHRISTIAN	946	753	797	911	1,011	982	716	1,001	1,020
0-5	1,053	1,000	1,018	1,125	1,086	1,030	1,037	997	1,060
5-10	1,014	928	1,061	966	968	1,016	1,037	952	1,030
10-15	866	641	937	1,003	946	804	804	1,036	837
15-20	955	1,011	1,004	1,239	1,292	1,000	1,101	1,033	937
20-25	905	862	696	1,170	1,123	1,172	454	300	1,311
25-30	844	639	583	872	1,095	958	894	792	1,037
30-35	821	568	620	671	934	1,021	561	1,173	1,032
35-40	840	679	633	707	866	1,138	673	1,168	1,045
40-45	688	635	737	733	975	991	862	1,361	908
45-50	892	650	679	605	740	679	714	677	1,142
50-55	888	653	790	739	963	707	607	781	920
55-60	909	687	633	761	701	691	1,344	1,671	1,195
60 and over	1,110	940	1,042	1,140	1,091	1,385	1,108	1,406	1,146



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. III—SHOWING THE ACTUAL EXCESS OR DEFECT OF  
FEMALES BY NATURAL DIVISIONS.**

1	NUMBER OF FEMALES IN EXCESS (+) OR IN DEFECT (-).						
	1901.		1901.		1901.		1872.
	Population enumerated in natural division or district.	Population born in natural division or district.	Population enumerated in natural division or district.	Population born in natural division or district.	Population enumerated in natural division or district.	Population born in natural division or district.	Population enumerated in natural division or district.
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>BENGAL</b> ... ..	- 62,962	+ 160,375	+ 169,048	+ 333,136	+ 285,880	+ 436,550	+ 8,021
<b>WEST BENGAL</b> ... ..	+ 6,172	+ 59,976	+ 87,073	+ 74,843	+ 180,566	+ 166,988	+ 151,685
Burdwan ... ..	+ 2,991	+ 18,828	+ 38,130	+ 17,828	+ 53,310	+ 33,577	+ 31,715
Birbhum ... ..	+ 12,902	+ 14,566	+ 18,576	+ 18,741	+ 31,225	+ 36,040	+ 36,629
Bankura ... ..	+ 17,443	+ 6,017	+ 17,786	+ 6,229	+ 27,480	+ 15,585	+ 7,910
Midnapore ... ..	+ 5,648	+ 3,674	+ 13,318	+ 14,942	+ 20,175	+ 22,571	+ 26,983
Hooghly ... ..	+ 7,276	- 803	+ 15,930	+ 2,335	+ 33,560	+ 31,934	+ 37,123
Howrah ... ..	- 28,530	+ 17,728	- 6,003	+ 14,541	+ 3,788	+ 14,675	+ 11,712
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b> ... ..	- 360,799	- 64,784	- 212,866	+ 8,149	- 106,748	+ 58,898	- 91,573
24 Pargannas ... ..	- 107,473	- 20,417	- 55,436	- 38,306	- 50,517	Not available.	- 5,070
Calcutta ... ..	- 277,306	- 31,100	- 212,019	- 1,950	- 174,599	+ 1,798	- 182,455
Nadia ... ..	+ 12,473	+ 4,000	+ 38,514	+ 17,424	+ 44,011	Not available.	+ 42,377
Murshidabad ... ..	+ 20,402	+ 38,844	+ 23,610	+ 50,060	+ 33,824	+ 57,126	+ 53,774
Jessore ... ..	- 14,805	- 28,923	+ 6,159	- 18,919	+ 20,833	Not available.	+ 19,621
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b> ... ..	- 321,251	- 145,397	- 218,045	- 68,735	- 121,754	- 20,441	- 118,090
Rajshahi ... ..	- 20,973	- 8,831	+ 1,058	+ 15,963	+ 18,518	+ 27,829	+ 9,555
Dinajpur ... ..	- 60,804	- 50,889	- 60,700	- 48,413	- 50,238	+ 34,431	- 50,326
Jaipurpur ... ..	- 58,374	- 34,405	- 47,908	- 10,318	- 23,208	- 17,920	- 15,121
Darjeeling ... ..	- 16,809	- 990	- 22,778	- 3,651	- 23,057	- 7,093	- 11,408
Rangpur ... ..	- 66,037	- 42,140	- 68,180	- 31,872	- 37,438	- 17,780	- 40,138
Bogra ... ..	- 29,165	- 13,812	- 18,993	- 464	- 10,976	+ 1,078	- 6,202
Pahna ... ..	+ 1,680	+ 7,000	+ 6,719	+ 10,400	+ 13,106	+ 18,296	+ 6,566
Mahla ... ..	+ 8,702	+ 21,541	+ 18,085	+ 27,556	+ 16,471	+ 28,749	+ 12,230
Kuch Bihar ... ..	- 35,790	- 25,870	- 24,046	- 21,038	- 20,732	- 15,179	- 24,005
Sikkim ... ..	- 2,576	- 819	- 1,020	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.
<b>EAST BENGAL</b> ... ..	- 800,213	- 156,914	- 195,387	- 185,020	- 71,276	- 7,754	- 72,499
Khulna ... ..	- 53,897	- 34,428	- 53,330	- 34,650	- 56,856	Not available.	- 74,580
Dacca ... ..	+ 24,088	- 623	+ 19,922	+ 3,367	+ 48,769	+ 18,867	+ 41,445
Mymensingh ... ..	- 114,542	- 73,320	- 105,046	- 61,444	- 64,773	+ 31,801	- 32,937
Faridpur ... ..	- 2,492	- 14,459	+ 10,527	- 14,026	+ 19,647	- 5,665	+ 28,860
Backergunge ... ..	- 60,054	- 27,787	- 54,921	- 29,800	- 46,099	- 23,537	- 43,020
Tippura ... ..	- 58,987	- 42,839	- 40,663	- 28,701	- 22,539	- 15,374	- 20,657
Noakhali ... ..	+ 4,174	- 11,791	+ 7,581	- 18,401	- 9,734	- 13,680	- 11,534
Chittagong ... ..	+ 70,406	+ 39,150	+ 58,431	+ 7,837	+ 69,043	+ 60,354	+ 60,234
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	- 11,714	- 5,964	- 11,946	- 5,456	- 11,405	Nil.	- 12,159
Hill Tippura ... ..	- 11,908	- 5,986	- 5,730	- 647	- 7,379	Nil.	- 1,263
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	+ 427,314	+ 267,427	+ 328,382	+ 204,580	+ 169,869	+ 93,961	- 8,433
Saran ... ..	+ 218,933	+ 94,090	+ 199,007	+ 103,031	+ 114,021	+ 56,107	+ 70,402
Champaran ... ..	+ 19,249	+ 26,103	- 12,905	+ 19,009	- 19,045	- 725	- 34,343
Munabarpur ... ..	+ 117,096	+ 78,063	+ 100,803	+ 34,616	+ 50,598	+ 39,721	+ 31,376
Darbhanga ... ..	+ 79,023	+ 30,273	+ 59,085	+ 47,901	+ 41,838	+ 36,570	+ 30,105
Itanagar ... ..	+ 33,583	+ 34,413	+ 22,940	+ 21,049	+ 8,225	+ 12,932	- 8,034
Purnea ... ..	- 42,110	- 15,444	- 42,334	- 21,247	- 25,767	- 12,024	- 57,545
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	+ 188,462	+ 65,704	+ 228,951	+ 192,672	+ 171,602	+ 105,552	+ 149,320
Patna ... ..	+ 16,419	- 7,131	+ 37,358	+ 19,412	+ 36,594	+ 24,784	+ 55,885
Gaya ... ..	+ 37,891	+ 11,115	+ 48,300	+ 20,680	+ 37,800	+ 28,742	+ 41,414
Shahabad ... ..	+ 80,008	+ 83,740	+ 61,087	+ 125,207	+ 61,734	+ 53,173	+ 55,223
Monghyr ... ..	+ 45,644	+ 27,971	+ 61,577	+ 24,383	+ 31,474	+ 27,915	+ 18,786
<b>ORISSA</b> ... ..	+ 111,857	+ 46,817	+ 85,843	+ 56,155	+ 57,291	+ 33,189	+ 46,467
Cuttack ... ..	+ 71,540	+ 31,206	+ 50,657	+ 23,905	+ 30,661	+ 15,644	+ 43,610
Balasore ... ..	+ 36,111	+ 26,729	+ 31,547	+ 26,710	+ 22,358	+ 19,545	+ 12,078
Puri ... ..	+ 3,606	- 1,118	- 4,062	- 4,543	- 4,729	+ 200	- 9,221
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU</b> ... ..	+ 94,696	+ 87,386	+ 66,618	+ 48,712	+ 6,140	+ 6,213	- 48,542
Hazaribagh ... ..	+ 57,717	+ 30,035	+ 30,363	+ 2,727	+ 14,936	+ 14,286	- 22,215
Ranchi ... ..	+ 30,555	+ 23,459	+ 25,139	+ 48,203	+ 11,477	+ 14,345	- 2,600
Palam ... ..	+ 7,194	+ 8,484	+ 6,130	+ 4,462	+ 4,462	+ 4,462	- 8,973
Manbhum ... ..	+ 5,308	+ 14,101	+ 6,909	+ 7,404	+ 7,072	+ 10,462	- 6,231
Singbhum ... ..	+ 8,729	+ 11,808	+ 3,654	+ 2,296	+ 413	- 848	- 390
South Parganas ... ..	+ 10,991	+ 7,679	+ 13,947	+ 6,536	+ 3,012	- 3,076	- 143
Tributary States Chota Nagpur ... ..	+ 12,090	- 5,250	- 14,007	- 22,177	- 12,474	- 5,037	- 4,315
Dixit ... ..	+ 7,886	+ 11,481	+ 2,190	+ 2,196	+ 14,587	- 14,587	- 6,105
Ascul ... ..	+ 41	- 1,091	- 1,473	- 600	- 2,828	- 19,819	- 1,180

NOTE:—Figures are not available for "natural population" in 1872.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV—SHOWING BY RELIGION THE NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES FOR CERTAIN SELECTED CASTES.

## HINDU AND ANIMIST.

CASTE.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES FOR EACH SELECTED CASTE AT ALL AGES AND EACH AGE PERIOD.						
	All ages.	0-5	5-12	12-15	15-20	20-40	40 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ahir and Goala ...	970	1,040	911	805	860	1,036	1,038
Atith ...	1,164	960	839	884	961	1,444	1,009
Babhan ...	990	891	894	884	886	1,227	1,271
Bagdi ...	1,024	1,001	989	826	1,155	1,045	1,383
Baidya ...	1,012	900	847	695	1,073	1,116	1,235
Baishnab ...	1,177	1,043	961	849	1,180	1,259	1,408
Barbi ...	1,036	1,072	916	830	942	1,055	1,102
Barui ...	1,014	1,008	1,014	922	1,029	1,092	1,071
Bauri ...	1,022	1,103	971	810	1,103	1,047	1,047
Bhaudari ...	1,033	1,045	968	848	1,045	1,024	1,137
Bhogta ...	1,063	1,001	965	808	986	1,175	1,137
Bhuniwalli ...	979	1,015	967	809	1,100	981	941
Bhudy ...	1,072	1,100	954	1,128	1,104	1,100	1,095
Bhumi (H. and A.) ...	1,080	1,112	950	971	1,098	1,081	1,119
Blind ...	1,074	900	888	754	958	1,301	1,311
Brahman ...	987	1,016	920	733	899	988	1,149
Chamar and Muchi ...	1,084	1,023	907	835	973	1,123	1,000
Chasa ...	1,016	1,058	958	874	958	997	1,115
Chero ...	997	1,023	968	803	878	1,076	965
Chik (Barak) ...	1,064	1,143	1,011	840	937	1,182	1,059
Dhanuk ...	1,000	1,076	921	865	1,003	1,119	1,129
Dhoba ...	1,011	1,041	941	841	1,073	1,020	1,072
Dom ...	1,019	1,059	976	1,118	904	921	906
Dosadh ...	1,030	1,055	947	876	916	1,129	1,164
Garo (A) ...	972	1,052	889	927	1,408	1,090	835
Gaur ...	1,008	1,072	968	811	1,008	1,082	1,245
Ghasi ...	1,013	1,079	910	790	921	1,133	1,071
Gond ...	999	1,053	981	1,002	879	881	1,030
Gour ...	1,113	953	970	723	1,000	1,556	1,227
Gurong ...	1,010	1,072	936	774	1,006	1,085	987
Hajjam and Napit ...	1,065	1,055	913	814	1,016	1,083	1,043
Hari ...	1,005	1,000	910	827	1,180	1,007	999
Ho (H. and A.) ...	1,080	924	933	921	1,117	1,174	1,605
Jogi ...	991	1,059	999	853	1,169	1,013	913
Kahar ...	1,041	1,004	979	792	986	1,101	1,222
Kaibartta (Total) ...	989	1,009	885	742	1,005	1,035	1,048
Kaibartta (unspecified) ...	848	959	841	744	943	863	867
Kaibartta (Chasi) ...	1,008	1,012	897	737	1,075	1,074	1,090
Kaibartta (Jaliya) ...	995	1,101	988	806	1,135	1,006	905
Kala ...	978	995	888	807	1,037	970	1,023
Kalwar ...	983	1,037	823	760	891	1,052	1,107
Kamar and Lohar ...	1,009	1,072	944	816	989	1,051	1,008
Kandh (H. and A.) ...	1,029	1,008	1,036	876	1,144	1,002	1,039
Kandw ...	1,077	1,028	921	804	859	1,210	1,170
Karan ...	1,059	1,003	979	923	932	1,055	1,259
Kasarwani ...	973	1,004	938	730	899	982	1,109
Kayastha ...	1,003	900	924	755	999	1,019	1,157
Kewat ...	1,038	1,083	970	830	894	1,033	1,163
Khangbu ...	923	950	858	871	1,009	907	968
Khandait ...	1,048	1,040	951	869	906	1,058	1,246
Kharis (A) ...	1,040	1,011	950	890	945	1,131	1,069
Kharwar ...	904	973	1,077	730	1,017	1,027	996
Khatwa ...	1,087	1,182	942	1,155	869	1,192	1,137
Kofri ...	1,097	1,043	949	893	883	1,087	1,097
Kumhar ...	1,009	1,009	930	879	1,111	1,025	1,003
Kurmi (H. and A.) ...	1,013	1,013	973	786	913	1,040	1,141
Limbui ...	890	953	798	984	813	817	1,005
Mahuri ...	977	973	862	541	1,123	1,000	1,143
Mallah ...	1,083	891	798	756	1,079	1,323	1,388
Mangar ...	845	932	1,000	706	921	729	792
Munda (H. and A.) ...	1,005	906	909	849	943	1,126	1,082
Musahar ...	1,031	1,000	913	907	1,127	1,059	927
Namasandra (Chandal) ...	989	1,030	890	819	1,107	1,013	890
Nuniya ...	1,030	1,023	739	857	1,011	1,239	1,117
Orain (H. and A.) ...	1,005	1,054	905	796	903	1,088	1,087
Pan (H. and A.) ...	1,001	1,034	905	834	1,032	1,000	1,048
Pasi ...	959	1,087	897	777	928	993	1,096
Pod ...	981	1,048	839	833	1,122	1,041	947
Rajbans (Koch) ...	936	1,117	984	870	960	957	815
Rajput ...	971	901	850	644	716	1,014	1,213
Rajwar ...	1,087	1,221	892	919	1,106	1,241	928
Saigop ...	1,004	1,079	950	878	1,061	929	1,171
Santal (H. and A.) ...	1,005	1,112	906	790	1,058	1,027	1,001
Sonar ...	1,019	1,037	930	793	926	1,050	1,110

Note.—Chamar and Muchi have been shown together as it seems that there has been some confusion between the two. Chamar shows an excess of women and Muchi an excess of men. Apparently many Chamar immigrants (mostly males) to Bengal have been shown as Muchi, while their wives left in Bihar have been returned as Chamars.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV—SHOWING BY RELIGION THE NUMBER OF FEMALE  
PER 1,000 MALES FOR CERTAIN SELECTED CASTES—*concluded*.

HINDU AND ANIMIST—*concluded*.

CASTE.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES FOR EACH SELECTED CASTE AT ALL AGES AND EACH AGE PERIOD.						
	All ages. <sup>1</sup>	0-5	5-12	12-15	15-20	20-40	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sadra ... ..	1,027	954	875	729	1,194	1,184	1,220
Sanri (Shaha) ... ..	1,023	1,026	944	580	1,059	1,023	1,063
Satrudhar ... ..	852	1,051	922	748	1,060	972	915
Tanti and Tata ... ..	1,000	1,039	984	805	1,015	1,004	1,073
Tell ... ..	1,017	1,035	919	816	897	1,067	1,127
Tharu ... ..	968	1,200	1,145	809	708	540	919
Til ... ..	1,106	1,187	1,052	791	1,137	1,099	1,244
Tipara ... ..	951	965	875	977	1,352	895	711
Tiyar ... ..	1,000	1,019	904	904	963	1,050	1,049
BUDDHIST.							
Chakma ... ..	851	952	894	853	1,045	907	701
Lepcha ... ..	969	1,109	734	900	867	1,071	935
Magh ... ..	1,002	920	938	971	1,190	1,181	1,134
Murm ... ..	1,012	843	920	979	913	1,297	1,080
MUSALMAN.							
Ajial (Atraj) ... ..	930	1,043	828	894	1,179	906	819
Behara ... ..	992	976	847	843	1,201	1,133	945
Dal ... ..	1,016	1,216	997	900	1,208	1,004	1,001
Darri ... ..	1,194	1,186	983	1,134	1,137	1,334	1,322
Dhobi ... ..	1,054	979	950	709	853	1,273	1,145
Dhunna ... ..	1,005	1,000	940	939	1,009	1,196	1,265
Fakir ... ..	1,097	990	963	819	961	1,228	1,292
Hajjam ... ..	1,101	1,134	955	744	1,012	1,290	1,205
Jolaha ... ..	1,074	1,033	961	882	1,100	1,179	1,126
Kalal ... ..	1,156	1,063	900	1,118	1,207	1,280	1,307
Kulu ... ..	1,003	1,048	959	940	1,131	1,003	962
Kunjra ... ..	1,131	1,045	902	907	1,105	1,245	1,253
Mallik ... ..	1,131	1,008	871	829	1,254	1,276	1,311
Nikri ... ..	1,041	1,106	1,029	918	1,246	1,006	1,040
CHRISTIAN.							
Kharis ... ..	1,020	1,004	1,011	774	930	1,112	1,001
Munda ... ..	1,015	1,053	908	844	900	1,119	1,057
Orson ... ..	1,028	1,055	902	720	977	1,151	1,060



## Chapter VII.

### MARRIAGE.

416. The statistics regarding marriage will be found in Imperial Tables VII and XIV. In the former, civil condition is shown in combination with age and religion, and in the latter with age and caste. The more important features of the statistics are portrayed in the following Subsidiary Tables at the end of this Chapter :—

*Subsidiary Table I.*—Distribution by civil condition and age of 1,000 of each sex for natural divisions and districts.

*Subsidiary Table II.*—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each main age period for religions.

*Subsidiary Table III.*—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 persons of each main age period for natural divisions.

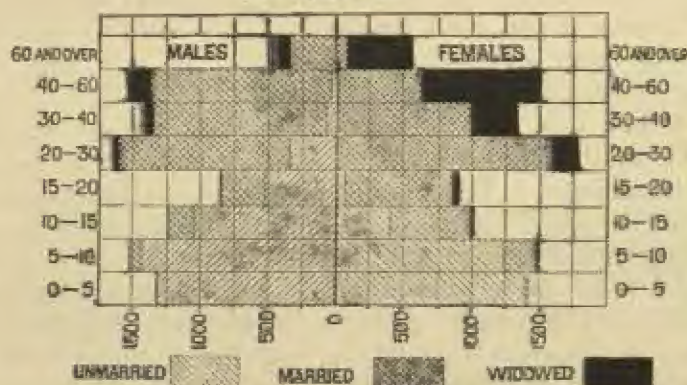
*Subsidiary Table IV.*—Proportion of married and widowed amongst Hindus and Muhammadans at certain ages by natural divisions and districts.

*Subsidiary Table V.*—Distribution of 1,000 of each age and sex by civil condition for the main castes.

*Subsidiary Table VI.*—Proportion of the sexes by civil condition for religions and natural divisions.

417. The most striking fact brought out by the statistics is the universality of marriage. Amongst males, nearly half the total number are unmarried, but a reference to the age details shows that four-fifths of these are under 15 years of age. Of the males enumerated at the ages 30 to 40, less than 5 per cent. are unmarried; between 40 and 60 the number of single men less than 3 per cent. and at the higher ages it is only 2 per cent. Amongst females the figures are even more striking. Less than a third of the total number are unmarried and of these four-fifths are under 10 and three quarters of the remainder are under 15; only 4 per cent. of the total number of single females are over 15 years of age. At the very early ages marriage amongst males, though not unknown is rare, but nearly two-fifths of the number enumerated at the age '15—20' are married. Nearly one-sixth of the females between the ages of 5 and 10 are married and nearly three-fifths of the number aged '10—15'; of those shown in this age period as unmarried the

*Diagram showing the proportion of married, single and widowed at each age period.*



*Note.*—For the purpose of this diagram the uncorrected ages have been taken.

great majority doubtless belong to the earlier part of it. The females who are spinster at the age of 20 and upwards are either prostitutes or persons suffering from some bodily affliction, such as leprosy, blindness and the like. The number of genuine old maids is very small.\* Comparatively few males were returned as widowed (about 4 per cent.) and most of these were fairly advanced in life. Amongst females, on the other hand, nearly a fifth of the total number are widows; and although in their case also the majority are of the age of 40 and upwards, the number at the lower age, is by no means inconsiderable. Of the females enumerated between the ages of 20 and 30, for example, a ninth were returned as widows.

418. The above proportions are based on the returns for the Province as a whole, but there are great local variations.† In Bihar 55 per cent. of the males are married but

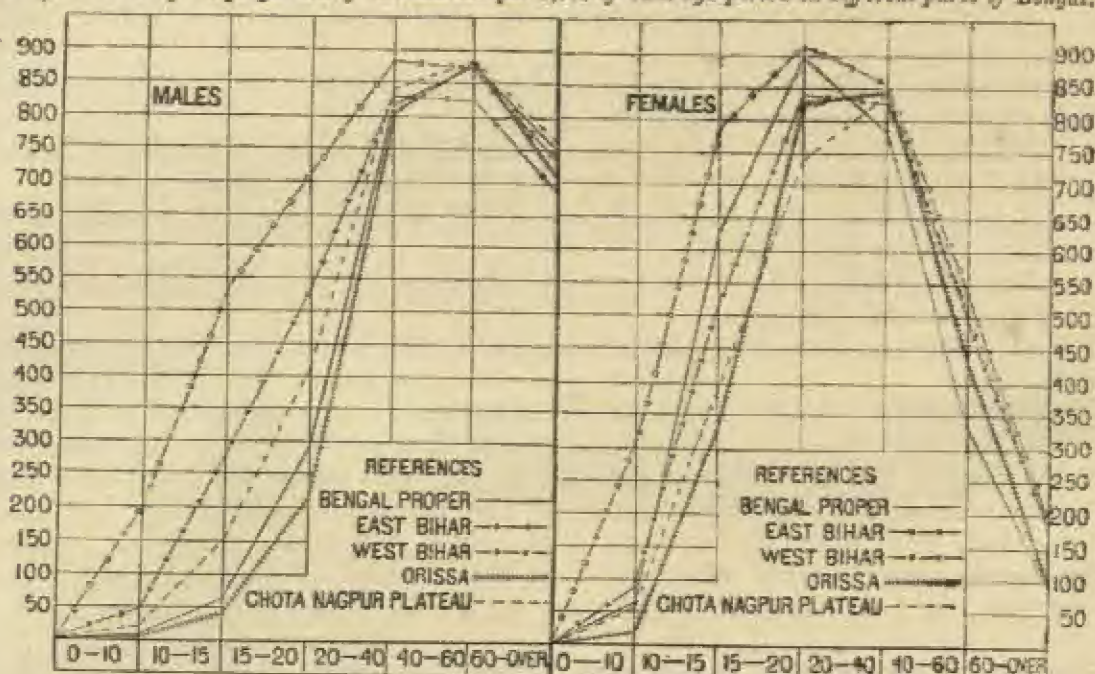
\* It will be seen further on that amongst certain classes of Bráhmans a small number of girls remain unmarried owing to the difficulty of procuring suitable husbands.

† Subsidiary Table I.



only 43 per cent. in East Bengal. In most parts of the Province the number of males who are married before the age of 10 is only 1 or 2 per 1,000 of the population, but in Bihar it is much higher and rises in the case of Darbhanga to 80 per 1,000. The proportion of married females at the earlier ages is nowhere so small as that of males, but the statistics for Bihar show that the infant marriage of females is relatively more prevalent there than elsewhere. In Darbhanga, of every 1,000 females under 10 years of age, 385 are married compared with only 42 in East and 65 in North Bengal. Similar variations are to be noticed in respect of the widowed; they are most numerous in Central and West Bengal, and least so in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and Orissa.

Diagram showing the proportion of the married per 1,000 of each age-period in different parts of Bengal.



419. Nor are the differences less marked if we take religion instead of locality as the dividing line. This will be clearly seen from Subsidiary Table II. In the case of

#### VARIATIONS BY RELIGION.

males the total number who are married is considerably greater amongst Hindus than amongst Muhammadans, but this is owing to the earlier age at which the Hindu male marries. From the age of 20 upwards, marriage is more universal amongst the Muhammadans. This is due in part to a slight excess of unmarried Hindus at the higher ages, but mainly to the smaller number of Muhammadans returned as widowed, owing to the greater readiness with which the latter marry again, should their first wife die. The differences between the followers of the two religions are even greater in respect of females. The proportion of Muhammadan females who are unmarried is much larger than it is amongst Hindus but, as in the case of males, this is due entirely to the smaller number of Muhammadan girls who are married in early childhood. The proportion of single females over 15 years of age is smaller in the Muhammadan community than in the Hindu. In spite of the earlier age at which they marry, the proportion of Hindu wives to the total number of Hindu females only slightly exceeds that amongst the Muhammadans, and between the ages of 15 and 40, it is very much smaller, the reason being that a Muhammadan woman who becomes a widow, while still capable of bearing children, finds it much easier to obtain a second husband than her Hindu sister, who in many cases, is not allowed to enter a second time into matrimony. This is clearly shown by the figures in the margin. It will be seen further on that the prohibition against widow marriage is not universal amongst Hindus, and if only the castes that forbid the practice were taken into account, the divergence would be still more marked. The difference between the marriage practices of the Animistic tribes and those of the Muhammadans is comparable to that which has been noticed in the case of the Muhammadans and the Hindus.

Age.	PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWS.	
	Hindu.	Musliman.
10-15	3	2
15-20	6.6	3.9
20-30	12.6	8.4
30-40	27.9	24.2



The Animists marry even later than do the Muhammadans and there are consequently more single, and fewer married, persons. The proportion of widowed males is about the same as with the Muhammadans but that of widowed females is far smaller.

It appears, therefore, that there is little to be gained by dealing with the figures for the province as a whole, and that, to appreciate their true meaning, it is necessary to consider them for each religion separately. Moreover, in the case of the Hindus, the customs in respect of marriage vary so greatly in different parts of the Province, and amongst different classes of the community, that it is desirable to clear the way by a brief general account of the stand-point from which marriage is regarded, the principles on which it is based, the restrictions which surround it, and the manner in which it is effected.

## MARRIAGE AMONGST THE HINDUS.

420. In the eyes of the Hindus marriage is a religious sacrament, essential and irrevocable. A man must marry in order to beget a son who may perform his funeral ceremonies and rescue his soul and the souls of his ancestors from hell. It is equally obligatory for a father to obtain a husband for his daughter, and the most awful penalties are threatened if a girl should attain puberty while still unmarried. Parásara, for instance, says "the mother, the father and the elder brother of a girl go to hell on seeing her menstruate while yet unmarried." The most suitable age for the marriage of a girl is said to be 8, at which age Gauri is believed to have been married to Siva or 9, which was the age of Rohini at the time of her marriage with Chandra, the moon.\* The general feeling amongst Hindus at the present day supports the view of the *Shāstras*, and amongst many castes, a man who fails to procure a husband for his daughter before she becomes mature is liable to social ostracism. There are, however, many exceptions, and the Kulin Brāhmins of Bengal Proper prefer to allow their daughters to remain unwed rather than to give them to unsuitable bridegrooms. In Bihar also, in many cases, there is no penalty for allowing girls to grow up unmarried, but on the other hand many of the lower castes marry their children far earlier even than the early age mentioned in the *Shāstras*. In Orissa, says Mr. K. G. Gupta, "among certain high caste Hindus, such as Khatris, Karans and Khandāits, early marriage is not compulsory, but, on the contrary, late marriages (after the girl has attained puberty) form the rule."† Amongst the lower castes of that part of the Province, however, the rule is even more stringent than it is elsewhere, and if a girl should happen to attain puberty while still unmarried, a mock ceremony is gone through with a bow and arrow. In the case of the Aulapatak Gauras of Keonjhar (I quote again from Mr. Gupta's report) the girl is taken into the forest and left tied to a tree, if not to the mercy of wild beasts, at least as a prize to the first comer. Usually, however, an arrangement has been made beforehand with a Gaura of some other sub-caste, who comes and carries the girl away as soon as her people have left her.

421. But although marriage is enjoined at an early age, cohabitation prior to sexual maturity is condemned.‡ It is said that the offspring of an immature girl will be sickly for ever, and the age of sixteen is mentioned as the proper time on the side of the female for commencing married life.§ The authorities, however, are conflicting,

\* The following sloka is found in the *Sabdakalpadruma*:—

*Ashta bārshā bhavet Gaurī, Nava bārshācha Rohini,  
Dashomē Kanyakā proktā, Ata urdhang rajarevalā.*

† Married at 8 she is like Gauri, at 9 like Rohini, at 10 like a girl, but over this age it is the marriage of a woman.

‡ In the Punjab also some of the Khatris who practise hypergamy allow their girls to grow to maturity before giving them in marriage.

§ The first ceremony, not being usually followed by consummation, is frequently called a betrothal, but this is a misnomer. The moment the ceremony is performed, the pair are irrevocably bound together, whether consummation (in the English sense) ever ensues or not, whereas in England, a marriage which is never consummated can be declared void. Even if the Hindu husband dies before consummation or the performance of the second ceremony, the girl is none the less a widow. The vernacular word for the ceremony is *biddha* which means "marriage" not "betrothal."

§ Twenty-five is mentioned as the proper age for the husband of a girl of 16.



and there is a passage in Manu where 12 years is named as a suitable age for the consummation of a girl's marriage.

In Bengal and Bihar the usual practice at the present day is for the newly-married girl to go for a few days to her father-in-law's house, after which, unless she has attained puberty or her husband is a widower, she returns home,\* where she stays, usually for one year, but often, if very young, for much longer. She must not go to live with her husband in an even year from the date of her marriage or her birth (the practice varies), i.e., she may go in the 1st, 3rd or 5th year, but not in the 2nd or 4th. The day and month must be auspicious, the rules in this respect being the same as those for the first marriage. When she goes a second ceremony is performed, called the *gāunā* or *deirāgaman*. This ceremony is usually of minor importance, but in parts of Bihar, amongst some of the lower castes, it is observed even more carefully than that of the actual marriage. Neither of these ceremonies has any necessary connection with the commencement of married life, which, in theory, is determined, at least in Bengal Proper, by the time when the bride attains puberty, whether she is then in her father's house or in that of her husband's father. A third ceremony is then performed which is known as *garbhādhān*, *tenga* or *punar bibāha*,† and cohabitation is supposed to commence on some night between the 4th and 16th days from the commencement of the menstrual flow.

In Orissa, when the girl is mature at the time of marriage, cohabitation commences on the following night in the case of Karans and Khandāits, and on the fourth night in the case of other castes, after the performance of the ceremonies known as *chaturthi* and *lāgāhom*. The first eight nights are called *ashtamangalā*, during which the pair can live together. The ninth and tenth nights are known as *bisharātri* and they must then remain separate.‡ When a girl is married before puberty, she remains with her parents until her first menstruation. An astrologer is then consulted and an auspicious day is fixed for her departure to her husband's house. There are certain conjunctions of the planets and other considerations which may cause delay, varying from 1½ to 14 months. Until she goes to live with her husband cohabitation is not allowed. When she goes, the *hom* ceremony is performed by the higher castes, while some of the lower ones have a custom known as *goswālī*, i.e., the husband and wife each touch the tail of a female calf, after which they are allowed to live together.

422. The remarriage of widows is forbidden by the Hindu religion§ and amongst the highest castes the prohibition is strictly enforced. But in Bihar and Orissa all other sections of the community allow their widows to marry again, and the practice is quite as common amongst the clean castes as it is amongst those who are generally regarded as impure.|| In Bengal Proper, however, all the clean castes strictly forbid widow marriage, and east of the Bhāgirathi, even the lower ranks of the community are beginning to refrain from it. It has already been given up by the Namasudras, and the Rājbanis are now following suit. The Baishnabs allow the practice, and this circumstance tends to swell their ranks by the accretion of outsiders who wish to escape from the restriction which the rules

\* The favourite months for marriage are Baisākh, Jaishta, Āshār (in Bihar only) Agrahāyan (in Tirhut only), Māgh and Fālgun. There is a *śloka* which says that a girl married in Agrahāyan will be virtuous, in Māgh she will be a devoted wife, in Fālgun she will be endowed with all the qualities of her sex, in Baisākh she will be wealthy, in Jaishta fortune will smile on her, and in Āshār she will be blessed with a large family. In cases of urgency marriages take place in other months also. The eldest son or daughter may not marry in Jaishta, nor may a couple marry in the month in which either was born, nor within 12 months of the death of a parent, nor in an even year of one's age. These are the general rules, but there are numerous exceptions. The Maghs marry most freely in Māgh, Fālgun, Chaitra and Baisākh, and the same months are the favourite ones amongst the Animistic tribes of Chota Nagpur. The Namasudras crowd all their marriages into the month of Fālgun. They do not begin to think about the matter till the last few days of the month, when the time left is so short that the month is by common consent held to extend till the 3rd or 4th of Chaitra. But when once negotiations are opened no time is lost. The parents may arrange a match while on their way to their fields in the morning and, as likely as not, they will have the ceremony performed the same evening.

† In Bihar the *Gāunā* usually takes place before the wife attains puberty, and cohabitation commences as soon as she is physically capable of it. The *Punar Bibāha*, or ceremony enjoined by the *Śāstras* when the wife becomes mature is, therefore, in many parts no longer observed. In Bengal Proper both the *deirāgaman* and the *Punar Bibāha* are gradually falling into desuetude. They are seldom altogether omitted, but the presence of the bridegroom is no longer considered indispensable.

‡ In Bengal the night immediately following the wedding is regarded as the *Bisharātri*. The origin of the superstition is, that Lakshindar, the son of Chānd Sadāgar, died of snake-bite on the night in question.

§ This is said to be a comparatively modern innovation.

|| There are a few exceptions in Bihar, e.g., the Chausar sub-caste of Kurmi.



of their own castes place on marriage with widows. Where a widow is allowed to remarry, her first husband's younger brother has usually the first claim to her. This is often called the *levirate* but this word connotes a very different set of ideas. The object amongst the Jews was that a man should raise up seed unto his brother, but in India he succeeds to the widow as a matter of right, without any reference to the necessity of providing his brother with offspring, and if he does not want her for himself, he is at full liberty to renounce her. The practice seems rather to be a survival of the fraternal system of polyandry which is still in vogue amongst the Bhotiás, and of which traces are still to be seen in the domestic arrangements of the Santáls.\* "In Nepal," says Hodgson, "it yet exists partially but is falling out of use."† Marriage with an elder brother (*uhá Shur* or *jer Shur*) of the deceased husband is almost always strictly forbidden, just as, where fraternal polyandry prevails, the *jus connubii* enjoyed by the younger brothers is under no circumstances permitted to those who are older than the actual husband. The marriage ceremony for widows, *sagái* or (in Oriyá) *dentiya*, is a very informal one, and very often consists of little more than the exchange of presents or a public declaration, coupled with cohabitation and a feast to the caste people. Where the woman is taken by the deceased husband's younger brother, no payment is made and the ceremony, such as it is, takes place in the husband's house. In other cases it is performed in the house of her father who receives the customary bride price. The border line between marriage and concubinage would seem *a priori* to be a very uncertain one, and if so, it is possible that some persons who were practically married have been returned as widowed. I am told, however, that in Orissa at least, the distinction is well marked, and concubines, it is said, are kept only by the higher castes who do not allow their widows to marry again. Unfortunately, I omitted to institute enquiries on this point with reference to specific cases.‡

423. The general rule amongst Hindus is that a man should content himself with one wife, and should not marry a second, unless the first is barren or afflicted with an incurable disease.

#### POLYGAMY.

In many cases he has to satisfy his caste *Pancháyat* on these points, and obtain their permission before he may take a second help-mate. In the Province as a whole, the census shows that there are only 986 married women to every 1,000 married men. The apparent excess of husbands is due to the great numbers of immigrants from the United Provinces, Rajputana and elsewhere, many of whom are married men who have left their wives at home, but even allowing for this, it is clear that monogamy must be the general rule and polygamy the exception. The disproportion shown by the census figures for individual districts is similarly explicable on the score of migration. Husbands are in defect in Bihar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur, which are areas of emigration, and in excess in Bengal Proper, where the number of immigrants is greatest.

424. It remains to notice briefly the varying practices in respect of the marriage contract. In some cases the bride's father

#### CONSIDERATION FOR MARRIAGE.

has to pay the father of the bridegroom; in others the bridegroom's father has to pay, and in others again (a small minority) no money passes. The most respectable arrangement is when the bride's father presents money to the bridegroom§ and this is usually followed amongst the higher castes; it often happens also amongst the lower castes where the parties are respectable and well-to-do. But generally, it is mainly a question of demand and supply; the party who has to pay, and the amount he must give, depends on the relative demand for brides and bridegrooms, and this again is determined to a great extent by the existence or otherwise of certain practices, such as hypergamy, widow remarriage, and the like. Where the girl is paid for, her price depends very much on her age and also to some extent, on her fairness of complexion and personal charms. If a virgin, her

\* Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. II, page 229.

† Languages, Literature and History of Nepal, Vol. II, page 32.

‡ In other respects abnormal figures were subjected to enquiry in as many cases as possible, especially in respect of persons returned as married at very early ages, or of women shown as unmarried when more than 25 years of age. No general record was kept of the result of such enquiries, but it may be noted that in Balasore of 1,171 females over 25 years of age who were shown as unmarried, enquiries were made in 734 cases. In 699 cases the return was correct in all respects, in 25 the age had been wrongly entered, and in 10 the persons concerned were married and not single.

§ As it is the girl who leaves her home on marriage, a man who takes money for his daughter is popularly said to sell her.



value rises the nearer she approaches to maturity, while if a widow, it usually decreases as she grows older, but amongst a few of the functional castes a widow of mature age, who is an expert in the work by which people of the caste ordinarily live, commands a higher price than one who is younger and more attractive, but less useful from a professional point of view. When the bridegroom receives money, his educational qualifications are looked to, and the degree of B.A. is a very valuable asset in the matrimonial market.

425. The marriage customs amongst the Bráhmans vary to a very remarkable degree. The most complicated system is that of the Rárho sub-caste. Its original division into Kulin or high class, and Srottriya or Vedic students who had lost rank by intermarriage with families of inferior birth, is attributed to Ballála Sena. The Srottriyas were further distinguished as Suddha Srottriya or pure, and Kashta or impure. Subsequently the Kulins were subdivided into 36 *mels*. Intermarriage between the different *mels* was forbidden, and it was laid down that a man must take as his bride a girl of the same generation as himself, i.e., if he were in the 25th generation from the founder of the *mel*, his wife must also be in the 25th generation. Kulins who offended against these rules or were guilty of certain other forms of misconduct were degraded and formed a new sub-caste called Bansaja.\* A Kulin may take as his wife either a suitable bride of his own *mel* or a girl of the Suddha Srottriya class, and there is a rule that every Kulin must take at least one Suddha Srottriya bride in his family. He may not take a bride of the other subdivisions, on pain of gradual degradation of himself and his children and brothers to the same level. In addition to these rules, there is the complication introduced by the practice of hypergamy. It is considered the proper thing for a man who is not a Kulin to marry his daughter to a Bráhman of higher rank than himself, but he must on no account give her to one of lower status.

As a general rule the father gives a present to the proposed bridegroom (*pan*) and to the relatives who accompany him at his marriage (*gan*). Formerly the *pan* was a fixed sum of Rs. 16, but of recent years the difficulty of procuring suitable bridegrooms has caused the amount to grow inordinately and the most extravagant sums are now demanded.† The payment is highest in the case of Kulin girls, as the field of choice is in their case most restricted. If a girl is approaching puberty, or if she is of dark complexion, the price is proportionately increased, in the former case because the need for marrying her quickly is more pressing, and in the latter because she is personally less desirable. The possession of high educational qualifications is a factor which adds greatly to the value of the bridegroom. It is no uncommon thing for Rs. 1,000 to be paid in cash in addition to ornaments. In exceptional cases as much as Rs. 5,000 is paid. The father of a Srottriya girl can obtain a husband at a lower cost, partly because he can marry her to Kulins as well as to Srottriyas, and partly on account of the rule that every Kulin family must take at least one Srottriya bride. The bridegroom price in their case usually ranges between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500. As already stated, a Kulin who marries a girl of the Bansaja or Kashta Srottriya class suffers degradation, and the same is the case if he marries into an inferior *mel* of Kulins, but he will sometimes submit to this if the bribe be large enough. Owing to these extortionate demands on the part of the bridegroom, and also, in some cases, owing to the absence of a bridegroom of the proper *mel* and generation,‡ a Kulin has to choose between giving his daughter to a man of inferior status and leaving her unmarried. The religious prohibition against celibacy on the part of a nubile girl is stringent, but amongst many Kulins it is outweighed by the objections to giving her in marriage to a man of inferior rank, and the result is that it is now not uncommon to find spinsters of advanced age amongst the Rárho Kulins. There are said to be many such in the Bikrampur pargana in Dacca and the Narail Subdivision of Jessore. The slur of celibacy is sometimes removed by inducing a Kulin bridegroom to marry, not only the young girl who is destined to be his real wife, but also several elder sisters for whom no husband has been

\* A Bansaja may take a Srottriya girl as his wife but may not give his daughter in marriage to a man of this class.

† The demand is most extortionate in the neighbourhood of large towns. It is stated that in Faridpur a pure Kulin marrying in his own class still takes only a nominal *pan*.

‡ The rule regulating the respective generations of the bride and bridegroom is frequently neglected at the present day, but such neglect involves a certain loss of position.



found. In such cases the latter frequently return at once to the parental roof, and their condition is in no way changed, except that the stigma of spinsterhood has been wiped out. Sometimes the difficulty is solved by *paribarttan* or mutual accommodation.\* The following is an actual case which is said to be typical of many others. A man, A, had two daughters aged respectively 22 and 32 and one son. Failing to secure husbands for his daughters in the regular way, he at last effected an arrangement with B, a Kulin of equal rank, under which his son married B's two daughters, while B married his own younger daughter and B's father his elder. The vicious system known as Kulinism, by which a Kulin contracted the marriage ceremony with an almost unlimited number of wives whom he never took to live with him, is said to have become very uncommon, but such cases still occur, and I was told of one instance where a Kulin had married nine wives. The custom of receiving a brideprice is held in abhorrence amongst the Rārhi Brāhmans, but the lowest classes of Srotriyas and Bansajas, when in poor circumstances, are not above the temptation. The practice is most common amongst a certain section in the districts west of the Bhāgirathi, who are usually cooks by occupation. In their case a man has often to pay as much as Rs. 500 for his bride and many have to wait till an advanced age before they can secure a wife.† The circumstances under which a brideprice can be exacted when the general demand for husbands exceeds the supply are not very clear; presumably it can only be obtained when the husband follows a low occupation, or is otherwise regarded as not very eligible.

426. The divisions of the Bārendra Brāhmans are the same as those of the Rārhi, but the class corresponding to Bansaja is known as Kāp. The Srotriyas are divided into Siddha, Sādhyā and Kashta. The rules of marriage are not so complicated as with the Rārhi sub-caste, and the *pan* is usually smaller, but otherwise the general system is the same. A Kulin who marries a Kulin girl is given from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 as *pan*, and a Srotriya who marries a Srotriya receives about the same amount‡ but a Srotriya who wishes to obtain a Kulin or Kāp bridegroom for his daughter has to pay a large sum, often exceeding Rs. 1,000. Here, too, amongst the lowest classes, the *pan* is replaced by the brideprice.

427. The Baidik Brāhmans are split into two endogamous groups, Pāschātya and Dākshinātya. Social distinctions do not exist amongst the former, but the latter are divided into Kulin, Bansaja and Maulik. Formerly there was no payment at marriage on either side, and in Backergunge this is still the case. But as a rule, a *pan* is paid, varying from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 and, in extreme cases, Rs. 1,000.

428. Amongst the Maithil or Tirhutīā Brāhmans the only bar on marriage is that the parties must not belong to the same *gotra* or be within the forbidden degrees of relationship to each other. There are three main divisions of the sub-caste, based on a classification said to have been made by Rājā Har Sing Deo of Tirhut, viz., Sarotri (high), Yog (middle), and Jaiwar (low). There is also a fourth division, Panjibodh, comprising the offspring of intermarriages between the Sarotri and the Yog classes, whose rank is intermediate between these two. These groups are to some extent hypergamous, i.e., it is considered right that a man should bestow his daughter in his own or a higher group, but this is not compulsory, and if he is poor, he will often, for a sufficient consideration, give her to a man of a lower grade. It is all a question of money, and the party which ranks higher receives money from the other side, whether it be that of the bride or of the bridegroom.§ The amount varies according to the wealth and relative rank of the parties. The minimum payment is said to be Rs. 35, but it may be very much more. Some of the poorer Brāhmans of higher rank will occasionally marry a number of wives of the lower

\* Known as *Golat* or *Goldcat* in Bihar. *Paribarttan* has the further advantage of reducing marriage expenses, as the two couples are married at the same time.

† With this class, the expedient of *paribarttan* is frequently resorted to. The following is a case which actually occurred. A had a son aged 27, and a daughter aged 2. He arranged with B to give his daughter to B's son aged 15, in exchange for B's daughter aged 8 who was married to his son.

‡ Sometimes he gets only the ornaments which his wife brings with her.

§ In Bihar the payment to a bridegroom is called *tilak*, and that for a bride *shulka*.



grades for the sake of the money paid by their parents. The practice, however, is said to be falling into disfavour.

A succession of marriages into higher circles will gradually raise the position of a family and, in the same way, a family gradually sinks in social estimation if all its matrimonial alliances are with persons of lower rank.

In addition to *gotras* or exogamous groups, the Maithil Bráhmans are also distinguished according to their *mel* and *dih*. The *mel*, or origin, is the name of the village where the earliest known members of a *gotra* lived, while the *dih*s refer to the villages where their descendants subsequently settled. Thus the early progeny of Batsa Rishi lived, it is said, in a place called Karmahe, and this is the *mel* of all members of the Batsa *gotra*. Subsequent generations gradually spread abroad and settled in Majhaurá, Tarauni and other places, and the descendants of the residents in each place are distinguished accordingly as Karmahe Majhaurá, Karmahe Tarauni, etc. These are called *dih*s. The classification of Maithil Bráhmans according to their *mel*s and *dih*s, like the other measures connected with their matrimonial arrangements, is ascribed to Rájá Har Sing Deo. It was effected in connection with the preparation of their pedigrees, and they attach much importance to it. It is a factor in estimating the relative rank of different members of the sub-caste, but it constitutes no bar on marriage. There is no objection to marrying a woman of the same *dih* provided she does not belong to the same *gotra* or fall within the prohibited degrees of relationship.

429. In arranging marriages the parties are assisted by Ghataks, who carry in their memory the pedigrees of the Bráhmans of ten or twelve villages, and who bring the parties together and help them to settle the amount of the consideration to be paid, for which service they receive a minimum fee of Rs. 2. When the parties have come to an agreement they go to the Panjiár (Skr. *Panjikár*) who keeps a record of the pedigrees of Tirhutíá Bráhmans and who, after satisfying himself that the bride and bridegroom may lawfully be married, grants them a written permission or *siddhánta patra* for which he receives a fee of one rupee. Panjiárs are said to have been first appointed by Rájá Har Sing Deo, in consequence of one of his ministers having married in ignorance a lady within the prohibited degrees of relationship. The office is now hereditary, but before practising, the candidate must obtain the permission of the Mahárájá Bábhádur of Darbhanga, who is the head of the Maithil Bráhmans, and who, after satisfying himself of his fitness, presents him with two loin cloths in token of his approval.

Marriages may be arranged at any time, but it is the fashion amongst Tirhutíá Bráhmans to meet for the purpose at certain regular assemblies held for the purpose towards the end of the *lagan* or marriage season. The largest of these gatherings is held at Sanráth and extends over a week. Carpets are spread under the trees and the Bráhmans assemble, gaily clad in crimson, with flowing turbans. The occasion is one of unwonted rowdiness, and the crowd indulges in uproarious laughter, hooting and even abusive shouts. When a marriage is decided on, the ceremony is at once performed at the house of the bride's father, whither the bridegroom proceeds, quite informally, accompanied only by a few of his near relations.

430. Amongst the Sakaldvipi Bráhmans no money is demanded, but the bride's father usually, of his own accord, presents the bridegroom with a sum varying, according to his means, from Rs. 5 to Rs. 100. The Jaishi Bráhmans charge for their daughters, and Rs. 200 or so is usually paid on behalf of the bridegroom. In Champaran and Shahabad the general practice of the Bráhmans is said to be to take money for their daughters, and the brideprice ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300. Where a bride price is charged, the poorer males sometimes remain unmarried until late in life; where the opposite custom prevails, it is the girls who often have to wait for a husband.

431. In Orissa the question of payment depends largely on the relative status of the parties. A man who marries into a very low family is paid for doing so, but usually the bride's father receives a sum varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 250. A bride who is near, but has not actually attained, puberty, is worth more than one who is younger. About 3 per cent. of the males are reported to remain unmarried owing to their inability to find the money needed to procure a wife.

OTHER CLASSES OF BRÁHMANS  
IN BIHAR.

ORISSA BRÁHMANS.



432. In Bengal Proper the Káyasths are divided into Kulins and Mauliks.

**KÁYASTHS.** A Kulin must marry his eldest boy to a Kulin\* but his other children may be married either to Kulins or Mauliks. A Maulik should, if possible, marry his children of both sexe to Kulins, and his social position is lowered if he fails to do so. The Uttar Rárhí Káyasths always pay the bridegroom. With the other sub-castes the matter depends on the relative rank of the parties, the degree of education possessed by the bridegroom, and the personal attractions of the bride. Where the rank of the parties is in all respects on a par, it may happen that neither side makes any money payment, but in such cases the father of the bride will often contribute towards the cost of his son-in-law's education. A Káyasth who is a graduate can often obtain a large *pan*, even when his social status is inferior to that of the bride. In Dacca, other things being equal, a graduate receives from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500, and an undergraduate from Rs. 500 to Rs. 700. The practice of demanding an extortionate *pan* is growing, and the father of a large family of girls often becomes seriously embarrassed by the heavy charges incidental to their settlement in life. The penalty for allowing a girl to attain puberty while still unmarried is social ostracism, and the father will therefore sacrifice everything rather than allow such a calamity to occur.† Where a Káyasth is of such a low position that he has to pay a heavy bride price, he sometimes remains unmarried; but such cases are less common than with the Bráhmans. In Bihar the bridegroom usually receives *pan* and girls marry late in consequence, although every effort is made to give them in marriage before they attain puberty. In Darbhanga the payment is made by the party of inferior, to the party of higher, rank. As a general rule, the amount, whether *pan* or bride price, ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500. The charge is sometimes evaded by marrying into a family of lower rank or by a sort of three-cornered *paribaritan*, e.g., A's daughter marries B's son, B's daughter marries C's son, and C's daughter marries A's son.

433. As with the other high castes, the general custom amongst the

**RÁJPUT.** Rájputs is that the bridegroom receives money. The amount varies according to the means of the parties. With the poor it ranges from Re. 1 to Rs. 30, while the rich will pay as much as Rs. 1,000. Amongst the poorer classes the bride's father sometimes takes money to meet the marriage expenses, but he is looked down upon for doing so. Rájputs of doubtful origin have to pay from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 to obtain a wife, and some, in consequence, remain unmarried until a late age, or, in extreme cases, altogether.

434. Respectable Bábhans usually pay *pan*, which, in special cases, has been known to amount to as much as Rs. 30,000.

**BÁBHAN.** The practice of taking money for a daughter is looked down upon, but it prevails to a considerable extent amongst the poorer classes, the actual amount varying according to the relative rank of the parties. The necessity of paying for a wife often prevents or delays a man's marriage. There is no difficulty on the part of the girls in obtaining husbands.

435. Amongst other castes in Bengal Proper marriageable females are usually less numerous than the men. Widow marriage is as a rule strictly forbidden, but widowers often marry again. Wives, therefore, are in more demand than husbands and payment has to be made to the bride's father. It is known that the higher castes look down on the practice, and the educated and more respectable members of the clean castes, such as Aguri, Sadgop, Tili, frequently imitate their betters and give money to the father of the bridegroom.‡ This, however, is the exception. The general rule is that a man has to pay for his bride and the sum is often by no means a small one. In the case of Goúlás, Kaibarittas and Rájbansis§ it is said to range as high as Rs. 300 and is seldom

\* The rule of isogamy is here on the boy's side, and not, as in the case of the hypergamy of the Bengal Bráhmans, on that of the girl.

† It is not the attaining of puberty which matters, so much as the general knowledge of the fact; it is consequently concealed by the parents, and so long as a girl is married by the time she is 14, it is assumed by the community that the rule has been complied with.

‡ The Chásl Kaibarittas of Howrah and Nadia do this, and the amount of *pan* is rapidly increasing, with the usual result that girls remain unmarried until a comparatively late age.

§ The Koch proper, who allows his widows to marry again, often pays only Rs. 20 for a virgin wife and Rs. 10 for a widow.



less than Rs. 40 or Rs. 50. The Namasudras and Pods pay from Rs. 15 to Rs. 150, and the Baishnabs from Rs. 25 to Rs. 125. Amongst the Himalayan tribes also the price is high. The Lepcha gives from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 for his wife and the Gurung, Mangar, Khas and Limbu from Rs. 60 to Rs. 120. It often happens that the poorer males are unable to meet the cost of a wife and they have then to remain single, or resort to some less reputable form of marriage, such as marriage by service, when the would-be husband, or *ghar jāmāi*, serves for a term of years in his father-in-law's house, and is then given his wife and a small sum to start in life with. This is regarded as a very contemptible way of gaining a wife, but it is common amongst the Meches, Koches, Santāls, Gonds and Kaibarttas. Another practice, common in North Bengal, and Purnea, is for a man who cannot afford a virgin wife of his own caste to marry a widow. If widow marriage is not allowed by the rules of the caste, and it very rarely is in Bengal Proper, he and the lady of his choice turn Baishnabs and after undergoing the usual initiation, are married by the *Māldchandan* ceremony.

436. In Bihar females outnumber males and, except in the highest castes, women are allowed to take a second husband if the first one dies. There is thus no dearth of wives, and the result is that the price paid for a bride is comparatively small. In Darbhanga, Bhagalpur and Monghyr many castes arrange their marriages without any payment on either side. The bride's father usually defrays the expenses of the ceremony and often gives the bridegroom a small present (*jahaz*) according to his means, but this is purely voluntary. If he cannot afford to meet the cost of the ceremony, he is often helped by his caste-fellows. Even when a bride price is demanded, it is usually very small. In Patna a Chamār gives Re. 1-4 for his wife and a Pāsi Rs. 3. Sometimes the bridegroom is paid, as in the case of the Dhānuks and Kahārs in Patna. In some cases, where nothing is paid for a virgin wife, a small sum, varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10, is paid for a widow. In Gaya two kinds of marriage are recognised, *Charhui* and *Karhui*. In the former the ceremony takes place at the bride's house while the latter is performed at the house of the bridegroom. The *Karhui* form is usually resorted to when the bride's father is very poor.

437. In Orissa and Chota Nagpur, widow marriage is freely allowed except amongst the highest castes. The general rule is that a bride price (called *Kanyā sonā* in Orissa) ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 is paid, but in some cases only sufficient is asked for to cover the cost of the ceremony. It is said that the Karans are beginning to imitate the practice in vogue amongst the higher castes elsewhere, of paying for the bridegroom, instead of the bride, and a case recently occurred where the father of a young man who had passed the First Arts examination received a *pan* of Rs. 1,800. This, however, is a recent development, and it has not yet come into vogue sufficiently to be called a custom.

438. Various causes have been assigned for the origin of infant marriage. It has been attributed (1) to the practice of hypergamy; (2) to the exigencies of the caste system, and the necessity for providing a girl with a suitable husband before the time when she may indulge in fancies of her own and so perhaps bring social ruin on her family; and (3) to the survival of a practice necessary in the oldest type of society, where an unmarried woman was exposed to a double evil, the stain of communism within her own, and the risk of forcible abduction into an alien clan. The subject may be approached from two points of view, with reference, on the one side, to the injunction in the *Shāstras* that a girl should be married before attaining puberty and preferably at the age of 8 or 9, and, on the other, to the variations in actual practice amongst different castes and in different parts of the Province. As regards the origin of the rule laid down in the *Shāstras*, it is difficult to formulate a theory which can be verified by reference to actual facts, and the brief discussion which follows will therefore be confined to the reasons for the different customs which actually exist. To examine the subject thoroughly in the light of the statistics collected at the census would take up much more time than can be spared, but I venture to indicate briefly the directions in which it seems to me that a solution of the problem may be sought. We have seen that the amount of the consideration for marriage, and the person who pays it, vary according to

CAUSES AFFECTING AGE AT MARRIAGE.



several circumstances of which the relative demand and supply are the most important. The bride price is highest where widow remarriage is forbidden, and wives are consequently scarce, and the bridegroom price, where considerations of hypergamy or of other qualifications, such as some educational degree, are regarded as of importance.

In the same way it seems to me that the age at marriage is largely influenced by the expense which marriage involves. As a rule, where the cost of procuring a wife is great, men are perforce compelled to wait until they have saved enough money to procure one, and we have seen that Bráhmaṇ cooks are occasionally obliged to live and die unmarried through want of means to obtain a wife. When a man is comparatively old at the time of his marriage, he is unwilling to wait long until his wife can take her place as a real helpmate, and there is also a prejudice against excessive difference in the ages of husband and wife, not only on religious grounds, but also because a father does not like to give his daughter to a man who, in the natural order of events, will leave her a widow while still in the prime of life. This feeling is especially strong in those parts of the province where widows are not allowed to marry again. Similarly, when a bridegroom has to be paid a high price, the father of several daughters is often unable to find the money until his daughters are comparatively old,\* and where there is no social penalty, he will frequently allow them to arrive at puberty while still unwed. This view is fully borne out by the statistics of marriage by caste. The castes of Bihar amongst whom the bridegroom, or his father, is usually the recipient of a substantial *pan* or *tilak*, are the Bráhmaṇs, Bábhans, Rájputs and Káyasths, and it will be seen from Subsidiary Table V that the girls of these castes are married much later than those of the Chamár, Dhánuk, Dhobá, Kurmi, Musahar and other low castes, where marriage costs very little to either party.† In Orissa the Karan, Khatri and Khandáit castes marry their daughters very much later than the Chásá, Gaura and other lower castes.‡

Amongst the higher castes, at least in Bengal Proper, other motives also affect the age of marriage. It is thought that early marriage interferes with a boy's studies, and many consider it desirable that he should be in a position to earn his own living and to support a wife before he is allowed to marry. Others again, who are not well off, endeavour to marry a boy while he is still young, so that the bride's father may help in defraying the cost of his education. Moreover, as it is difficult to contract a suitable alliance for a boy who has no educational qualifications at all, the father of a stupid lad will endeavour to settle him in life before he is old enough for his want of intelligence to be noticed by others.§

439. The high castes, however, do not bulk largely in the population, and the main line of cleavage is local, not personal.||

#### LOCAL VARIATIONS.

The infant marriage of girls is least common in Orissa, and next to Orissa in East Bengal. Then follow in order Chota Nagpur, North, Central and West Bengal, then South Bihar, and lastly North Bihar. In Bihar, however, the varying practices in respect of infant marriage are not continuous with the boundaries of natural divisions. In Saran, infant marriage is more rare than it is in most districts of Bengal Proper, while in Darbhanga, the Sitamarhi subdivision of Muzaffarpur and the portions of Monghyr and Bhagalpur which lie on the north bank of the Ganges it is at least twice as prevalent as it is anywhere else in the Province. The differences in respect of

\* Even if he can afford it he is unwilling to incur the expenditure until the girl is near puberty and the risk of her dying before that age is thus reduced to a minimum.

† Apart from the *pan* or bride price, as the case may be, the cost of the marriage ceremony is much greater in the case of the higher castes, and often runs to many hundreds of rupees, whereas amongst the lower orders, especially those who do not call in Bráhmaṇs to assist, the expense is very trifling.

‡ It is commonly stated that in Bengal Proper girls of the Kulin Bráhmaṇs marry much later than those of other grades, but the Census statistics throw no light on this point as no distinction was made in the return between the various grades and sub-castes. It is generally believed that the lower castes have borrowed the practice of infant marriage from their betters, but as was pointed out by Mr. O'Donnell in 1891, this does not seem to be the case in Bengal. In his report on the Census of the United Provinces in 1891 Mr. Baillie pointed out that there also female infant marriage is most extensive amongst the lower rather than the higher castes (*op.cit.* page 255). This is also the case in the Punjab.

§ There is a Bengali saying: —  
*Kinchit likhanang bibdher kdranang*, i.e., a man must have at least a smattering of learning if he wants a wife.

|| Some of these local variations have been pointed out by Mr. Risley, e.g., in the case of the Musahars he mentions that north of the Ganges they practise infant marriage, while in Shahabad they are usually not married till they have passed the age of puberty. [Tribes and Castes, vol. II, page 116].



marriage practices in the parts of Bhagalpur on either side of the Ganges are very marked, and on the north bank 597 girls per 1,000 are married between the ages of 5 and 10 compared with only 295 per 1,000 in the tract south of that river. The variations in the age of males at marriage follow those of females, and we find a very high proportion of married males at the earlier ages in Darbhanga and the neighbourhood.

To a great extent these variations can be accounted for on the ground already suggested, viz., the varying cost of marriage. In Orissa and Bengal Proper, a wife is usually expensive and men are, therefore, compelled to defer their marriage to a later period in life, with the natural result that when they do marry, they choose a girl who has nearly attained maturity. In Bihar, on the other hand, a bride or bridegroom costs very little, and the parents can settle their children in life without any very heavy sacrifice. Owing to the demand for wives on the part of widowers and persons who have reached maturity unmarried, a girl's price rises as she approaches maturity, and it is, therefore, more economical to engage her while she is still of tender age, especially as she remains in her parents' home until she approaches the time when

she can become a mother. The result is that the practice has grown up of negotiating marriages when the parties are still very young. The girls are given in marriage at a much earlier age than in Bengal, but the boys to whom they are married are also much younger, and it will be seen from Subsidiary Table VI that the inequality between the ages of young wives and their husbands is very much less marked in Bihar than in any other part of the province.

CASTE.	NUMBER PER 1,000 GIRLS AGED 5-12 WHO ARE MARRIED IN—		
	Bengal.	Bihar.	Orissa.
Ahir and Goala	302	414	70
Bráhmán	191	189	254
Chamár	209	499*	74
Dhobá	198	373	74
Hájím and Nápit	250	320	.....
Kámár and Lohár	277	493*	105
Kumhár	273	675*	54
Tantí and Táitwa	335	605*	109
Teli	397	625*	149

\* These proportions refer to Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga and not to the whole of Bihar.

The influence of locality on marriage customs is shown by a comparison of the figures for the same castes in different parts of the province. A few instances are given in the margin, and others will be found in Subsidiary Table V.

440. The theory propounded in paragraph 438 regarding the causes on which the age at which marriage takes place depends goes a long way towards accounting for the variations in the practices in different parts of the province, but it does not explain them in all cases. In Orissa, for example, a wife costs less than in Bengal Proper, but infant marriage is much less common. In and around Darbhanga infant marriage (i.e., marriage before the age of 5) is far more frequent than in other parts of Bihar, while in Saran it is far less so. So far as the special prevalence of infant marriage in Darbhanga and the neighbourhood is concerned, the general explanation applies to some extent. The payment for the bride or bridegroom is either very small or is dispensed with altogether, and the general marriage expenses are by no means high, and there are thus no obstacles on either side in the way of early marriage. But the cost in Bihar generally, amongst all but the highest castes, is by no means prohibitive,

CASTE.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 WHO ARE MARRIED BEFORE THE AGE OF 5.	
	Muzaffar-pur and Darbhanga.	Other parts of Bihar.
Bárhí	129	30
Chamár	125	43
Dhámuk	133	54
Hájím	192	39
Lohár	99	37
Tatwa	109	45

and the difference in the expenditure involved does not by itself seem to account sufficiently for the exceptional degree to which infant marriage has obtained a hold on the people of this particular tract. To some extent its relatively greater prevalence is due to the comparatively small proportion borne to the total population by some of the higher castes, such as Rájput, who marry late, in this tract as elsewhere, and so raise the general average. But this does not go very far, and it will be seen from the figures reproduced in the margin that the practices of the same castes often differ very widely in this tract from those which obtain in other parts of Bihar.

I have enquired regarding the causes of this state of affairs, but the result is not altogether conclusive. Every one agrees that infant marriage is



extraordinarily prevalent, so much so, that amongst some of the lower castes, if a boy remain unmarried after about 10 or 12 years of age, he is believed to have some physical or mental defect, and this belief makes it very difficult for him afterwards to obtain a wife. But how the custom originated is a question less easily answered. Mr. O'Donnell's conclusion was that the absence of the *pardā* system amongst the lower castes makes it necessary to marry girls early to protect them from their own fancies, and the risk of infringing caste rules; but this explanation, though it has been put forward elsewhere also,\* seems insufficient, inasmuch as it does not account for the relative frequency of the practice in the particular tract under consideration. Amongst the people themselves, says Mr. J. H. Kerr, Settlement Officer, Darbhanga, the explanation "is generally discredited. Babu Romesh Chandra Dutt, Assistant Settlement Officer, says that he has conversed with many persons of the lower castes on the subject and that this explanation has never been put forward in defence of the system."

441. The absence of any restriction on widow marriage has been assigned as one of the reasons why infant marriage takes place. This tends to early marriage in two ways. By increasing the supply, it makes wives cheaper, so that males can marry at an earlier age, while the fact that their daughters can marry again if widowed, inclines their parents to see them settled in life as soon as possible, whereas, where widow marriage is forbidden, the general sentiment is against marrying girls long before the age of puberty. But amongst all but the highest castes, widows are allowed to remarry all over Bihar and also in Orissa, and this cannot, therefore, be an explanation of the special prevalence of infant marriage in and around Darbhanga. Neither can the desire to see children settled, nor the greater cheapness of infant marriage be held to explain the peculiarity. The only explanation which I have received that seems to account for it is that the area where infant marriage is most prevalent is under the influence of a special class of Bráhmans, the Maithil or Tirhutia, and that they have exercised their influence in favour of the early celebration of a ceremony which is a source of profit to themselves. Why these particular Bráhmans should have inculcated the practice more than others it is difficult to say, but several reporters agree in attributing it to their teaching. According to the *śāstras* a boy cannot perform any religious ceremony or offer the *pinda* until he has undergone the ceremony of *sanskár* or purification, which, in the case of the twice-born castes, takes place when they receive the thread, between the ages of 5 and 9. The Sudras, who do not wear the thread, consider marriage as their *sanskár*.

I have not ascertained why very early marriage is less common in Orissa than in Bengal, but it may be assumed to be due to some local feeling against binding children in matrimony until the age of puberty is near. Nor have I any explanation to offer for the figures for the Saran district where infant marriage is so much less common than in other parts of Bihar. It is not due to expense, as marriage costs almost as little there as it does further east.

442. In Subsidiary Table IV, I have compared the number of each sex per mille at the age '0—10' who were returned as married and at the age '15—40' who were returned as widowed at each of the last three

CHANGES IN MARRIAGE PRACTICE  
SINCE 1881.

censuses. So far as Hindu males are concerned, the variations in the province, as a whole, have been slight. Except in parts of Bihar child marriage amongst males is rare, and the only point for note is that in the area where it is most prevalent, *i.e.*, in the district of Darbhanga, the custom seems to be still gaining ground. The proportion of males aged '15—40' who are widowed is also nearly stationary; widowers are slightly more numerous than they were in North Bengal, Bihar, and the Chota Nagpur Plateau and less so in other parts of the province, especially in West Bengal. The fluctuations in the case of females are more noticeable. There has been a continuous decline since 1881 in the proportion of widows at the age '15—40.' There are three possible explanations of this phenomenon; either widow marriage may be coming more into vogue, or the castes who permit the practice may be increasing more rapidly than those who forbid it, or it may be due to the postponement of marriage and the greater equality in the ages of husband and wife, so that fewer women outlive their

\* Hoshiarpur Gazetteer, page 36.



husbands than was formerly the case. The first of these explanations may be at once dismissed. There is no reason for supposing that the castes who forbid their widows to marry again or who discourage the practice are losing their old prejudices. If anything the tendency is in the other direction. The second possible explanation, however, appears to apply to a considerable extent. The question whether a caste allows its widows to marry again

GROUP.	NET VARIATION SINCE 1881.	
	Bengal Proper.	Bihar.
I	+ 7.8	+ .65
II	- 3.7	+ 5.2
III	+ 1.8	+ 5.3*
IV	- 2.3	+ 2.6*
V	+ 10.2*	+ 10.6*
VI	+ 27.5*	+ 15.4*
VII	+ 27.8*	.....

or not is an important factor in determining its social position, and the practice, therefore, follows generally the lines of division adopted in the scale of social precedence given in Subsidiary Table I at the end of the Chapter on Caste. I have noted in the margin the net variation in the strength of each group of castes shown in this table and have marked with an asterisk the groups in which widow marriage is allowed by all or the majority of the castes contained in them. It will be seen in the Chapter on Caste (paragraphs 622 to 662) that the variations are in some cases due to differences in the character of the original return or in the system of classification adopted in the course of compilation.\* But such changes cannot be sufficiently numerous to affect the general result indicated by the comparison, which is that the lower castes, amongst whom widows are permitted to remarry, are increasing far more rapidly than those whose members disallow this practice. The third explanation, however, must also be given credit for a share in the result. Subsidiary Table IV shows that at the present census only 115 girls per mille under 10 years of age were returned as married compared with 133 in 1881. In North Bihar, the great stronghold of infant marriage, there has been but little change, and in Darbhanga the practice is still becoming more prevalent. But in all other parts of the province it is steadily falling into disrepute, especially in East and Central Bengal. Amongst the higher castes the result is due partly to the great and growing cost of procuring suitable bridegrooms, but in addition to this, the conviction is spreading amongst the educated classes that early marriage is in many ways undesirable, and their views are gradually affecting, not only their own practices, but also those of the classes below them.

443. In conclusion a few peculiar beliefs and customs in connection with marriage may be briefly noted. There is a very general belief that infant marriage is a safeguard against early death, and when two or three children in a family have died in infancy, the parents frequently arrange that any children who may be born later are married before the age at which the others died. Very often again, friends will agree, before their children are born, to wed them to each other, if of opposite sexes. Amongst the higher castes the execution of such an agreement is postponed until the usual age for marriage, but the lower castes will often give effect to it while the children are still of very tender age. Again, the number 3 is regarded as very unlucky,† and when a man has lost two wives and contemplates a fresh matrimonial venture, he often goes through a mock marriage with a pigeon in East Bengal, and elsewhere, with a plantain, or (in Orissa) a *Sāhārā* (*Trophis aspera*)‡ tree or a flowering plant, so that his next wife may be his fourth, and not his third, as she otherwise would be. In Orissa, although widow marriage is allowed, it is considered proper for a man to take a virgin as his first wife. If he is too poor to be able to afford the bride price and the cost which the marriage ceremony involves when a virgin is the bride, he gets over the difficulty by celebrating a mock marriage with an arrow.§ A Kulin Brāhman of the Rārhi sub-caste, who is required to give his

\* In Bengal Proper, for example, Group II has lost by the transfer to Group III of persons wrongly returned on previous occasions as Kāyasths.

† In Bengal three Baidyas will never go together on business; either one is left behind or a fourth is taken.

‡ The *Sāhārā* tree is very sacred in Orissa and it is often consecrated to the Grām devī or tutelary goddess of the village, where it is known as *Sāhārā Sundarī Thakurānī*.

§ This may be connected with the rule mentioned in the Oriyā translation of the Manu Sanhitā that when a man of one caste marries a woman of another, the bride should hold an arrow, if of the Kshattriya caste; a goad, if of the Vaisya; and a bundle of thread, if of the Sudra caste.



daughter to a Bráhmaṇ of the corresponding *mel* is supposed to lose his *kul* should he have no daughter to give, but he can get over the difficulty either by saying in the presence of Ghataks, 'I would give you my daughter if I had one,' or by making an effigy of *kusa* grass and giving it in symbolical marriage. According to Wright, every Newá girl is married to a *bel* fruit before she is properly married to her real husband.

## MARRIAGE AMONGST OTHER CLASSES.

444. The general features of the marriage statistics of Muhammadans have already been adverted to. With them marriage is a civil contract rather than a religious sacrament, and in theory at least, the girl should be of an age when she is capable of giving her consent. This, however, is not always attended to, and Muhammad himself married a girl of 7, Ayeshá, the daughter of his immediate successor, Abdulláh, who is better known as Abu Bakr, or the father of the virgin. The Muhammadan settles on his wife a sum of money, known as *den mahar* or dower, but he is not usually required to pay a bride-price, nor does he receive money unless he is specially eligible on account of his higher social position. Infant-marriage is far less common than with Hindus, and only 12 girls in 1,000 are married under 5 years of age, while between the ages of 5 and 10 only 108 in 1,000 are married. Amongst males only four boys in 1,000 are married under 5, and only 19 between 5 and 10 years of age. There is a noticeable difference between the cultivating Muhammadans and those who belong to the functional groups. The latter are much more affected by the example of the Hindus around them, and they give their girls in marriage at a comparatively early age. With other classes of Muhammadans infant-marriage is unpopular, and when it occurs it is usually due to the superstitious belief in the efficacy of

CASTE.	Number of married per 1,000 children aged—			
	0-5.		5-12.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
Dhobi ... ..	14	30	129	274
Dhuniá ... ..	11	22	129	313
Pakir ... ..	4	23	64	163
Hajjam ... ..	6	14	59	179
Joláhi ... ..	9	20	115	287

marriage as a protection against death in early childhood. Parents who have lost a child often marry the next one who may be born before the age when the first died.\* Occasionally when two men or two women are great friends, they will agree to unite in marriage children yet unborn, if of opposite sexes, and in such cases the agreement is often carried out while they are still infants. Another circumstance tending to encourage infant-marriage is the desire of well-to-do Muhammadans to prevent the extreme subdivision of property, which is the natural consequence of the Muhammadan law of inheritance, and cousins are often married to each other when still very young.

445. Amongst Muhammadans widowers are very rare. When a man's wife dies, unless he is already advanced in life, it is the almost universal practice to marry again. Widows also are comparatively fewer than amongst Hindus, but they still number more than a sixth of the total female population, whereas amongst the Animistic tribes only one woman in nine is a widow. The difference is due mainly to the influence of Hinduism. The marriage of widows is enjoined by Muhammadan law, and the Prophet himself married several widows, including his first wife, Khadíja. But in India the example of the Hindus has gradually created a prejudice in the other direction,† and at the present day it is seldom that a man takes a widow as his first wife. Widows who marry again usually become the wives of widowers or of men who have already got another wife. At the same time women who lose their husbands while fairly young find little difficulty in marrying a second time, and the proportion who fail to do so is not very large until after the age of 30, when it increases rapidly. At the age-period 10-15, only 1 woman in 50 is a widow, and at 15-20 only 1 in 25,

\* In Bogra it is said that for the same reason the parents will sometimes marry a girl to a bamboo, emblematical of Gházi Miyaṇ, either in fulfilment of a vow, or as a propitiatory offering for further additions to the family.

† The Urdu translator of the *Khaláṣat-at-Tawarikh*, written about 200 years ago, laments that the Hindu notions about widowhood have infected the Muhammadans, especially in the villages, and have led to their women remaining widows contrary to Muhammadan law [*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, page 748].



compared with 1 in 33 and 1 in 15, respectively, among the Hindus. In the case of women over 40, i.e., when the child-bearing age is past, the proportion of widows is higher amongst Muhammadans than amongst Hindus.

It is said that the Farázis and other reformed sects strongly advocate widow-marriage, and that in consequence the practice is gradually coming into greater favour. The census statistics lend some support to this statement, and the proportion of widows appears to be steadily falling;\* that of widowers on the other hand has scarcely varied at all since 1881. During the same period there has been a slight falling off in the proportion of married men and women, due, in the case of the latter, to a marked diminution in the number of girls who are married

VARIAIONS IN MUHAMMADAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS SINCE 1881.

YEAR OF CENSUS.	Number of widows per 1,000 females.
1881	193
1901	180
1901	171

between the ages of 10 and 15.

446. A Muhammadan may marry as many as four wives, but as a rule he contents himself with one, and there are only 1,029 wives to every 1,000 husbands. The true propor-

#### POLYGAMY.

tion is obscured to some extent by the immigration from other places of married men who have left their wives at home, but not sufficiently so to disturb the conclusion that the great majority of Muhammadans are monogamists. The figures for Natural Divisions are obscured by migration, but unless Muhammadans migrate to a greater extent than Hindus, which is probably not the case, the number who take a second wife is greater in South Bihar than in any other part of the Province. As already observed, the second wife is frequently a widow, and she is often a mere household drudge.

447. The Animistic tribes, as previously remarked, marry even later than Muhammadans, and they have no prejudices in respect of the marriage of widows. As a rule, both males and females are fairly mature before they enter the bonds of matrimony, and a smaller proportion of girls are married between 15 and 20 than is the case with Hindus between 10 and 15. The usual age for marriage in the case of a girl would appear to be between 17 and 18, and for a male between 23 and 25. The late age of marriage is due, to a great extent, to the pre-nuptial communism, which is so marked a feature of most of the Animistic tribes of Chota Nagpur. The bride-price is, as a rule, moderate, but amongst the Hos, it is excessive, and the result is that this is the tribe where the age at marriage is highest. Colonel Dalton says that, "owing to the high price placed on daughters by their fathers, the large number of adult unmarried girls is a very peculiar feature in the social state of the community."† This statement is fully borne out by the statistics collected at the census. The Hos marry much later than their neighbours—the Mundas, Oraons, and Santáls.

#### ANIMISTS.

TRIBE.	Number of spinsters aged 15—20.
Hos	783
Mundas	585
Oraon	392
Santál	510

The proportion of widowers at each age-period amongst the Animistic tribes bears a strong resemblance to that amongst Muhammadans, but the widows are less than two-thirds as numerous. The difference is most marked after the age of 30. It is due partly to the fact that the Animist has no scruples at all concerning the marriage of widows, and partly to the fact that there is less difference between the ages of husband and wife at marriage. At the age of 10—15 there are more than six times as many married Muhammadan females as there are males, while with the Animists the married females at this age are only thrice as numerous as the males. Polygamy appears to prevail to about the same extent as in the case of the Muhammadans. According to the census statistics, there are 1,032 wives to every 1,000 husbands, but the real excess of wives is not so great as these figures would indicate. Many of the temporary emigrants from Chota Nagpur (who were

\* As explained in the discussion regarding the decreasing number of widows amongst Hindus, this result is also attributable partly to the gradual disappearance of the practice of infant-marriage. In the Province as a whole the present census shows that of every 1,000 Muhammadan girls under ten years of age, only 61 are married, compared with 78 in 1881.

† The bride-price varies from 10 to 30 head of cattle; while with the Mundas it is only about 3 head, and with the Oraons about Rs. 5. A Gend pays from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10, and presents his mother-in-law with a new *adri* or dress cloth.



mostly males) were entered as Hindus, while the wives who stayed at home were returned as Animists.

448. Very little is to be gained by considering the marriage statistics of Christians. They are disturbed partly by the

#### CHRISTIANS.

number of foreigners, and partly by that of new converts who were already married or widowed before they became Christians. The proportion which the converts made during the last few years bear to the total Christian population is very high, but, in spite of this, it is clear that infant-marriage amongst the Christian community is very rare, while the proportion of widows is almost as low as it is in the case of the Animists. The unmarried are relatively more numerous than in any other class of the community.

449. The Buddhists are not sufficiently numerous to deserve detailed examination. The two main Buddhist communities

#### BUDDHISTS.

of East Bengal are the Maghs and Chákmás. The marriage customs of the former are very similar to those of the Hindus of Chittagong, while the latter follow the same practices as the other tribes in the Hill Tracts. Very few of their females are married before the age of puberty, and the proportion of widows is exceptionally small. On the Northern frontier there are Buddhists in Darjeeling, Sikkim, and Jalpaiguri, including Lepchas, Murmis, and Bhotiás of various denominations, who may be distinguished as Bhotiás of Sikkim, of Bhotan, and of Tibet. There is also a small sprinkling of Buddhist Newárs. The total number of persons belonging to these tribes who were enumerated in Bengal is very small, and the figures have been vitiated by migration and by the failure to distinguish uniformly between the different kinds of Bhotiás.

450. The chapter would not be complete without a reference to the practice of polyandry in vogue amongst the

#### POLYANDRY.

Bhotiás.\* The Lepchas are not polyandrous: nor is there at the present day any such custom amongst the tribes of Nepal, although it appears to have existed amongst some of them not very many years ago. The polyandry of the Bhotiás is of the fraternal order and not matriarchal, as in the case of the Nairs and Todas.† The children belong to the same exogamous clan as the male parent, and the property descends through the male, and not through the female, as in the case of matriarchal polyandry, *i.e.*, where a woman marries several men who are not related to each other. When a woman marries a man she is regarded as the wife of the *de jure* husband and also of his younger brothers or (in rare cases) cousins, but it does not necessarily follow that she cohabits with all of them. In this matter the choice rests with the lady, and in any case she is visited by the younger brothers only when the man who actually married her is away from the house. He stands on quite a different footing from the others, and the children call him father and his brothers uncle. If one of the younger brothers marries, he ceases to have any claim on his elder brother's wife, but leaves the family abode and sets up a new house of his own, being given at the time of departure his share of the family property. Brothers who are younger than he is can, with his permission, join him and share his wife, or they can remain in the old home.

The origin of polyandry amongst the Bhotiás is attributed by Mr. Earle to the poverty of the country and the desire to prevent the division of property. There is no very marked dearth of females, and the superfluous women usually become nuns or prostitutes. Polygamy prevails as well as polyandry, but only amongst the rich. In their case each wife is kept apart in a house of her own. Large families are desired by men and women alike, as the greater number of children, the more can be dedicated to a religious life.

Three separate ceremonies, at intervals of a year, are necessary to complete a Bhotiá marriage. At the intermediate ceremony there is a pretence of capture. The bride-price varies from Rs. 80 to Rs. 500. It is paid at the first of the three ceremonies, but at the final one the bride's parents give her, as her dower, at least double the amount they have received.

\* This paragraph is based on information received from Mr. Earle, to whom I am indebted for an interesting note on this subject, which will be found in Appendix V.

† There are instances in the Darjeeling district of a number of men other than near relatives taking a common wife, but this seems to be a new development and is apparently not known in Sikkim or Tibet.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE 1.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION AND AGE

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.	CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 MALES.														
	At all ages.			0-10.			10-15.			15-40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<b>BENGAL</b> ... ..	477	489	41	274	7	...	104	18	1	94	289	13	5	168	27
<b>WEST BENGAL</b> ... ..	484	472	44	258	9	...	115	9	...	106	289	10	7	172	34
Bardwan ... ..	449	497	54	249	4	...	104	11	...	94	306	19	8	178	40
Birbhum ... ..	445	507	48	279	5	...	98	14	...	84	313	13	0	176	80
Bankura ... ..	519	443	40	267	1	...	121	9	...	104	265	9	0	167	31
Midnapore ... ..	514	448	39	263	1	...	119	7	...	124	275	9	8	163	39
Hoochly ... ..	468	498	24	226	1	...	114	6	...	111	295	12	7	188	42
Howrah ... ..	474	401	35	244	1	...	116	7	...	109	313	10	5	170	35
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b> ... ..	469	491	40	252	2	...	107	9	...	105	301	11	5	179	29
24-Parganas ... ..	458	496	36	239	2	...	105	11	...	89	310	10	5	183	26
Calcutta ... ..	319	637	44	110	...	...	62	19	...	137	433	16	10	202	38
Nadia ... ..	527	423	35	290	1	...	128	6	...	108	255	7	2	217	38
Murshidabad ... ..	400	459	30	300	2	...	116	10	...	89	293	9	4	164	26
Jessore ... ..	403	452	32	282	3	...	111	8	...	116	271	15	4	173	37
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b> ... ..	509	453	38	297	2	...	104	9	...	104	282	15	4	160	25
Rajshahi ... ..	498	471	31	300	2	...	116	9	...	81	302	12	2	158	19
Dinajpur ... ..	511	444	41	334	3	...	80	12	...	110	277	17	4	156	24
Jalpaiguri ... ..	515	438	59	273	3	...	101	6	...	139	250	18	6	164	30
Darjeeling ... ..	512	451	37	248	1	...	103	5	...	164	203	15	7	152	22
Bangpur ... ..	513	449	39	295	2	...	96	7	...	118	274	13	5	168	26
Boera ... ..	480	492	35	313	4	...	97	10	...	86	304	13	2	167	23
Patna ... ..	525	451	24	310	2	...	119	6	...	93	275	7	3	163	17
Maida ... ..	501	467	52	307	3	...	109	12	...	88	301	12	3	151	19
Koch Bihar ... ..	524	409	67	274	1	...	100	6	...	143	240	20	7	154	47
Sikkim ... ..	507	471	23	250	2	...	115	2	...	132	273	6	10	188	12
<b>EAST BENGAL</b> ... ..	538	432	30	304	2	...	122	7	...	108	263	9	4	160	21
Khulna ... ..	489	496	45	271	2	...	108	10	...	105	285	14	5	169	31
Dacca ... ..	442	431	27	340	2	...	120	8	...	100	283	7	4	180	30
Mymensingh ... ..	549	424	27	311	2	...	110	5	...	118	266	9	4	151	16
Faridpur ... ..	514	458	33	280	3	...	125	10	...	98	274	9	4	160	24
Rackerzunge ... ..	460	472	34	273	4	...	111	12	...	97	286	12	3	170	26
Tippera ... ..	549	428	23	348	2	...	125	8	...	113	265	7	3	150	19
Noakhali ... ..	573	405	25	339	1	...	134	4	...	97	258	7	2	150	19
Chittagong ... ..	623	353	24	348	1	...	132	2	...	126	195	7	3	155	17
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	527	434	89	282	1	...	107	1	...	134	264	12	4	169	27
Hill Tippera ... ..	513	443	29	295	1	...	107	2	...	119	255	14	5	155	25
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	393	555	59	248	53	1	77	47	2	63	502	18	5	171	31
Saran ... ..	492	493	40	291	4	...	116	23	1	78	308	13	7	165	30
Champaran ... ..	449	501	43	251	10	1	101	31	1	81	298	19	7	168	32
Muzaffarpur ... ..	376	578	49	240	37	1	70	55	2	69	309	16	6	150	34
Darbhanga ... ..	393	553	54	297	39	3	44	72	4	37	321	18	5	180	24
Rohatpur ... ..	333	613	54	240	51	2	30	64	3	35	338	20	3	140	39
Purnea ... ..	425	472	27	269	10	1	95	20	1	100	250	23	4	165	22
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	390	553	57	242	20	1	76	45	1	64	516	19	3	172	36
Patna ... ..	373	603	66	219	15	...	74	37	1	69	319	20	10	121	45
Gaya ... ..	394	545	61	245	19	1	77	41	1	64	315	19	8	171	40
Shahabad ... ..	425	519	55	266	10	...	58	45	1	76	314	19	8	144	34
Monabhr ... ..	505	545	50	240	30	1	65	54	2	40	318	13	5	180	29
<b>ORISSA</b> ... ..	514	450	36	269	1	...	122	5	...	127	266	7	3	178	29
Cuttack ... ..	526	449	35	257	1	...	126	5	...	139	267	1	3	177	26
Balasore ... ..	502	464	35	264	1	...	120	8	...	115	285	3	3	169	27
Puri ... ..	503	457	40	247	...	...	120	9	...	131	264	5	5	190	22
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU</b> ... ..	503	459	35	301	7	...	116	21	...	87	281	12	4	159	21
Hazaribagh ... ..	443	510	47	277	13	...	96	41	1	65	290	15	3	166	31
Ranchi ... ..	547	490	33	290	3	...	134	12	...	80	255	11	3	147	22
Palam ... ..	475	487	39	260	11	...	103	33	1	60	306	14	3	135	21
Manbhum ... ..	476	490	34	291	7	...	100	28	...	80	304	11	6	151	23
Singbhum ... ..	506	573	20	311	1	...	120	7	...	143	253	8	3	157	18
Santal Parganas ... ..	406	473	32	319	9	...	105	23	1	69	296	11	2	149	20
Angul ... ..	523	447	39	293	3	...	118	11	...	110	278	12	2	156	18
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ... ..	340	433	23	218	2	...	122	14	...	72	264	11	4	149	17
Orissa Tributary States ... ..	220	451	29	281	2	...	124	10	...	112	277	9	3	165	20



## OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX FOR NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.	CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 FEMALES.														
	At all ages.			0-10.			10-15.			15-20.			20-25.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<b>BENGAL</b> ... ..	318	483	199	264	27	1	41	38	3	12	329	60	1	69	135
<b>WEST BENGAL</b> ... ..	263	471	266	233	25	1	22	70	4	5	319	89	1	57	172
Burdwan ... ..	242	477	251	216	30	1	21	68	4	4	313	88	1	45	155
Birbhum ... ..	273	480	239	249	30	1	20	65	2	5	323	63	1	65	165
Bankura ... ..	283	474	243	250	30	1	27	70	2	6	310	77	...	64	163
Midnapore ... ..	275	470	228	241	23	1	23	69	3	7	298	96	1	50	161
Hooahly ... ..	221	453	210	269	19	1	18	73	3	3	310	108	1	49	202
Howrah ... ..	270	408	262	245	17	1	20	77	4	2	319	90	...	53	167
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b> ... ..	276	469	255	248	23	1	22	71	3	5	317	83	1	58	168
24 Parganas ... ..	289	461	229	257	25	1	18	73	4	3	334	80	...	66	144
Calcutta ... ..	287	463	280	193	8	1	38	44	3	22	323	97	4	86	179
Nadia ... ..	288	456	262	257	22	1	22	73	3	5	306	80	...	55	178
Murshidabad ... ..	287	455	258	242	24	1	20	73	3	4	304	78	1	52	176
Jessore ... ..	285	471	264	237	24	1	22	70	3	5	325	90	1	51	170
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b> ... ..	341	460	190	301	21	1	50	58	2	9	336	68	1	43	128
Rajshahi ... ..	311	475	214	255	22	1	23	66	3	3	341	68	1	40	132
Dinajpur ... ..	289	468	172	217	18	1	33	61	2	9	354	67	1	43	112
Jalpaiguri ... ..	281	452	167	201	13	1	54	39	2	24	348	58	2	38	106
Darjeeling ... ..	461	466	160	277	2	...	68	17	1	13	338	29	3	62	70
Rangpur ... ..	323	463	217	235	2	...	20	64	2	4	336	77	1	36	137
Bogra ... ..	335	485	157	325	27	1	24	64	2	5	337	50	1	44	104
Pabna ... ..	341	449	210	305	14	1	30	60	2	5	326	61	1	40	140
Madda ... ..	331	441	228	295	20	1	35	53	4	7	315	51	1	48	143
Kach Bihar ... ..	324	423	254	298	20	2	29	59	3	5	302	112	1	38	137
Sikkim ... ..	418	512	70	250	4	...	62	16	...	62	541	13	8	151	57
<b>EAST BENGAL</b> ... ..	366	453	181	308	15	1	49	56	2	8	334	56	1	50	122
Khulna ... ..	307	481	212	279	24	2	23	70	3	4	327	77	1	49	130
Dacca ... ..	325	444	191	304	10	1	62	56	2	6	327	68	1	51	130
Myrmenstingh ... ..	331	445	173	300	11	1	42	54	2	8	338	65	1	43	115
Faridpur ... ..	308	474	218	289	20	1	34	76	3	4	324	69	1	48	145
Backergunge ... ..	334	485	181	298	22	1	41	66	2	4	347	54	1	50	124
Tippera ... ..	404	445	151	331	9	1	63	46	1	9	339	47	1	51	162
Nemkhall ... ..	407	447	146	333	7	1	66	45	2	7	333	44	1	54	80
Chittagong ... ..	400	409	194	305	5	1	89	33	1	14	317	56	1	53	136
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	404	434	72	367	1	...	105	6	...	63	359	13	2	68	59
Hill Tippera ... ..	423	443	122	335	4	...	76	34	1	25	345	39	1	39	22
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	265	546	189	218	55	3	55	60	5	10	336	52	2	65	131
Saran ... ..	223	476	201	240	10	1	61	57	1	14	330	54	1	60	145
Champaran ... ..	321	507	173	245	35	1	55	48	2	19	334	47	2	66	123
Muzaffarpur ... ..	244	564	102	295	54	2	50	65	3	7	336	47	2	116	109
Darbhanga ... ..	137	633	180	167	108	5	14	77	5	4	342	45	2	106	125
Bhagalpur ... ..	226	591	143	302	83	4	17	60	4	6	315	51	1	83	134
Purnea ... ..	350	463	208	272	34	3	41	50	4	14	321	71	0	37	150
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	268	539	193	217	55	2	53	63	2	15	349	51	3	92	158
Patna ... ..	231	545	204	295	25	1	53	65	2	9	350	52	1	115	140
Gaya ... ..	235	523	193	245	35	2	34	61	2	21	343	48	5	94	130
Shahabad ... ..	290	494	210	289	23	1	41	58	2	22	334	59	3	66	148
Monghyr ... ..	237	654	179	207	50	2	21	76	3	7	344	45	2	100	125
<b>ORISSA</b> ... ..	342	455	263	239	4	...	75	56	1	16	333	47	1	82	155
Cuttack ... ..	344	449	208	295	4	...	77	53	1	19	329	46	1	84	150
Balasore ... ..	314	493	221	244	10	...	59	45	1	11	338	58	1	72	140
Puri ... ..	347	454	185	263	2	...	76	62	1	17	337	41	1	87	153
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATHAU</b> ... ..	397	456	147	295	18	1	69	44	2	31	318	41	2	78	103
Hazaribagh ... ..	221	514	165	264	39	1	49	67	3	13	334	50	1	74	111
Ranchi ... ..	403	419	140	318	8	1	83	35	1	29	394	42	2	53	105
Palam ... ..	370	480	150	300	22	1	56	56	2	13	332	47	1	70	109
Manbhum ... ..	398	403	109	276	29	1	48	54	2	13	332	59	1	77	114
Singbhum ... ..	502	573	108	296	6	...	101	59	1	60	276	36	10	79	89
South Parganas ... ..	390	499	141	303	25	1	60	51	3	25	310	40	2	83	97
Angul ... ..	416	443	144	293	9	...	62	55	1	41	321	37	...	74	103
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ... ..	436	432	113	330	11	1	64	52	1	41	369	39	1	80	80
Orissa Tributary States ... ..	413	440	147	291	7	...	83	50	1	28	327	34	1	79	112







**SUBSIDIARY TABLE III—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000  
PERSONS OF EACH MAIN AGE PERIOD.**

**(1) PROVINCE.**

AGE PERIOD.	MALE.			FEMALE.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-5	900	10	...	877	22	1
5-10	941	37	...	838	154	8
10-15	837	133	...	403	472	20
15-20	628	380	12	77	808	53
20-25	389	703	23	19	879	111
25-30	43	902	49	10	726	204
30-35	30	868	108	7	415	578
35-40	...	...	...	...	131	853
40 and over	31	739	249	8	...	...

**(2) WEST BENGAL.**

0-5	898	2	...	902	7	1
5-10	900	10	...	815	176	7
10-15	927	73	1	227	733	40
15-20	658	830	6	50	882	88
20-25	144	825	31	7	738	235
25-30	33	840	127	3	308	690
30-35	...	...	...	...	83	514
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 and over	27	697	276	2	...	...

**(3) CENTRAL BENGAL.**

0-5	997	3	...	989	10	1
5-10	956	13	1	827	129	7
10-15	923	75	2	228	737	35
15-20	673	819	0	27	804	79
20-25	142	837	31	19	745	242
25-30	35	909	108	4	516	690
30-35	18	744	235	3	39	858
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...

**(4) NORTH BENGAL.**

0-5	900	4	...	888	11	1
5-10	987	12	1	879	115	6
10-15	920	78	2	308	638	33
15-20	859	303	9	50	897	53
20-25	139	802	30	13	723	194
25-30	23	876	101	6	318	676
30-35	17	759	224	4	39	907
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...

**(5) EAST BENGAL.**

0-5	907	3	...	900	9	1
5-10	958	11	1	931	74	5
10-15	947	32	1	436	534	30
15-20	743	249	0	42	907	51
20-25	149	823	23	11	516	173
25-30	21	898	31	5	367	626
30-35	...	...	...	...	84	913
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...

**(6) NORTH BIHAR.**

0-5	964	35	1	929	67	4
5-10	793	200	7	690	318	18
10-15	673	371	18	334	611	35
15-20	394	876	30	79	871	50
20-25	190	948	33	13	840	147
25-30	38	828	114	9	509	482
30-35	23	724	203	5	159	806
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...

**(7) SOUTH BIHAR.**

0-5	978	21	1	954	43	3
5-10	870	139	4	754	284	12
10-15	623	367	10	331	645	24
15-20	368	611	21	83	875	43
20-25	196	849	34	26	533	142
25-30	37	831	132	14	510	476
30-35	20	689	232	8	170	813
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...

**(8) ORISSA.**

0-5	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...
5-10	894	6	...	959	40	1
10-15	907	49	1	685	323	10
15-20	779	319	3	144	919	56
20-25	171	805	24	11	643	142
25-30	17	834	99	4	435	561
30-35	...	...	...	...	94	993
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...

**(9) CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.**

0-5	903	6	1	957	12	1
5-10	962	37	1	894	103	4
10-15	841	155	4	509	385	16
15-20	570	418	12	220	742	38
20-25	129	843	36	36	593	156
25-30	24	880	96	12	512	476
30-35	19	769	221	10	172	818
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...



## SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. IV.—SHOWING THE PROPORTION WHO ARE

(1) HINDU.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER 1,000 AGED 0-10 WHO ARE MARRIED.						NUMBER PER 1,000 AGED 15-40 WHO ARE WIDOWED.					
	Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.		
	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>RENGAL</b>	59	44	54	115	111	133	56	37	38	166	172	181
<b>WEST BENGAL</b>	6	4	5	103	121	137	26	32	40	229	263	289
Burdwan	9	5	5	128	133	157	28	28	44	230	273	315
Birbhum	11	9	8	125	134	137	35	46	53	191	233	251
Barakura	5	4	5	118	127	123	25	28	28	207	230	241
Midnapore	6	4	4	92	112	118	23	27	34	229	256	268
Hoochly	5	2	3	92	136	180	31	35	37	277	314	266
Howrah	4	3	4	74	95	118	22	23	35	239	272	285
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b>	7	6	6	87	102	122	30	32	38	255	280	309
24-Parganas	6	6	7	97	119	160	28	34	35	233	283	285
Calcutta	18	14	16	45	49	59	29	27	37	279	327	400
Nadia	4	3	5	81	94	100	27	31	40	261	281	287
Murshidabad	6	5	4	98	100	96	30	31	40	230	273	310
Jessore	7	4	5	87	102	137	48	37	38	239	300	319
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b>	9	6	6	54	61	66	41	38	37	220	236	233
Rajshahi	7	7	5	65	78	71	44	41	44	272	304	301
Dinajpur	12	8	7	40	48	54	46	41	40	154	167	189
Jalpaiguri	9	5	6	38	50	32	44	36	31	151	161	129
Harjeeling	5	3	22	0	8	30	32	28	23	68	66	89
Rangpur	5	5	5	71	89	90	37	49	35	288	305	286
Roga	12	6	6	59	68	65	38	38	46	294	290	261
Pabna	6	4	4	54	62	68	39	34	23	266	283	268
Malda	10	9	8	60	61	63	43	36	43	294	231	233
Koch Bihar	5	4	5	81	90	85	50	43	37	311	306	241
Sikkim	7			17			12			31		
<b>EAST BENGAL</b>	6	5	6	59	64	78	30	30	33	226	247	283
Khulna	7	6	8	65	107	136	38	34	36	246	232	280
Dacca	8	4	6	44	55	67	26	27	32	217	235	277
Mymensingh	5	5	4	37	60	73	33	31	31	251	254	300
Faridpur	9	5	6	73	83	96	29	37	34	254	302	302
Hackergunge	7	7	8	65	72	79	30	33	49	222	227	272
Tippura	6	5	3	40	38	63	23	21	25	190	208	240
Naokhali	5	3	4	37	51	73	27	23	41	191	212	275
Chittagong	3	2	2	22	33	44	23	33	25	235	230	294
Chittagong Hill Tracts	9			3			33			29		
Hill Tippera	1			8			24			57		
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b>	143	115	134	222	191	226	49	47	47	128	112	119
Saran	19	29	32	28	54	63	36	32	38	187	187	115
Champaran	43	42	51	27	85	100	44	48	42	117	90	93
Muzaffarpur	144	128	164	317	199	232	44	45	41	118	106	102
Darbhanga	203	245	256	418	347	375	50	47	49	112	101	111
Rohalgur	188	138	163	301	262	318	53	58	61	126	125	129
Purnea	49	50	45	154	131	174	67	59	65	184	173	187
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b>	80	70	89	144	127	156	48	49	43	125	119	111
Patna	60	75	60	118	130	163	62	47	47	127	116	120
Gaya	70	63	62	140	110	137	46	58	48	114	119	107
Shahabad	60	69	68	67	64	140	45	53	39	145	130	118
Monghyr	116	84	118	220	178	230	48	57	35	118	104	102
<b>ORISSA</b>	3	3	3	19	18	32	18	20	23	121	120	123
Cuttack	3	2	3	14	14	27	17	17	21	118	111	116
Balasore	6	6	6	39	35	53	19	21	25	141	152	157
Puri	2	2	2	8	8	19	20	23	26	104	101	101
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.</b>	27	23	33	71	67	81	31	33	27	112	112	97
Hazaribagh	66	59	82	130	137	165	43	40	32	124	125	119
Ranchi	26	26	36	66	60	68	40	46	35	118	112	96
Palamau	25	16	21	92	90	96	27	33	27	125	128	121
Manbhum	7	11	5	40	39	17	24	24	15	110	103	59
Simdeh	30	33	57	110	108	135	31	31	27	125	119	117
South Parganna	7	8	6	29	27	41	27	25	19	80	80	86
Angul	19	8	7	45	17	17	33	34	28	66	78	86
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	7	6	7	24	21	29	23	27	22	86	94	79



## MARRIED AND WIDOWED AT CERTAIN AGES.

## (2) MUSALMAN.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER 1,000 AGED 0-10 WHO ARE MARRIED.						NUMBER PER 1,000 AGED 15-40 WHO ARE WIDOWED.					
	Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.		
	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>BENGAL</b>	19	11	12	61	65	78	25	25	24	122	126	138
<b>WEST BENGAL</b>	8	6	6	79	80	99	25	25	27	150	171	214
Bardham	8	7	5	115	166	128	31	26	27	177	200	205
Birbhum	12	8	15	81	89	109	18	19	30	126	161	189
Baerhura	7	6	4	98	104	88	16	22	21	140	175	211
Midnapore	8	7	4	79	71	73	19	22	24	159	148	176
Hoochly	7	4	3	51	74	119	23	20	29	168	182	234
Howrah	7	4	4	40	40	71	22	21	23	142	144	189
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b>	9	6	5	87	81	95	22	17	22	157	178	176
24 Parganas	11	10	6	100	99	119	19	22	24	131	140	149
Calcutta	22	14	19	39	54	87	29	29	27	121	131	145
Nadia	5	2	4	76	84	80	15	11	21	169	183	178
Murshidabad	5	6	8	88	90	71	16	13	20	172	199	223
Jessore	11	6	7	94	86	127	31	19	20	161	183	167
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b>	8	7	7	72	75	77	28	25	25	128	133	149
Rajshahi	7	6	6	94	69	67	26	18	24	135	145	163
Dinajpur	11	10	9	67	79	90	39	40	34	122	129	131
Jaipalguri	12	8	6	47	46	41	44	37	38	112	122	107
Darjeeling	25	19	8	38	33	37	60	38	36	104	96	95
Rangpur	7	9	7	89	102	102	29	31	27	125	142	150
Bogra	12	8	11	97	75	106	29	23	23	104	104	126
Pabna	6	4	4	42	42	52	14	13	13	117	108	115
Malda	9	8	5	68	48	65	19	12	24	124	185	219
Kutch Bihar	6	6	5	107	115	94	45	34	27	164	165	143
Sikkim												
<b>EAST BENGAL</b>	7	7	7	59	45	60	20	21	20	101	97	111
Khulna	12	9	9	72	83	109	28	29	26	133	137	141
Dacca	5	5	6	26	34	40	16	14	16	104	101	117
Mytenssingh	5	4	4	30	46	63	18	29	17	93	96	101
Faridpur	12	11	6	95	75	89	18	16	17	122	120	143
Backerganj	12	16	17	70	78	93	39	30	33	90	87	108
Tippura	6	6	3	22	23	34	14	14	15	85	81	88
Noakhali	4	3	3	17	19	33	19	16	23	89	63	76
Chittagong	2	2	2	8	6	11	19	14	17	116	108	129
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5			11			22			108		
Hill Tippera	5			53			39			125		
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b>	40	56	41	88	99	110	58	54	55	136	124	154
Saran	19	29	35	42	55	60	29	29	36	120	92	106
Champaran	27	37	40	63	63	89	44	50	46	111	96	97
Muzaffarpur	49	69	69	107	122	145	39	37	36	126	117	119
Darbhanga	55	75	73	103	123	150	31	32	34	123	113	120
Bhagalpur	68	62	65	107	142	174	39	36	36	129	129	144
Furness	19	8	17	56	69	88	42	29	31	164	154	164
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b>	37	33	38	76	74	84	57	57	59	125	124	126
Patna	20	18	21	46	47	63	29	35	35	122	119	129
Gaya	46	34	40	83	76	95	40	45	54	135	140	123
Shahabad	41	47	43	69	80	79	35	41	32	117	112	115
Monghyr	40	35	45	97	90	109	30	29	26	121	118	124
<b>ORISSA</b>	2	4	3	24	9	13	15	13	15	118	139	149
Cuttack	1	4	5	7	9	9	14	11	14	123	132	147
Balasore	5	4	3	71	16	24	19	17	17	129	145	157
Puri		2	3	4	2	10	14	22	15	81	104	99
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU</b>	55	55	67	126	127	147	28	46	26	196	129	106
Hazaribagh	83	90	107	161	168	203	28	36	27	104	115	108
Ranchi	38	37	94	77	74	73	35	105	32	115	120	94
Palamau	54	33	45	132	122	128	29	29	24	96	112	107
Manbhum	29	16	16	61	58	31	14	30	17	90	101	114
Singbhum	63	48	63	135	137	154	24	20	20	107	109	116
South Parganas												
Angul												
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	27	17	8	65	59	37	41	48	22	96	118	88
Orissa Tributary States	10	12	8	19	35	11	15	28	17	113	115	92



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION

CASTE.	DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																	
	TOTAL.			0-5			5-12			12-20			20-40			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
<b>AHIR AND GOALA (Hindu)</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>982</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>780</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>515</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>857</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>807</b>	<b>174</b>
Bengal Proper	458	478	64	908	2	...	978	80	1	771	223	6	163	790	47	35	763	260
Bihar	354	588	58	978	21	1	710	367	1	384	590	30	63	875	60	17	818	163
Chota Nagpur	480	488	52	991	9	...	853	148	1	546	440	14	105	833	63	30	798	155
<b>AJLAF (ATRAP) (Muslim)</b>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper	492	479	29	990	1	...	975	25	...	743	252	6	77	897	26	10	885	100
<b>BABHAN (Hindu)</b>	<b>453</b>	<b>455</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>989</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>943</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>624</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>705</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>728</b>	<b>192</b>
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	488	447	55	990	10	1	959	29	2	661	328	11	245	717	40	71	744	186
Other Bihar Districts	478	457	65	990	9	1	990	30	2	615	373	13	240	698	62	84	722	194
Hazariabagh	441	491	68	965	43	2	674	123	4	404	477	29	184	757	20	40	136	215
<b>BAGDI (Hindu)</b>	<b>479</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>999</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>988</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>785</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>857</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>164</b>
West Bengal	478	477	45	990	1	...	988	12	...	795	204	3	107	881	32	17	820	163
Central Bengal	484	470	48	999	1	...	990	13	1	752	244	4	120	840	34	17	818	165
<b>BAISHNAB (Hindu)</b>	<b>483</b>	<b>453</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>999</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>980</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>756</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>781</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>757</b>	<b>190</b>
Bengal Proper	475	491	64	990	1	...	980	19	1	761	241	4	167	791	53	41	761	198
Orissa and Manbhoom	542	413	45	999	1	...	977	22	1	758	296	6	232	714	34	220	640	140
<b>BARHI (Hindu)</b>	<b>392</b>	<b>555</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>965</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>768</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>452</b>	<b>519</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>867</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>818</b>	<b>152</b>
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	291	639	70	902	33	5	432	430	25	126	743	62	43	663	79	13	817	170
Other Bihar Districts	389	558	53	982	18	...	818	174	4	407	567	26	66	883	51	28	817	135
Hazariabagh, Cuttack and Puri	464	496	40	976	24	...	853	116	1	658	300	12	138	821	31	41	820	139
<b>BARHI (Muslim)</b>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Champaran	442	499	59	906	24	...	894	102	4	299	406	6	54	853	93	10	825	167
<b>BAURI (Hindu)</b>	<b>497</b>	<b>473</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>999</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>984</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>742</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>876</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>878</b>	<b>112</b>
West Bengal	481	491	28	999	1	...	983	17	...	676	318	6	61	911	38	11	885	101
Manbhoom	493	478	28	995	2	...	971	20	...	698	298	6	46	824	30	10	879	114
Southal Parganas	474	492	30	994	6	...	909	37	...	578	410	12	44	924	32	29	890	111
Orissa	528	420	33	1,000	...	...	994	6	...	918	82	...	189	890	20	9	866	135
<b>BHUIYA (Hindu)</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>469</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>994</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>948</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>637</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>863</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>844</b>	<b>156</b>
Midnapore	515	461	34	1,000	...	...	963	17	...	763	233	7	108	863	35	14	800	130
Cuttack and Bhagalpur	454	527	39	999	6	...	924	73	3	519	466	13	51	900	40	18	861	128
Chota Nagpur Plateau	510	452	38	994	6	...	963	46	1	600	322	11	106	862	42	19	838	143
<b>BHUIYA (Auntist)</b>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau	537	410	53	996	14	...	969	29	2	735	237	28	145	789	67	42	793	162
<b>BHUMIJ (Hindu)</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>999</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>987</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>777</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>114</b>
West Bengal	543	430	27	1,000	...	...	967	13	...	890	178	2	151	822	27	25	872	100
Chota Nagpur Plateau	572	398	32	999	1	...	987	13	...	856	136	5	203	733	35	20	862	118
<b>BHUMIJ (Auntist)</b>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau	601	368	33	997	3	...	996	14	...	800	198	4	265	700	45	21	808	113
<b>BRAHMAN (Hindu)</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>997</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>967</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>726</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>771</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>753</b>	<b>190</b>
Bengal Proper	510	439	51	999	1	...	989	10	1	813	184	3	266	761	51	72	740	179
Bihar	472	469	59	994	6	...	940	59	1	643	345	9	194	753	61	61	747	194
Orissa	467	474	59	1,000	...	...	967	13	...	733	244	3	144	828	33	25	770	206
Chota Nagpur	439	493	65	994	4	...	903	25	2	365	422	23	183	750	58	63	751	196
<b>CHAMAR (Hindu)</b>	<b>594</b>	<b>568</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>970</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>769</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>434</b>	<b>548</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>909</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>121</b>
Bengal Proper	477	490	33	999	1	...	975	24	1	695	299	6	112	856	39	10	874	110
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	277	678	45	917	32	1	470	505	16	292	703	36	21	930	39	9	867	124
Other Bihar Districts	401	559	40	979	21	1	794	291	5	433	529	15	65	898	42	17	829	131
Cuttack	538	438	24	1,000	...	...	968	12	...	815	181	1	169	841	11	5	830	112
Chota Nagpur Plateau	467	507	26	991	8	1	854	144	2	480	497	14	81	920	39	10	865	90
<b>CHASA (Hindu)</b>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa	508	463	29	1,000	...	...	984	16	...	830	163	2	163	816	21	9	851	110
<b>DHANUK (Hindu)</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>636</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>981</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>635</b>	<b>553</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>704</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>913</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>850</b>	<b>135</b>
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	239	703	58	985	73	2	473	590	14	125	824	51	13	923	62	7	828	133
Other Bihar Districts	347	601	52	979	31	...	705	223	9	327	649	26	34	905	56	14	840	140
<b>DHOBA (Hindu)</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>492</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>991</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>911</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>668</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>836</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>828</b>	<b>154</b>
Bengal Proper	508	443	51	999	8	...	987	12	1	812	182	3	143	776	41	27	802	171
Bihar	358	586	55	973	27	1	732	260	8	358	619	24	33	894	56	16	823	162
Orissa	508	483	51	1,000	...	...	987	13	...	819	179	3	113	801	24	6	876	118
Chota Nagpur	427	529	44	999	9	1	872	125	5	429	539	23	64	904	42	14	832	154



## AND AGE OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN SOME OF THE MAIN CASTES.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																		CASTE.
TOTAL.			0-5			5-12			13-20			20-40			40 and over.			
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	
339	539	182	947	50	3	595	389	16	142	811	47	19	844	144	3	424	371	AHIR AND GOALA (Hindu).
239	464	297	984	11	1	623	321	15	62	863	55	6	686	314	2	223	773	Bengal Proper.
251	585	164	989	59	2	549	413	17	128	833	37	10	876	114	5	422	533	Bihar.
329	500	171	984	34	2	729	267	13	251	761	45	29	606	165	10	415	676	Chota Nagpur.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	AJLAF (ATRAF)-(Musalman).
295	521	184	988	11	1	719	273	8	29	930	32	6	823	171	1	275	724	Bengal Proper.
275	471	254	978	19	3	558	153	9	203	740	55	8	782	210	5	359	636	BARHAN (Hindu).
288	447	265	979	35	4	503	130	8	225	709	66	8	772	220	6	353	609	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
270	479	251	980	15	2	540	151	9	204	747	49	8	787	205	6	372	623	Other Bihar Districts.
238	530	232	945	63	2	637	345	18	65	852	53	7	700	227	3	341	676	Hazarihagh.
361	465	276	994	5	1	706	284	10	42	871	57	4	712	284	2	254	764	BAGDI (Hindu).
282	483	285	995	6	...	693	298	10	43	868	80	4	768	232	2	223	775	West Bengal.
290	460	250	992	8	...	742	241	10	40	880	80	6	724	270	3	273	724	Central Bengal.
293	493	354	995	6	1	720	267	13	82	893	95	8	632	360	5	214	785	BAISHNAB (Hindu).
213	418	369	992	7	1	703	293	14	64	834	102	9	613	379	1	205	794	Bengal Proper.
302	454	244	994	2	1	831	164	5	223	735	43	11	802	187	7	293	699	Orissa and Manbhurn.
373	569	165	949	49	2	614	379	14	157	869	41	11	877	112	6	454	540	BARHI (Hindu).
197	639	164	967	129	4	266	697	37	82	854	64	9	878	113	5	459	415	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
276	557	167	946	32	2	679	349	8	138	800	36	11	879	110	7	454	537	Other Bihar Districts.
324	514	162	984	15	1	785	209	6	201	732	34	11	872	117	6	429	665	Hazarihagh Cuttack and Puri.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	BARHI (Musalman).
355	463	182	983	37	...	806	126	18	505	545	93	30	772	153	12	422	566	Champaran.
359	477	164	997	3	...	891	106	3	254	728	58	9	849	142	2	415	583	BAURI (Hindu).
258	493	169	997	3	...	851	125	4	118	831	51	5	843	152	2	408	590	West Bengal.
362	468	170	995	5	...	857	130	4	205	755	39	9	809	123	2	398	600	Manbhurn.
341	514	145	987	13	...	818	136	2	99	851	50	10	855	126	5	454	540	Southal Parganas.
399	449	155	109	1	...	692	17	1	451	834	15	10	880	105	3	428	570	Orissa.
384	473	143	999	8	...	879	114	7	302	670	28	23	840	137	6	453	536	BHUIYA (Hindu).
337	452	211	993	7	...	898	164	10	175	776	49	13	758	226	2	354	644	Midnapore.
364	625	121	984	15	1	813	185	5	176	811	13	13	870	115	7	501	492	Gaya and Bhagalpur.
393	480	147	992	8	2	808	95	7	342	627	31	26	833	141	6	420	544	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	BHUIYA (Animist).
440	394	167	984	3	3	942	55	2	463	465	67	42	805	153	14	440	560	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
411	419	170	994	5	1	939	59	2	407	566	27	36	811	153	6	364	650	BRUMIJ (Hindu).
400	405	189	991	8	1	925	73	3	328	632	34	10	783	203	4	331	665	West Bengal.
412	423	165	995	4	1	942	55	2	420	540	25	42	818	149	7	372	621	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	BRUMIJ (Animist).
500	377	123	981	4	15	900	51	9	680	236	25	91	788	111	24	482	420	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
270	453	272	990	9	1	790	201	9	102	832	66	6	743	251	3	292	705	BRAHMAN (Hindu).
273	441	288	993	6	1	800	191	9	67	863	71	8	718	275	2	253	743	Bengal Proper.
280	456	264	993	10	1	811	180	9	129	746	55	8	737	235	2	286	609	Bihar.
248	481	271	999	1	...	700	234	7	42	843	64	4	756	240	2	298	700	Orissa.
259	504	237	979	29	1	634	353	13	74	856	90	5	746	242	4	356	640	Chota Nagpur.
384	538	158	944	54	2	647	359	14	133	782	55	15	861	124	7	464	529	CHAMAR (Hindu).
316	470	214	991	8	1	785	208	7	71	877	52	12	761	229	4	267	699	Bengal Proper.
187	645	164	897	129	5	350	609	32	75	881	41	7	869	124	2	406	592	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
297	549	165	955	42	9	704	293	11	215	766	32	18	865	117	9	400	525	Other Bihar Districts.
348	467	197	925	2	...	924	74	2	321	651	23	13	823	169	2	363	635	Cuttack.
343	521	156	907	31	5	717	273	10	221	715	34	16	806	118	7	470	523	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	CHASA (Hindu).
367	481	172	1,000	...	...	933	66	1	512	625	10	11	885	104	5	391	614	Orissa.
207	609	184	915	84	3	395	576	29	79	879	42	6	853	159	5	459	536	DHANUK (Hindu).
180	562	178	923	133	4	304	751	45	41	900	60	4	869	127	3	473	522	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
250	582	188	939	68	3	504	476	20	95	864	39	8	847	145	6	420	574	Other Bihar Districts.
308	494	193	982	17	1	769	223	8	181	767	52	12	813	175	5	372	623	DHOBA (Hindu).
300	454	240	994	5	1	795	196	7	115	818	62	4	787	265	3	269	729	Bengal Proper.
287	568	165	948	41	1	690	373	15	156	723	62	21	805	117	9	457	544	Bihar.
350	489	175	969	1	...	924	74	3	302	670	25	10	813	118	3	352	615	Orissa.
320	509	172	979	19	2	695	297	6	162	799	39	11	825	163	6	367	627	Chota Nagpur.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION

CASTE.	DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																	
	Total.			0-4			5-12			13-20			20-40			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
DIQIBI (Musliman) ...	423	530	47	986	14	...	839	159	9	446	557	17	77	577	46	13	827	160
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	344	600	66	883	17	...	754	263	3	377	601	33	31	915	54	12	886	162
Other Bihar Districts	447	509	44	955	14	...	870	129	1	439	497	14	91	506	43	14	827	139
DRUNIA (Musliman) ...	423	535	49	989	11	...	839	158	3	433	549	18	51	600	49	19	862	126
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	380	577	37	979	20	1	7604	231	3	332	644	24	30	923	44	12	803	95
Other Bihar Districts including Malda.	443	513	44	963	7	...	5	113	2	489	503	8	5	591	51	12	846	142
DOM (Hindu) ...	437	523	40	994	6	...	941	38	1	586	405	9	64	501	35	18	844	138
West Bengal	438	517	45	998	2	...	974	26	...	644	349	5	65	504	33	15	839	123
Monghyr and Sonthal Parganas.	433	530	31	994	16	...	860	129	3	495	512	20	53	513	29	29	867	104
Manbhurn ...	444	527	29	997	3	...	939	60	1	500	492	8	41	531	28	9	883	108
DOSADH (Hindu) ...	352	597	51	975	34	1	740	353	7	386	588	26	50	898	52	15	846	139
Muzaffarpur	322	631	47	958	41	1	682	320	13	311	655	34	80	590	50	10	877	113
Other Bihar Districts	352	595	53	979	20	1	753	241	6	394	531	25	176	630	174	17	835	148
Chota Nagpur	455	607	38	994	15	1	825	141	4	523	432	35	73	883	46	16	864	139
MURASIAN (Christian) ...	658	299	43	1,000	...	...	993	7	...	980	18	2	485	481	34	165	657	175
PARIE (Musliman) ...	481	471	48	996	4	...	933	64	3	592	396	12	96	642	62	36	826	138
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	441	520	39	990	4	...	899	101	0	318	463	19	63	506	41	23	864	113
Other Bihar Districts	490	454	50	995	3	...	945	51	1	610	375	9	100	621	70	41	812	147
PIRINGI (Christian) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
East Bengal	566	392	42	1,000	...	...	992	1	...	944	54	...	319	641	40	31	839	140
GAUR (Hindu) ...	508	459	33	1,000	...	...	979	21	...	796	201	3	132	841	27	10	866	124
Orissa Districts	520	446	34	1,000	...	...	989	11	...	806	142	2	130	827	23	10	850	131
Orissa States	488	482	30	1,000	...	...	963	37	...	658	306	6	101	520	29	11	880	109
HAJJAM AND NAPIT (Hindu) ...	438	508	54	983	15	...	875	121	4	592	503	15	115	838	47	25	800	173
Bengal Proper	498	447	57	997	3	...	986	15	1	792	302	6	167	790	43	27	775	196
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	290	651	59	993	65	2	585	420	15	132	734	44	34	908	66	16	848	136
Other Bihar Districts	390	562	48	983	14	1	812	177	4	403	579	15	53	940	48	22	828	150
Chota Nagpur	433	519	48	979	20	1	824	142	4	408	492	20	85	807	43	33	803	164
HAJJAM (Musliman) ...	469	489	49	994	6	...	938	59	3	635	347	18	75	675	50	19	832	149
Bengal Proper	449	510	41	993	3	...	959	42	...	690	297	4	89	865	40	6	802	182
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	487	480	64	994	6	...	937	56	5	670	397	27	63	863	68	15	808	170
Other Bihar Districts	474	483	43	994	6	...	935	61	4	608	375	17	73	853	44	23	839	139
HO (Hindu) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa States	606	374	20	1,000	...	...	967	13	...	853	145	2	340	742	18	27	830	93
HO (Animist) ...	646	350	24	999	1	...	994	6	...	901	97	2	317	659	24	56	850	114
Singbhum	680	315	25	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	401	97	2	342	633	23	60	806	122
Tributary States	610	367	23	998	2	...	986	14	...	390	98	3	320	723	22	50	875	90
JOLAH (Musliman) ...	459	523	38	991	9	...	883	115	2	540	446	14	62	600	38	12	864	124
Bengal Proper	471	500	29	997	3	...	976	25	1	688	366	7	71	800	20	9	806	99
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	390	560	51	986	14	...	897	188	3	397	641	23	57	915	45	10	830	151
Other Bihar Districts	428	526	40	991	9	...	832	145	3	513	470	18	71	854	45	18	839	143
Chota Nagpur Plateau	421	543	30	986	14	...	817	180	3	539	594	17	40	923	37	9	860	121
JUGI (Hindu) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper	499	450	51	999	2	...	987	12	1	811	153	6	171	789	40	28	809	109
KAHAR (Hindu) ...	394	553	48	980	19	1	879	117	4	430	548	22	64	586	50	23	839	138
Bihar	365	566	40	981	15	1	880	116	4	415	565	20	57	603	50	16	844	140
Chota Nagpur	468	490	44	977	22	1	870	123	4	539	429	23	126	828	48	85	767	128
KAIBARTTA (unspecified) (Hindu).	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper	481	481	56	998	2	...	987	12	1	825	170	5	215	745	40	52	774	194
KAIBARTTA, CHASI (Hindu) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper	522	430	39	998	1	1	990	9	1	853	168	1	163	810	27	20	838	164



## AND AGE OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN SOME OF THE MAIN CASTES—continued.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																		CASTE,
Total.			0-3			5-12			15-20			20-40			40 and over.			
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	
298	547	125	967	30	3	718	274	8	186	784	30	24	862	114	5	474	591	DHOBI (Musliman).
238	606	154	933	68	2	838	451	11	74	822	44	9	867	124	4	523	474	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
317	628	165	976	21	3	700	233	7	220	764	28	22	860	112	6	457	537	Other Bihar Districts.
299	534	174	966	32	2	669	318	13	149	818	33	11	855	134	6	441	555	DHUNIA (Musliman).
265	585	160	900	39	1	329	434	17	97	868	35	11	885	104	2	483	512	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga
312	506	182	909	28	3	729	294	11	176	791	33	12	837	161	8	415	577	Other Bihar Districts in- cluding Malda.
293	529	188	982	17	1	685	298	17	78	873	47	7	852	161	6	373	621	DOM (Hindu).
258	523	219	999	10	1	664	325	11	50	903	47	4	906	191	3	297	700	West Bengal.
321	540	139	990	29	3	896	273	81	127	837	40	18	865	100	14	500	477	Monghyr and Sonthal
327	538	137	985	12	...	766	229	5	92	868	50	8	878	114	3	460	517	Parganas, Manbhum.
254	583	163	944	53	3	586	399	15	150	812	38	11	867	122	6	476	518	DOSADH (Hindu).
223	605	172	914	82	4	556	423	21	96	906	38	8	869	123	3	466	600	Muzaffarpur.
259	580	162	940	48	8	595	391	14	162	801	37	11	867	122	7	474	519	Other Bihar Districts.
308	542	160	976	24	...	705	227	8	175	778	50	16	853	131	7	454	530	Chota Nagpur.
586	392	92	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	209	183	8	260	661	79	112	453	435	EURASIAN (Christian).
529	497	174	963	53	2	833	163	4	252	729	59	18	853	129	15	447	558	FAKIR (Musliman).
310	514	178	946	50	4	766	228	6	163	794	43	14	859	127	7	454	539	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
337	490	173	974	25	1	868	138	4	226	766	38	19	831	120	18	444	536	Other Bihar Districts.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	FIRINGI (Christian).
466	355	180	999	8	...	1,000	...	...	497	475	28	45	768	186	46	250	674	East Bengal.
344	463	193	999	1	...	898	100	2	877	697	96	12	855	135	5	336	659	GAUR (Hindu).
532	458	210	999	1	...	928	70	2	277	698	25	8	852	140	4	295	671	Orissa Districts.
368	473	159	1,000	...	...	845	151	4	276	697	27	19	862	119	7	365	638	Orissa States.
270	506	224	969	28	3	660	326	14	91	840	69	8	777	215	7	350	663	HAJJAM AND NAIT (Hindu).
277	447	278	999	7	1	740	250	10	68	840	85	6	895	297	3	229	768	Bengal Proper.
213	622	165	899	103	8	379	590	81	94	861	55	6	854	149	4	490	606	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
272	552	176	969	39	5	630	345	15	124	826	59	10	858	132	13	456	621	Other Bihar Districts.
301	531	168	979	19	2	669	342	9	130	813	51	11	841	148	5	394	691	Chota Nagpur.
519	505	176	985	14	1	84	179	7	215	754	31	13	861	196	5	421	574	HAJJAM (Musliman).
292	514	224	940	39	...	728	271	7	47	869	54	11	812	177	...	234	766	Bengal Proper.
318	483	199	999	8	3	750	240	10	258	693	17	10	840	141	8	402	600	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
329	512	159	987	13	...	846	147	8	229	744	31	14	873	113	5	457	536	Other Bihar Districts.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	HO (Hindu).
528	573	99	999	1	...	979	20	1	730	290	10	107	907	96	15	661	484	Orissa States.
581	525	94	999	1	...	988	11	1	783	210	7	245	680	75	163	469	433	HO (Animist).
500	314	90	909	1	...	991	8	1	790	304	7	287	678	80	129	450	421	Singbhum.
559	350	81	909	1	...	961	18	1	707	223	8	141	704	65	37	494	469	Tributary States.
295	546	159	977	20	3	704	287	9	119	850	31	10	868	122	5	444	551	JOLAH (Musliman).
305	518	179	987	13	1	730	253	8	49	809	32	8	847	145	4	323	673	Bengal Proper.
240	604	168	994	33	2	684	401	15	146	822	32	8	860	160	5	407	486	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
287	548	165	978	22	5	737	252	8	142	799	29	12	871	117	7	480	504	Other Bihar Districts.
322	561	117	971	27	2	651	341	8	163	808	29	11	820	99	5	517	475	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	JUGI (Hindu).
301	445	254	999	9	1	808	192	6	93	535	72	8	736	246	4	224	773	Bengal Proper.
268	538	191	977	21	2	727	263	10	121	847	32	11	853	136	7	408	585	KAHAR (Hindu).
290	544	190	977	22	1	719	271	10	118	855	32	10	855	135	8	411	582	Bihar.
330	487	183	982	17	1	761	212	7	184	788	28	15	838	147	8	378	614	Chota Nagpur.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KATBARTTA (Unspecified) (Hindu).
242	437	321	999	7	1	721	267	12	45	822	160	5	632	343	2	171	827	Bengal Proper.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KATBARTTA, CHASI (Hindu)
285	460	275	995	4	1	728	360	12	20	470	504	4	715	284	2	226	772	Bengal Proper.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION

Caste.	DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																	
	TOTAL.			0-4			5-12			13-20			20-40			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
KAMAR AND LOHAR (Hindu)	454	499	47	981	18	1	901	95	4	625	569	13	109	849	42	24	826	156
Bengal Proper	484	483	53	999	1	...	894	10	...	759	534	7	147	817	86	29	783	189
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	317	634	46	960	91	3	843	243	15	257	853	30	38	910	52	19	862	119
Other Bihar districts	408	544	48	981	10	3	883	144	3	460	320	20	69	883	44	22	829	159
Orissa	506	460	34	999	1	...	899	11	...	830	105	2	156	822	21	8	860	134
Chota Nagpur Plateau	518	449	38	983	13	...	943	24	3	983	306	11	112	844	49	23	848	129
KANDU (Hindu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bihar	394	555	51	975	24	1	828	107	5	494	533	24	62	897	51	26	828	138
KAYASTHA (Hindu)	320	430	50	997	3	...	984	13	1	840	153	5	213	749	36	51	781	165
Bengal Proper	535	420	45	998	1	1	998	7	1	881	116	3	220	740	31	45	797	158
Bihar	474	480	86	999	9	1	984	44	1	807	294	9	209	745	54	69	727	208
Orissa	499	481	40	1,000	...	...	999	11	...	809	99	2	217	794	19	24	816	151
KHANDAIT (Hindu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa	542	425	33	1,000	...	...	999	10	...	679	119	2	203	778	21	12	856	132
KOIRI (Hindu)	370	571	59	981	18	1	769	226	5	416	566	18	81	863	56	18	808	174
Bihar	367	573	60	981	18	1	770	225	5	419	564	17	81	863	54	18	808	177
Chota Nagpur	407	547	48	983	18	2	782	230	2	394	554	23	81	853	68	14	853	139
KUMHAR (Hindu)	487	521	59	983	16	1	869	133	5	570	416	14	97	859	44	20	810	170
Bengal Proper	480	451	60	999	3	...	980	18	2	761	222	7	159	800	42	30	768	207
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	290	657	63	992	94	4	887	459	23	222	795	43	28	812	64	13	829	157
Other Bihar Districts	380	584	58	978	21	1	797	199	4	394	537	19	66	860	50	15	818	167
Orissa	493	499	39	1,000	...	...	993	17	...	789	294	3	109	871	23	7	833	134
Chota Nagpur Plateau	451	512	37	994	6	...	890	103	2	513	474	13	77	885	38	13	833	134
KURMI (Hindu)	404	549	47	989	10	1	847	149	4	453	508	9	81	876	43	27	821	152
West Bengal	470	508	22	999	1	...	993	30	1	625	366	9	59	921	20	11	964	85
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	318	635	47	998	33	1	844	345	11	266	701	33	46	813	42	10	871	119
Other Bihar Districts	377	555	68	994	15	1	821	173	4	493	501	14	119	851	60	41	794	195
Chota Nagpur Plateau	448	525	37	996	8	1	900	89	2	502	499	3	44	931	25	10	882	108
KURMI (Animist)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa States	504	485	31	1,000	...	...	999	72	...	618	380	5	79	800	34	7	861	132
MUCHI (Hindu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper	452	516	32	998	2	...	978	27	...	640	343	6	65	903	29	11	881	108
MUNDA (Hindu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur	549	419	32	997	3	...	978	23	1	698	399	6	144	816	40	21	854	123
MUNDA (Christian)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ranchi	590	381	21	990	1	...	997	2	1	900	99	1	116	961	23	13	691	60
MUNDA (Animist)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur	509	387	44	998	1	1	988	11	1	822	173	5	116	854	36	11	804	185
MUSAHAR (Hindu)	379	582	49	969	30	1	782	212	6	388	588	24	48	964	48	18	855	127
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	329	624	47	998	79	2	618	371	11	244	709	47	27	904	40	11	866	123
Other Bihar Districts	382	573	45	978	21	1	891	173	6	410	561	20	32	890	48	19	863	123
NAMASUDRA (CHANDAL) (Hindu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper	513	440	47	994	2	...	987	12	1	826	179	4	166	797	37	21	81	168
SUNIVA (Hindu)	431	509	40	979	20	1	837	139	4	502	461	17	66	893	41	16	847	137
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga	310	644	46	947	51	2	609	379	12	262	701	27	30	923	45	10	867	123
Other Bihar Districts	501	480	39	990	9	1	929	70	1	560	403	11	81	879	49	19	839	142



## AND AGE OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN SOME OF THE MAIN CASTES—continued.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																		CASTE.
TOTAL.			0-5			5-12			12-20			20-40			40 and over.			
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	KAMARAND LOHAR (Hindu). Bengal Proper. Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. Other Bihar Districts. Orissa. Chota Nagpur Plateau.
309	495	196	974	25	1	744	246	10	172	771	57	14	807	179	2	578	615	
274	465	261	999	7	...	715	277	8	65	853	52	8	717	275	2	251	744	
227	601	172	999	26	...	481	493	26	101	849	20	9	273	119	2	479	921	
308	519	173	990	37	...	751	238	11	313	741	46	16	846	188	8	448	844	
324	478	200	998	2	...	804	192	4	245	733	27	7	860	133	1	339	600	
410	462	128	983	12	...	860	123	3	336	629	36	27	853	115	13	477	510	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KANDU (Hindu). Bihar.
277	537	186	972	26	2	716	273	11	162	804	34	8	802	130	4	423	571	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KAYASTHA (Hindu). Bengal Proper. Bihar. Orissa.
293	417	290	992	6	2	881	112	7	132	804	64	7	718	275	3	242	755	
290	412	298	994	5	1	874	110	7	98	835	67	6	701	293	2	214	782	
302	428	260	985	13	2	904	67	9	261	667	52	10	771	219	4	328	668	
278	407	316	1,000	...	...	925	75	...	185	797	38	4	790	280	2	207	791	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KHANDAIT (Hindu). Orissa.
358	426	216	999	1	...	944	34	2	400	578	25	8	823	169	3	330	667	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KOIRI (Hindu). Bihar. Chota Nagpur.
271	557	172	964	34	2	627	359	14	166	798	36	15	857	198	8	454	838	
269	568	173	964	34	2	627	358	15	174	798	34	16	850	125	6	458	834	
291	541	168	966	32	2	624	367	9	163	846	51	7	833	153	4	397	699	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KUMHAR (Hindu). Bengal Proper. Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. Other Bihar Districts. Orissa. Chota Nagpur Plateau.
284	594	192	953	45	2	665	322	13	124	811	65	10	812	178	6	387	607	
278	452	269	990	8	2	716	273	11	67	829	104	7	667	296	4	239	757	
188	631	151	770	227	2	253	675	30	71	871	58	9	882	169	5	335	460	
266	576	156	963	46	2	627	369	14	139	831	39	14	876	110	9	472	519	
326	495	169	989	1	...	966	94	...	274	796	20	8	885	167	5	403	602	
527	524	149	989	18	2	728	262	10	169	782	20	12	653	133	7	429	554	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KURMI (Hindu). West Bengal. Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. Other Bihar Districts. Chota Nagpur Plateau.
289	528	190	975	23	2	701	288	11	147	812	41	9	850	161	4	414	582	
295	538	167	980	13	1	700	296	5	100	862	38	8	843	152	1	374	685	
207	602	191	921	74	6	454	515	31	62	882	80	7	663	180	4	453	543	
266	516	228	978	23	2	627	292	11	164	778	58	10	800	190	5	297	329	
333	516	151	987	12	1	773	219	6	163	811	22	10	853	135	2	429	546	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KURMI (Animist). Orissa States.
399	471	130	1,000	...	...	818	180	2	272	706	22	29	885	90	14	405	581	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MUCHI (Hindu). Bengal Proper.
283	519	198	992	10	1	669	323	9	47	901	42	7	893	179	2	367	680	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MUNDA (Hindu). Chota Nagpur.
432	410	158	994	12	1	951	47	2	492	489	19	28	815	153	21	394	573	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MUNDA (Christian). Ranchi.
521	383	90	999	1	...	392	7	1	713	282	6	62	800	73	16	354	420	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MUNDA (Animist). Chota Nagpur.
478	388	134	996	3	1	893	38	2	685	306	17	57	833	110	14	474	512	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MURAHAR (Hindu). Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. Other Bihar Districts.
318	555	127	967	41	2	684	305	13	184	781	35	13	873	114	10	641	449	
273	611	116	994	73	3	312	467	21	90	862	39	9	906	85	7	379	413	
328	542	150	964	24	2	727	292	11	290	703	35	14	805	129	11	523	657	NAMASUDRA (CHANDAL) (Hindu). Bengal Proper.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
200	435	266	996	8	2	702	197	11	60	896	78	7	697	296	3	227	770	SUNITA (Hindu). Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. Other Bihar Districts.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
294	537	169	959	39	2	606	294	10	237	752	51	13	855	154	6	460	554	
197	639	164	962	94	4	369	606	23	92	887	41	8	849	103	3	491	590	SUNITA (Hindu). Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. Other Bihar Districts.
335	494	171	962	17	1	622	164	4	295	677	25	14	838	148	7	440	547	



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION

CASTE.	DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																	
	TOTAL.			0-4			5-12			13-20			21-30			31 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ORAON (Hindu) ... ..	461	500	39	990	10	...	970	29	1	748	937	15	125	836	45	14	866	120
Jalpaiguri ... ..	438	521	43	980	11	...	967	30	1	753	930	17	129	824	47	14	850	127
Chota Nagpur ... ..	559	416	25	994	5	1	977	22	1	739	925	10	96	868	34	16	890	91
ORAON (Animist) ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur ... ..	578	403	21	997	3	...	985	15	...	744	951	5	90	866	36	7	923	70
ORAON (Christian) ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ranchi ... ..	585	385	32	993	5	1	980	10	1	807	108	5	79	873	45	5	870	123
PAN (Hindu) ... ..	551	494	25	1,000	...	...	989	11	...	882	115	3	159	837	24	12	887	101
Orissa ... ..	530	453	29	1,000	...	...	990	10	...	898	101	1	140	832	19	10	874	116
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	559	417	24	999	1	...	988	12	...	869	127	4	131	840	20	13	890	58
PAN (Animist) ... ..	532	588	60	980	20	...	956	12	2	531	465	4	90	765	142	17	803	180
Angul ... ..	537	529	54	1,000	...	...	992	8	...	910	57	0	302	634	54	26	872	102
Chota Nagpur Tributary States, ... ..	542	395	63	970	21	...	986	12	2	465	513	4	31	793	105	16	795	129
POD (Hindu) ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper ... ..	495	474	51	990	1	...	979	21	...	625	341	4	70	903	21	13	857	130
RAJBANSI (KOOH) (Hindu) ... ..	557	391	58	998	9	...	989	10	1	845	150	5	262	684	54	36	769	125
North Bengal ... ..	554	388	58	998	2	...	990	0	1	863	142	5	205	677	54	38	702	106
Dacca and Mymensingh ... ..	491	450	50	998	3	...	977	22	1	714	370	7	131	810	39	29	826	154
RAJPUT (Hindu) ... ..	509	454	57	992	8	...	958	40	2	729	957	14	257	695	48	70	751	179
West Bengal ... ..	491	455	54	990	1	...	992	7	1	665	333	2	216	738	40	50	771	175
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	538	409	55	991	9	...	967	32	1	757	319	24	318	642	40	103	736	167
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	509	435	56	994	6	...	961	39	1	739	253	9	250	703	47	66	756	178
Chota Nagpur ... ..	459	468	73	980	30	...	913	82	5	633	341	27	195	737	68	32	740	212
SADGOP (Hindu) ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Proper ... ..	494	436	70	990	1	...	986	14	...	853	174	3	214	741	45	46	713	341
SANTAL (Hindu) ... ..	561	416	23	998	2	...	985	15	...	821	175	4	177	798	25	18	805	87
West Bengal ... ..	488	484	28	999	1	...	986	14	...	785	313	2	130	833	29	15	805	90
Bihar ... ..	522	452	26	994	6	...	982	30	2	897	291	12	134	836	24	31	871	99
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	563	398	21	990	1	...	987	13	...	844	153	5	192	783	25	17	805	85
SANTAL (Animist) ... ..	573	405	24	997	3	...	988	12	...	826	171	3	156	816	28	14	896	90
West Bengal and Malda ... ..	559	420	21	995	3	...	996	10	...	857	141	2	163	815	32	14	908	78
Santal Parganas ... ..	579	397	25	997	3	...	946	14	...	898	158	4	146	821	39	15	892	93
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	575	400	25	998	2	...	989	11	...	857	160	3	170	805	27	10	890	100
SUNRI (SHAHA) (Hindu) ... ..	470	478	52	993	7	...	944	54	2	713	278	9	150	809	41	37	794	169
Bengal Proper ... ..	489	459	52	995	2	...	984	15	1	792	313	5	168	797	37	37	789	174
Bihar ... ..	382	552	56	971	25	1	798	192	9	407	521	22	98	840	58	31	814	155
Hazaribagh ... ..	442	510	39	980	10	1	900	130	2	440	230	24	78	881	41	45	812	133
TANTI AND TATWA (Hindu) ... ..	491	530	49	985	15	...	856	138	6	616	569	15	104	838	39	21	825	154
Bengal Proper ... ..	468	476	58	998	2	...	984	12	1	708	227	5	102	710	39	35	768	197
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	274	571	55	941	25	1	530	448	29	201	764	45	32	618	50	8	803	127
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	341	511	48	971	25	1	712	276	12	855	641	24	30	821	43	14	832	134
Orissa ... ..	473	488	39	1,000	...	...	985	15	...	795	308	3	114	802	24	14	845	141
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	503	462	35	990	1	...	978	21	1	732	261	7	115	851	34	15	803	120
TELI (Hindu) ... ..	468	543	49	983	16	1	830	165	5	593	462	15	85	871	39	19	822	159
Bengal Proper ... ..	472	470	58	990	1	...	981	15	1	729	364	7	163	796	39	32	764	204
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga ... ..	278	608	54	940	28	2	204	481	18	209	766	41	39	614	57	17	831	132
Other Bihar Districts ... ..	380	566	54	982	17	1	805	189	6	414	667	19	63	868	64	20	816	164
Orissa ... ..	471	494	35	1,000	...	...	994	15	1	745	252	3	95	873	23	7	867	132
Chota Nagpur Plateau ... ..	428	553	41	988	12	...	968	142	2	490	496	12	68	839	42	15	844	141



## AND AGE OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN SOME OF THE MAIN CASTES—concluded.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																		CASTE.
TOTAL.			0-5			5-12			12-20			20-40			40 and over.			
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	
423	481	96	992	8	—	994	72	4	504	472	24	61	845	94	7	595	598	ORAON (Hindu).
413	407	90	902	6	—	923	74	3	523	453	23	68	808	94	5	640	355	Jalpaiguri.
461	419	120	994	6	—	929	67	4	494	540	27	30	873	97	11	447	542	Chota Nagpur.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ORAON (Animist).
454	406	140	993	6	1	947	51	2	303	584	34	24	833	141	7	438	558	Chota Nagpur.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ORAON (Christian).
487	389	124	901	6	1	971	27	2	461	490	30	23	800	117	5	453	512	Ranchi.
434	430	156	998	2	—	962	57	1	472	509	19	19	884	97	6	417	577	PAN (Hindu).
402	438	180	1,000	—	—	903	37	1	484	559	17	12	873	115	5	583	612	Orissa.
480	423	117	997	3	—	963	36	1	509	470	21	23	893	94	6	450	544	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
437	445	98	995	4	1	963	54	5	511	472	17	43	872	85	16	573	411	PAN (Animist).
501	538	181	1,000	—	—	997	3	—	758	300	33	73	756	171	—	378	629	Angul.
451	450	90	906	4	1	960	38	3	476	510	14	39	889	72	15	502	383	Chota Nagpur Tributary States.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	POD (Hindu).
285	402	223	991	7	1	614	371	15	16	901	83	4	742	254	2	500	720	Bengal Proper.
351	428	221	991	7	3	845	148	7	122	811	60	11	747	242	5	247	748	RAJBANSI (KOCH) (Hindu).
349	428	223	991	8	1	844	149	7	120	821	59	10	746	244	5	243	752	North Bengal
370	438	194	999	1	—	870	118	6	241	686	73	25	763	210	9	330	661	Dacca and Mysensingh.
292	445	265	984	14	2	857	136	7	248	702	50	10	764	226	5	326	669	RAJPUT (Hindu).
285	460	246	990	4	—	754	200	7	101	835	64	6	720	274	4	315	678	West Bengal.
202	426	283	970	21	2	163	122	9	217	718	70	5	731	253	4	337	659	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
292	446	202	988	11	1	470	155	8	272	688	40	10	773	217	5	325	670	Other Bihar Districts.
500	454	246	999	31	3	761	224	13	181	737	82	14	755	231	7	390	603	Chota Nagpur.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	SADGOP (Hindu).
224	438	338	990	8	1	622	363	15	36	840	94	3	653	342	3	130	617	Bengal Proper.
466	410	124	993	6	1	949	49	2	515	459	26	52	844	104	11	469	590	SANTAL (Hindu).
394	462	134	994	8	—	925	72	3	363	504	43	23	803	115	4	465	511	West Bengal.
448	440	112	979	19	2	900	80	8	417	244	39	44	859	96	7	534	459	Bihar.
485	392	123	999	4	1	940	30	1	557	422	21	29	833	103	14	456	630	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
478	402	113	993	7	—	961	57	2	516	459	25	52	845	100	10	512	478	SANTAL (Animist).
451	420	129	996	4	—	980	53	2	440	622	29	42	840	115	9	457	534	West Bengal and Malda.
491	407	102	991	9	—	958	46	2	542	435	23	53	830	80	11	556	453	Sonthal Pargana.
483	395	122	997	3	—	972	27	1	530	430	22	67	829	104	6	469	650	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
270	473	255	978	20	2	743	247	10	106	826	68	9	743	248	4	283	708	SUNRI (SHABA) (Hindu).
268	467	274	990	3	1	770	219	8	60	841	69	8	717	275	8	256	741	Bengal Proper.
269	555	189	990	77	3	623	357	20	173	733	71	13	840	145	9	427	663	Bihar.
311	520	189	990	30	1	633	303	12	128	794	43	9	831	100	4	390	597	Hasaribagh.
269	525	206	972	27	1	670	316	14	157	814	49	9	825	166	4	374	622	TANTI AND TATWA (Hindu).
240	479	281	993	7	—	664	323	13	51	890	83	5	723	272	2	295	750	Bengal Proper.
188	632	180	987	109	4	356	605	39	53	890	57	8	879	116	3	462	545	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
247	563	170	960	46	—	536	446	14	104	868	34	10	863	121	6	452	542	Other Bihar Districts.
318	561	181	993	1	—	888	109	3	220	764	30	9	871	120	3	368	593	Orissa.
376	467	157	997	3	—	873	124	8	220	651	22	24	825	113	8	409	523	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
263	524	201	962	36	2	652	354	14	116	851	53	10	830	160	4	376	620	TELI (Hindu).
225	476	297	987	11	2	598	397	17	54	843	103	6	822	313	2	239	759	Bengal Proper.
190	643	167	973	120	7	323	626	29	45	900	44	10	850	110	3	467	510	Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.
278	542	180	961	37	2	600	254	16	150	795	49	13	856	129	5	421	569	Other Bihar Districts.
298	493	219	969	1	—	549	148	3	130	819	31	6	844	130	3	319	678	Orissa.
313	522	165	974	24	4	703	288	9	122	843	30	10	857	123	5	383	612	Chota Nagpur Plateau.



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—PROPORTIONS OF THE SEXES BY CIVIL  
CONDITION FOR RELIGIONS AND NATURAL DIVISIONS.**

*Number of Females per 1,000 Males.*

	At all ages.			0-10			10-15			15-40			40 and over		
	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<b>(1) PROVINCE.</b>															
All religions...	698	1,061	4,693	639	2,521	2,864	301	2,955	2,747	126	1,149	4,742	294	415	4,269
Hindu ...	646	986	4,514	583	2,272	2,599	581	2,413	2,453	119	1,115	4,643	222	446	4,502
Musalman ...	697	1,029	6,275	962	2,188	7,163	245	5,337	3,497	82	1,306	5,172	469	335	4,956
Animist ...	870	1,432	4,029	1,037	2,005	6,982	749	2,637	4,992	528	1,240	3,769	1,122	371	5,069
Christian ...	784	977	3,253	1,031	1,535	3,990	777	2,649	3,737	389	1,255	3,179	627	532	3,780
<b>(2) WEST BENGAL.</b>															
All religions...	545	1,000	6,017	815	14,622	17,390	193	7,979	23,415	49	1,102	8,325	98	535	5,135
Hindu ...	322	925	5,223	595	10,304	17,330	155	8,391	28,344	33	1,082	8,814	73	322	4,947
Musalman ...	600	1,022	6,791	923	9,306	18,162	262	6,146	11,050	40	1,187	6,829	222	563	6,714
<b>(3) CENTRAL BENGAL.</b>															
All religions...	537	870	5,748	597	10,158	10,370	186	7,358	11,033	48	958	6,785	119	298	5,278
Hindu ...	306	802	5,274	349	11,154	11,960	174	7,815	13,836	33	870	6,065	117	297	4,557
Musalman ...	565	943	6,673	805	9,449	9,255	184	6,093	8,454	52	1,056	6,610	244	295	6,039
<b>(4) NORTH BENGAL.</b>															
All religions...	628	943	4,945	622	7,672	8,180	275	6,174	9,090	79	1,122	4,739	210	262	4,999
Hindu ...	597	865	4,055	598	6,450	6,827	398	6,546	11,122	85	1,092	4,693	132	248	3,612
Musalman ...	641	1,010	6,251	640	8,465	9,730	226	6,082	7,940	53	1,164	4,651	373	262	7,251
<b>(5) EAST BENGAL.</b>															
All religions...	663	1,022	5,923	680	6,349	9,038	393	8,278	10,237	68	1,235	4,179	241	308	5,756
Hindu ...	586	963	5,191	645	8,878	10,163	393	9,982	15,168	44	1,144	7,961	116	279	4,584
Musalman ...	690	1,055	6,610	692	8,571	8,411	400	7,837	7,927	79	1,372	5,276	352	313	7,056
<b>(6) NORTH BIHAR.</b>															
All religions...	719	1,044	3,574	942	1,649	2,421	492	1,371	1,787	173	1,181	3,029	349	558	4,672
Hindu ...	719	1,044	3,753	929	1,613	2,853	478	1,311	1,709	165	1,162	2,879	378	605	4,404
Musalman ...	735	1,071	4,004	975	2,304	2,506	495	1,982	2,935	209	1,259	3,066	981	527	5,046
<b>(7) SOUTH BIHAR.</b>															
All religions...	721	1,024	3,557	941	1,606	2,196	445	1,477	1,665	243	1,197	2,845	427	604	3,989
Hindu ...	715	1,009	3,419	938	1,620	2,164	432	1,458	1,696	244	1,111	2,751	412	591	3,445
Musalman ...	730	1,180	5,237	960	2,137	4,553	553	2,092	2,485	230	1,431	4,435	709	649	5,749
<b>(8) ORISSA.</b>															
All religions...	695	1,089	6,060	1,509	8,788	29,737	621	7,226	17,765	173	1,321	4,994	285	482	5,791
Hindu ...	693	1,066	6,095	1,617	8,698	29,737	619	7,912	17,977	131	1,319	6,961	276	492	5,719
Musalman ...	708	1,123	10,403	960	12,293	—	682	9,285	10,590	164	1,458	6,700	527	476	11,014
<b>(9) CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.</b>															
All religions...	797	1,013	4,507	1,005	2,797	4,193	692	2,198	3,458	368	1,159	3,710	616	543	4,666
Hindu ...	709	1,007	4,383	1,000	2,811	3,945	545	2,092	3,426	269	1,134	3,701	334	562	4,915
Musalman ...	735	968	4,018	945	2,412	4,917	369	1,766	2,639	183	1,062	3,535	543	483	5,687



## Chapter VIII.

### INFIRMITIES.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

451. The infirmities regarding which information was collected at the census were the same as on previous occasions, *viz.*, unsoundness of mind, deaf-mutism, blindness, and leprosy. The instructions issued to the enumerators were identical with those of previous censuses, and were as follows:—

If any person be blind of both eyes, or deaf-and-dumb from birth, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, enter the name of the infirmity in this column. Do not enter those who are blind of one eye only, or who have become deaf-and-dumb after birth, or who are suffering from white leprosy only.

452. In considering the statistics thus collected, it must be borne in mind that they were recorded, not by experts, but by the villagers who served as enumerators, whose education was, as a rule, of a very low order, and that in the case of each infirmity there is a considerable risk of error in the diagnosis. As regards unsoundness of mind, the main difficulty is in respect of cretins and of persons who are merely weak-headed, or whose mental derangement is of a purely temporary character. The tendency at each succeeding census is to be more and more rigid in excluding such persons from the category of the insane. In respect of deaf-mutism there is a marked tendency to show in this category persons who are merely deaf on account of old age.\* In the return of the blind, there is the possibility of persons being included merely because their vision has grown dim on account of old age, or because they have lost the sight of one eye. There is a separate word (*kānā*) which is used to indicate the one-eyed, but in some places it is also used with reference to those who are totally blind. In the course of tabulation we disregarded all entries of *kānā*, but it is possible that this led occasionally to the omission of persons who were really blind. In the case of leprosy there is a tendency to show as lepers persons who are suffering from syphilitic taint or who have merely leucoderma, *i.e.*, what is commonly called white leprosy—an affection which, though sufficiently striking on the dark skin of a native of India, does not, of course, partake in any way of the nature of true leprosy. The Leprosy Commission found that of the persons produced before them as lepers by Police Inspectors and other non-medical men, about 10 per cent. were suffering from diseases other than true leprosy. The error must be still greater when the diagnosis is made by the simple villagers from whose ranks most of our enumerators were drawn.

It is thus apparent that in the case of all infirmities there is a tendency to make entries which are not contemplated by the instructions, and these can only be eliminated by careful instruction and supervision. The accuracy of the returns must therefore depend in a great measure on the extent to which the work of the enumerators is checked by the higher classes of census officers.

453. The total number of persons suffering from each infirmity, as recorded

INFIRMITY.	1891.	1891.	1891.
Insane ...	22,941	25,625	37,675
Deaf-mute ...	53,154	70,105	85,485
Blind ...	70,850	73,480	97,359
Lepers ...	37,377	46,309	56,523
Total ...	184,321	215,519	277,042

at each of the last three enumerations, is noted in the margin. The most striking feature of the figures is the progressive decline in the number of the afflicted, especially between 1881 and 1891. The decrease then recorded, far from being peculiar to Bengal, was common to almost all parts of India. It was attributed by general

consent to a more accurate enumeration, *i.e.*, to the exclusion from the returns of persons whose infirmities, whatever they might be, did not fall within the scope of the definition laid down in the instructions to the enumerators. On the present occasion also there can be little doubt that the continued decline, which is again not confined to Bengal, is due, in part at least, to the same cause. The arrangements for the supervision of our army of nearly 400,000

\* In the English census of 1891 a separate return was prepared for persons who are deaf only.



enumerators—thanks to the experience gained in the past—were more complete in 1901 than they had ever been before, and the scrutiny of the schedules was far more thorough. It is thus only natural that the elimination of erroneous entries should have been even more complete than it was in 1891. The decrease is least marked the case of the blind, where the difficulty of diagnosis is smallest, and greatest in respect of leprosy and deaf-mutism, where error is most likely to occur. I should not omit to mention that the general change of system in working out the results of the census referred to in the introduction was not, in Bengal, applied to the infirmity table, which was obtained by means of the old method of abstraction by ticks; and I have shown elsewhere\* that the abstraction was very carefully supervised and that the whole of the tabulation, or addition of the figures in the abstraction sheets, was checked in the head office. Consequently, so far as the compilation of the entries is concerned, it is probable that the omissions, if any, must have been very small indeed, and were certainly not greater than at any previous census.

454. The statistics collected regarding infirmities will be found in Imperial Table XII. At the end of this chapter subsidiary tables will be found showing—

- (i) the number of persons afflicted in each district per 100,000 of the population at each of the last three censuses;
- (ii) the distribution of 10,000 persons of each infirmity by age; and
- (iii) the number of persons afflicted per 100,000 of the population at each age-period, and the number of females afflicted to 1,000 males.
- (iv) The result of certain enquiries made after the census regarding persons returned as deaf-mute.

## INSANITY.

455. The total number of the insane returned at the present census is less by 10 per cent. than the number returned in 1891.

COMPARISON WITH 1891.

Some of the decrease is doubtless due, as already explained, to the greater care taken to ensure accuracy, and to the exclusion, in the course of tabulation, of entries such as *unmād* (weak-headed) or *ādhpāgal* (half-witted), which indicate only a minor form of mental aberration, but an examination of the age-table shows that this cause has not operated to any great extent. Imbecility is usually a congenital affection; and if the decrease were due mainly to the exclusion on this occasion of a larger proportion of imbeciles than in 1891, there would be a marked difference between the proportion borne by the insane to the total population during the earlier years of life. The diagram given in paragraph 460, however, shows that it is precisely at this period that there is least difference between the results of the two enumerations, and that it is not until the later years of life that the difference between the two sets of figures becomes very marked. Moreover, this explanation would not account for the variations in the rate of decrease, which are to be noticed in different parts of the Province. In Orissa and the Chota Nagpur Plateau the proportion borne by the insane to the total population is very much the same as it was ten years ago, and in West Bengal, which adjoins these tracts, the decrease is comparatively slight. It is greatest in East Bengal and North Bihar, but especially in the former tract, where the uninterrupted prosperity of the people and the consequent absence of want and worry, which are known to conduce to brain affections, may possibly account to some extent for the improvement. In Dacca it has been suggested that the diminished consumption of ganja, due to the higher price of that drug, may also have contributed to the result. In North Bihar the decade was by no means favourable, and a succession of bad crops has impoverished the people. The insane, when not in asylums, are to a great extent dependent on the charity of their neighbours for subsistence, and it is well known that the first result of scarcity is to dry up the springs of private benevolence. During the famines of 1891 and 1896 every effort was made to supply food to idiots and lunatics, in common with others who, by reason of age or infirmity, were incapable of earning their living; but owing to the nature of their affliction, the insane are, of all people, the most difficult to find and relieve, and doubtless they suffered more than any other class. It is to be feared therefore that in North Bihar a great part of the decrease in the number of these unfortunates

\* Administrative Report, Chapter II, page 53.

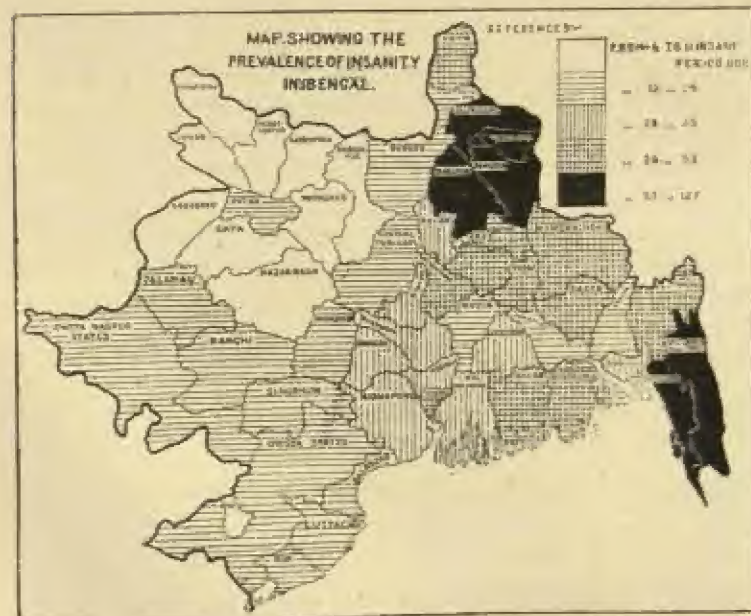


must be attributed to the difficulties experienced by them in procuring sufficient nourishment during the two periods of scarcity that have occurred since the previous census. In Champaran, where the decrease is most marked, the Magistrate thinks that it must be due, in part at least, to a stricter definition of what constitutes unsoundness of mind, i.e., to the more complete exclusion of the semi-imbecile deaf-mutes who are so frequently met with in that district. I shall refer to this subject again when discussing the statistics of deaf-mutism. There were 943 lunatics in the asylums of this Province at the end of the year 1900, compared with 1,055 ten years previously. Assuming that there has been no change in the principles on which lunatics are admitted to asylums, these figures would appear to show that dangerous lunatics are really less numerous than they were ten years ago.

456. In comparison with European countries mental disease would appear to be comparatively rare in India. In England there are about 13 persons of unsound mind to one in India. This is due partly to the fact that in Europe many persons who suffer from imbecility or from other harmless manifestations of mental disease, or whose attacks are periodical, are included, whereas in India they are not usually taken into consideration; but the main reason is doubtless to be found in the very different conditions of life in the East. In Europe the competition between man and man is severe, and is yearly becoming more so. The mental wear and tear is very great, and the strain on the nervous system deranges many feeble intellects which in the calm and placid East would escape the storms to which they succumb. A crazy craft often plies with safety on inland waters that would not live for a day in the stress of the open sea.

As compared with the other large provinces of India, the proportion of the insane in Bengal is exceeded only in the Punjab, and is more than double that of the United Provinces. Bengal, however, consists of several sub-provinces with entirely different local conditions. The prevalence of insanity amongst the population of Bihar is, if anything, rather less than in the United Provinces, while in Northern and Eastern Bengal it is more common than in the adjoining Province of Assam.

457. Insanity is most prevalent in North Bengal, and especially in Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, and Kuch Bihar. Then follows East Bengal with very high figures for Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts; then the other districts of Bengal Proper, Orissa, South Bihar,\* Chota Nagpur, and North Bihar in order in which enumerated.





are the main centres of insanity, as distinguished from cretinism\*. It is true that the tract in North Bengal, where insanity is most rife, borders on the Himalayas, but so also does North Bihar, where it is least prevalent.† There is perhaps more to be said for Mr. O'Donnell's view that the result is due to differences of race rather than locality, and that the Mongoloid tribes, which form the main ingredient in the population of Northern and Eastern Bengal, are more prone to mental disease than the inhabitants of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, whose origin is, in the main, Dravidian. But here, too, the facts do not altogether fit in. The Mongoloid population, though great in North Bengal and Goalpara, is still greater higher up the Assam Valley. It would seem therefore that insanity should increase steadily as one proceeds eastwards across the Assam border. As a matter of fact, however, its incidence in the Brahmaputra Valley is greatest in Goalpara, which adjoins the great centre of the disease in Bengal, and rapidly decreases towards the east. The fact seems to be that while the Mongoloid races as a whole are far more prone to insanity than the Dravidian, the Koch is the tribe that suffers from it more than any other. The main habitat of this tribe is in the tract where insanity is most prevalent, *i.e.*, in North Bengal and in Goalpara in Assam; east of Goalpara the true Koch element forms a smaller proportion of the population. The proposed explanation does not account for the high ratio of insanity in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, but here also it is doubtless a matter of race, as this district adjoins Burma, and insanity is very prevalent amongst the Burmese.‡

458. Amongst the causes generally cited as productive of mental derangement the consumption of ganja stands high. The finding of the Hemp Drugs Commission was that the moderate use of ganja does no appreciable harm to the brain, although, when taken in excess, which is very rarely the case, it may induce insanity, especially when there is any weakness or hereditary predisposition,§ but this view does not seem to have received general acceptance. The enquiries made regarding the causes of insanity in cases sent to asylums in Bengal in 1901 resulted in the conclusion that in three quarters of the total number the causes were physical, and that of these the habitual use of ganja was the chief. However this may be, there appears to be no correspondence in this province between the consumption of the drug and the prevalence of insanity. Excluding Calcutta, the consumption is greatest in Purnea and Shahabad, where insanity is rare. Then come the 24-Parganas, Jalpaiguri, Mymensingh, Patna, and Monghyr. Jalpaiguri is one of the districts where the disease is most common, but it is less so than in Rangpur, where the average consumption of the drug is barely half of that in the districts mentioned above. It may, however, be mentioned that, concurrently with a decrease in the prevalence of insanity, the consumption of ganja has fallen off in this province.

Consanguineous marriages are also said to tend to insanity, but it does not appear that such marriages are more common than elsewhere in the districts where mental disease is most prevalent.

459. In most countries the number of insane males greatly exceeds that of females.|| This is especially the case in India, where the women lead a quiet, secluded, and monotonous life; they are restrained from the excesses of various

PROPORTIONS OF THE SEXES AND  
AGE DISTRIBUTION.

\* I have already said that the general tendency of census officers was to exclude cretins from the category of the insane, and it will be seen from Subsidiary Table IV that of 105 deaf-mutes who were found by subsequent enquiry to be also half-witted, very few appear to have been returned at the census as insane.

† The total number of persons who were entered by the enumerators as insane as well as deaf-mute was only 866, or at the rate of 29 per 1,000 persons returned as insane.

‡ The rapidity with which the prevalence of insanity diminishes as one leaves the area of maximum intensity is very remarkable. In the Kishanganj subdivision of Purnea, which adjoins Jalpaiguri, the number of insane per 100,000 is only 26, against 71 in Jalpaiguri; in the Araria subdivision of the same district it is 14, and in the Supaul subdivision of Bhagalpur it is barely 7. Similarly, in the three northernmost thanas of Dinajpur it is 67, against a district average of 67, and in Malda, which is south of Dinajpur, it is only 29.

§ An examination of the age statistics for the insane in the Chittagong Hill Tracts shows that the number at the earlier ages is higher than elsewhere. It is thus possible that a comparatively large proportion of idiots has been included in the returns. This tract was one where the census presented special difficulties, and the training of the enumerators and the supervision of their work were necessarily less elaborate than elsewhere.

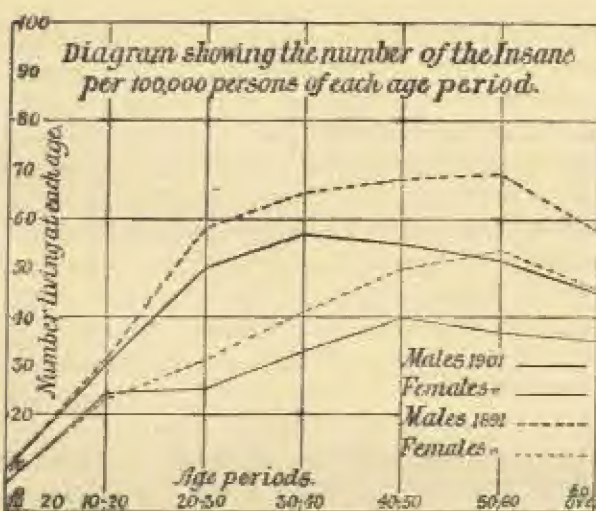
|| This was the finding of the majority. Two members only of seven were of opinion that the use of these drugs is a fertile cause of insanity.

¶ It does not do so in England, but this is because there the female lunatics die, or are cured, less rapidly than the male, and therefore accumulate more rapidly. It is estimated that, for equal numbers living, the occurrence of lunacy is nearly 6 per cent. more common in the male than in the female sex.



kinds in which men indulge; their work is lighter, and they suffer less from hardship, exposure, and anxiety. In Bengal the proportion of males to females is roughly as 3 to 2; the ratio has fallen slightly since 1891, but it is still greater than that then recorded for India as a whole. The proportion of females to males is highest in North Bengal (5 to 6), where insanity is most prevalent, and next highest in East Bengal (3 to 4); in other parts of the province the ratio is almost uniform (1 to 2).<sup>\*</sup> The only apparent explanation of the higher proportion of females in the tracts where it is most common is that in these tracts hereditary predisposition enters more largely into the causation of the affliction; whereas elsewhere, extraneous circumstances, such as excesses of various kinds, worry, etc., by which males are most affected, are the most common causes of mental derangement.

460. The proportions of the sexes at the different age-periods vary greatly. At the two extremes of life the figures approach equality, but the proportion of females steadily declines from both ends until it reaches a minimum



at the age-period, "25 to 30," when there is only one female who is insane to every two males. The figures for both sexes are small in early youth, when there is a natural reluctance on the part of the relatives of persons thus afflicted to recognize the existence of the disease, and the increase during the early years of life is probably only apparent. From 20 to 30 the proportion of the insane amongst females is almost stationary; it then rises slowly, until it reaches its maximum between the ages of 40 and 50, i.e., at the change of life, and it then declines slightly at the

higher age-periods. Amongst males, on the other hand, there is a rapid increase of insanity between the ages of 20 and 30, the season of the passions, and a more gradual rise takes place up to 40, when the ratio again declines. The general tendency of the age statistics is to confirm the conclusion that, on the whole, cretinism enters to a very small extent into the census returns, and that the great majority of the persons shown as of unsound mind belong to the category of lunatics properly so called.

## DEAF-MUTISM.

461. The figures for the deaf-mute show a decrease of 24 per cent., compared with the last census. Except in parts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where the return of 1891 was probably not very complete, the general result is shared by all parts of the province. It is attributed by District Officers to the elimination from the return of persons who are deaf only, and there can be no room for doubt as to the truth of this explanation. Deaf-mutism is a congenital defect, and deaf-mutes are known to be relatively short-lived. Consequently, the proportion of the deaf and dumb to the total number of persons living at each age-period should show a steady decline, and a reference to the diagram given in paragraph 465 below will show that, after allowing for an incomplete return for those under ten years of age, this is, on the whole, the case at the present census. In 1891, on the other hand, the proportion rises rapidly at the higher ages, and the same was still more markedly the case at the census of 1881. This shows clearly that on both those occasions many persons must have been included who were not really deaf-mute, but who had lost the sense of hearing in their old age. The improvement in the accuracy of the present return is due not only to a more careful preparation of the original entries, but also to the exclusion in the course of tabulation of all persons entered only as deaf.

<sup>\*</sup> The proportion in East Bengal is very much the same as in the adjoining province of Assam, and that in Bihar agrees closely with the proportion in the United Provinces.



Specific instructions were given to tabulate only those who were shown as "deaf and dumb." No such instructions appear to have been issued in 1891, and it is probable that in many, if not most, districts persons entered as "deaf" were then treated as if they were "deaf and dumb." Unfortunately I omitted to keep a separate return of the persons entered merely as "deaf," and it is therefore not possible to say how far the difference of procedure in tabulating the results has contributed to the total decrease, and to what extent it is due to the greater accuracy of the original record.

462. The occurrence of deaf-mutism is somewhat more common in India

COMPARISON WITH OTHER  
COUNTRIES AND PROVINCES.

than in Europe, but the difference is not very marked. In India, as a whole, in 1891, nine males and six females were thus afflicted in a population of 10,000 of each sex; the corresponding figures disclosed by the present census of Bengal are eight males and five females. The relative prevalence of deaf-mutism in Bengal and the other large provinces of India is noted in the margin.

PROVINCE.	Number of deaf-mutes per 10,000.
Bengal ...	7
United Provinces...	4
Punjab ...	8
Madras ...	6
Bombay ...	4

The affliction is most common in the Punjab. Then comes Bengal, then Madras. The great difference between the figures for Bengal and the United Provinces is remarkable, as in Bengal deaf-mutism is most prevalent in the tract which adjoins those Provinces, *viz.*, in North Bihar.

463. The districts where deaf-mutism is most prevalent are Sikkim, Cham-

LOCAL DISTRIBUTION.

paran,\* Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Kuch Bihar, Saran, Muzaffarpur, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Pabna. With the exception of Pabna, all these tracts



are Himalayan or sub-Himalayan. This agrees with the experience of the last census, when it was stated by the Census Commissioner that "the main prevalence is located in the Himalayas or along the rivers flowing directly from that system. It is here frequently combined with cretinism and goitre."

An examination of the statistics for individual thanas in North Bihar seems to show that the affliction is most rife along the course of the Little or

the Buri Gandak river, and also, though to a less extent, along the Bāgmāti and the upper reaches of the Gandak. In Champaran it is most prevalent in the south and south-west of the district, which is watered both by the Great and the Little Gandak, but is worst in Motihāri, which does not touch the Great, but is bisected by the Buri Gandak and its tributary, the Dhanauti river.† In Saran the tracts in the north of the district, where the Gandak divides it from Champaran, are most affected, though far less so than the country on the other side of that river. From the point where the Gandak leaves the Champaran district its connection with the prevalence of deaf-mutism seems to cease, and the thanas along its banks in Muzaffarpur and South Saran are comparatively free from the affliction. In Muzaffarpur the Sadar thana, which contains the whole course of the Buri Gandak in the district and

\* The prevalence of idiocy (with which deaf-mutism is closely associated) in Champaran has passed into a proverb. Majhowa is the name of a pargana in Champaran, and the question *Kahān kī Majhowa?* i.e., "what part of Majhowa do you hail from?" is a polite way of telling a person he is a fool.

† The Dhanauti river has a specially bad reputation for its poisonous qualities and its tendency to cause goitre, and the two worst circles in the Motihāri thana are on its banks. But even so, the average number of deaf-mutes per circle is higher in the case of the circles watered by the Srikreha, or Buri Gandak, than in those watered by the Dhanauti.



also part of that of the Bāgmāti, suffers nearly twice as much as any other thana, and then come Sitamarhi and Shiuhar on the banks of the Bāgmāti. In Darbhanga the affliction is most common in Warisnagar, which is bounded by these two rivers, and then in Samastipur and Dalsingh Sarai, which lie between the Buri Gandak and the Ganges. These three thanas taken together contain barely a quarter of the total population of the district, but they are responsible for two-fifths of the deaf-mutes.\* Following the Buri Gandak into Monghyr we find deaf-mutism more common along its course than in other parts of the district. The infirmity is most prevalent in Tegra and Begu Sarai thanas which are watered by it, and next to them, though at some distance, in Gogri through which the Bāgmāti flows. In Bhagalpur there are two areas of special prevalence, viz., the Colgong, Bihpur and Bhagalpur thanas which adjoin the Ganges, and the Pratapganj and Supaul thanas in the extreme north of the district on the right bank of the Kosi. In Purnea the infirmity is excessively rife along the course of the Kamla river, especially in thanas Purnea, Araria and Amur Kasba, where the average incidence is double that of the other parts of the district. Then follow Matuari and Saifganj, which also contain a small portion of the course of the same river, and Balarampur. Balarampur is on the left bank of the Mahānandā, but the other thanas adjoining this river have a relatively low proportion of deaf-mutes. In Jalpaiguri the immigrants form so large a proportion of the total population that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusion as to the comparative liability of the inhabitants of different parts of the district. So far as the figures go deaf-mutism is most prevalent in the tract of country between the Tista and the Mahānandā, which is watered by the old Karātoyā:† but this may be due to the comparatively small proportion of immigrants in this part of the district.

The figures for Pabna are difficult to understand, but they are not peculiar to the present census, and both in 1881 and 1891 Pabna occupied a high place in the list of districts where this infirmity was most prevalent. The affliction is most frequent in the Sirajganj subdivision, where there are 119 deaf-mutes per 100,000 of the population, against only 57 in the rest of the district. The Civil Surgeon informs me that the disease is most frequently met with amongst the lower classes inhabiting the country near the Jamuna river, and that goitre is here very common. He says, "goitre and cretinism appear to go hand-in-hand, and they develop under the same conditions. The cretin is generally unable to speak, and his hearing also is defective." The soil near the Jamuna is, he says, sandy and damp and non-calcareous. The statistics of other districts disclose no general excess of deaf-mutism along the bank of the Jamuna, but it is certainly very common in the riparian thanas of Mymensingh, opposite to, and above, Sirajganj, where persons suffering from the affliction are twice as common as in other parts of the district, and goitre is also unusually frequent. In the two southern thanas of Bogra, which adjoin Sirajganj, deaf-mutism is more than twice as prevalent as in the rest of the district. In the affected tract in Mymensingh there are several moribund rivers, and the same is the case in Sirajganj and Bogra.

461. There seems to be little, if any, connection between the reported prevalence of insanity and deaf-mutism. In some cases

#### CONNECTION BETWEEN INSANITY AND DEAF-MUTISM.

the figures for both infirmities are high, but it nearly as often happens that the one infirmity is very prevalent where the other is comparatively rare. Deaf-mutism is most rife in North Bihar, where the returns show insanity to be less common than in any other part of the province. The reason for this want of correspondence seems to be that, as already explained, cretinism, which is the form of unsoundness of mind commonly associated with deaf-mutism, enters but to a very small extent into the returns of insanity. Where the same person was both deaf-mute and a cretin, the enumerator contented himself with entering him as deaf-mute‡.

\* There were 58 Census Circles in Warisnagar and 298 deaf-mutes, or an average of 5·1 per Circle. Twenty of the Circles are on the bank of the Buri Gandak, and these contain 185 deaf-mutes, or 9·25 per Circle. This leaves only 113 for the remaining 38 Circles, or an average of 3 each. So also in Samastipur. There were 93 Circles with 333 deaf-mutes of whom 61 were in 10 Circles on the bank of the Buri Gandak, the average being 6·1 per Circle against 3·3 in the rest of the thana.

† It is called Koriā on the map, but it is clear from Buchanan Hamilton's account quoted by Hunter that it is really an old channel of the Karātoyā.

‡ Mr. Bernard, Magistrate of Champaran, writes:—"There are many deaf-mutes who are also cretins. These have no doubt been entered as deaf-mutes. One sees them going out with the village children to tend the cattle, and sometimes deaf-mute idiots tend cattle alone. One such tends cattle in my catecherry compound. I suspect that such men have not usually been entered as insane, because they have some intelligence."



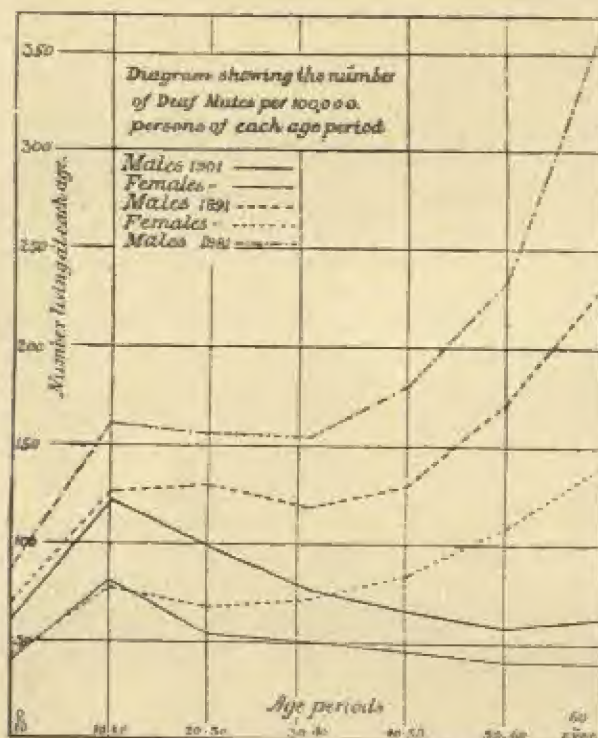
Of 53,154 persons returned as deaf-mute only 666 were returned also as insane, but the result of special enquiries made after the census (Subsidiary Table IV) shows that a very large proportion of the deaf-mute population are also half-witted. Many also suffer from goitre.

465. As in the case of the insane, so also amongst deaf-mutes, males in all

PROPORTION OF THE SEXES AND  
AGE DISTRIBUTION.

countries preponderate over females. This phenomenon is common to most forms of congenital malformation. In England and Wales the proportion of males to females in 1891 was as 6 to 5, and in Scotland as 9 to 6, or the same as in India as a whole. In Bengal the proportion is now as 8 to 5, or approximately the same as it was ten years ago. This infirmity being congenital and sufferers from it being comparatively short-lived, the highest proportion of the deaf-mutes must necessarily be at the early ages, but parents are reluctant to recognize the existence of the aural defect in their children so long as

there is any hope of its proving to be only temporary. The census reports for the earlier years of life are thus very imperfect, and the diagram in the margin shows that the highest reported proportion is not reached till the second age-period is entered. If the actual rate of decrease in the proportion of the deaf-mutes to the total population is the same from the years 0 to 10 as it is from 10 to 20, it would seem that, at the earlier ages, the number of deaf-mutes of both sexes actually returned is only about two-fifths of the true number; that is to say, the total number of deaf-mutes in Bengal is probably greater by 2,305, or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., than the number shown in Table XII. After the age of 20 the proportion of deaf-mutes shows a steady decrease, in marked contrast to the figures for earlier enumera-



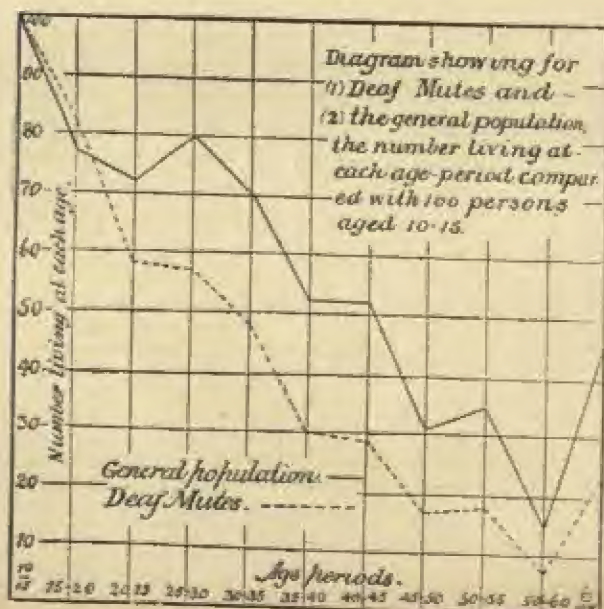
tions, when the inclusion of persons becoming deaf in after-life led to a rapid rise in the proportions at the higher ages.

466. As this disease is from birth, a comparison of the ages of the deaf-mute with those of the general population would, if the return were correct, show their relative longevity.

DURATION OF LIFE OF THE  
DEAF-MUTE.

The diagram in the margin shows the proportional distribution by age of 100 persons ten years of age and over who are

deaf-mutes, and also of 100 such persons taken from the population as a whole. Persons under ten years of age are excluded from consideration, owing to the untrustworthiness of the return at the lower ages, to which reference has already been made. For the purpose of this diagram the uncorrected ages have been taken, as the point under consideration is the proportion borne by the deaf-mute to the total number of persons returned at each age-period, and it may be assumed that whatever error attaches to the age-return affects that of the general population and of the deaf-mute to exactly the same extent. It appears that





the number of deaf-mutes aged 10 who live to the age of "25—30" is barely three-quarters as great as that of persons not so afflicted, while at "50—55" the survivors amongst the deaf-mutes are only half as numerous as those amongst the general population.

## BLINDNESS.

467. There has been a slight decrease in the number of the blind in comparison with 1891, but the difference between the two returns is far less marked than in the case of the

COMPARISON WITH 1891.

other infirmities. Taking the province as a whole, there were 2,621 fewer blind persons in 1901 than there were ten years previously. There has been a great development during the decade in the operative treatment of eye-diseases in the public dispensaries. Comparative figures dealing with the treatment of eye-cases generally might be misleading, as in many instances the treatment affects one eye only, or refers to some affection of the eyes other than total loss of sight. This, however, is not the case with cataract, which is the form of blindness in which medical relief is chiefly effective, and the annual returns published by the Inspector-General of Hospitals show that there were no less than 15,987 successful operations for cataract during the decade preceding the census of 1901, against only 2,434 during the previous ten years. Taken by themselves, these figures would seem to indicate that the decrease in the number of the blind is fully accounted for by the greater activity of the medical establishments.\*

But before this conclusion can be fully accepted, it is necessary to examine the details for sex and age. It thus appears that the number of blind males has slightly increased; and that while the whole decrease is amongst females, it has occurred almost entirely at the higher ages, *i.e.*, from 50 upwards. There has also been a marked diminution of blindness amongst males at the same ages, but in their case this has been more than counterbalanced by an increase in the earlier years of life. In respect of both sexes taken together, there is a slight increase

YEAR OF CENSUS.	NUMBER OF BLIND PERSONS			
	Under 50 years of age.		Aged 50 and over.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1891	22,046	16,008	15,319	19,509
1901	22,893	16,141	14,000	17,295
Variation	+775	-464	-659	-2,274

in the number under 50 years of age, and the net decline is due to the smaller figures returned for the higher ages.

468. In a paper recently contributed to the *Indian Medical Gazette* by Captain R. H. Maddox, M.B., I.M.S., reviewing the result of operations for cataract in the Saran district during the decade 1891—1900, an interesting analysis is given of the age and sex of the patients. The great majority of the patients were over 45 years of age at the time of the operation. In the absence of age statistics for other districts, it may perhaps be assumed that they correspond fairly closely to those reported from Saran. If therefore the decrease in blindness brought out by our returns had been distributed with fair uniformity over both sexes, the age statistics, even allowing for the high rate of mortality amongst people thus advanced in life,

AGE-PERIOD.	Number of persons operated on.
30—35	21
35—40	70
40—45	239
45—50	341
50—55	360
55—60	287
60 and over	226
Total	1,484

would confirm the explanation suggested by a comparison of the bare totals with the dispensary returns, that the improvement is wholly due to the great extension of medical relief that has taken place. The Saran statistics show that of the 1,484 operations, 845 were performed on females and only 639 on males: but these proportions appear to be exceptional. The sexes are not distinguished in the provincial returns prepared by the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals; but judging from the figures for the districts noted in the margin with which I have been favoured by the Civil Surgeons, it would seem that as a rule the males outnumber the females. It follows that

\* The extraordinary increase in the number of operations for cataract is due, to a great extent, to the general use of cocaine as an anæsthetic. In England, where the ratio of the blind per million enumerated has decreased from 1,021 in 1851 to 809 in 1891, the result is assigned to the greater precaution taken to prevent the ravages of purulent ophthalmia, the improvement in surgical treatment of affections of the eyes, and the diminished prevalence of such diseases as small-pox, to which a not inconsiderable amount of blindness was formerly due.



though the great increase in the number of operations for cataract has caused a marked diminution in the total blind population, it cannot be held to account for the relatively greater decrease amongst females. This must be attributed mainly to the greater care taken at the recent census to exclude from the returns cases of senile dimness of vision not really amounting to actual blindness, which, as will be seen below, are much more numerous amongst females than amongst males.

DISTRICT.	Number of successful operations for cataract during the period 1906-1909.	
	Male.	Female.
Midnapur ...	198	48
Rajshahi ...	187	92
Patna ...	567	319
Gaya ...	874	543
Shahabad ...	744	831
Darbhanga ...	380	209
Muzaffarpur ...	218	93
Bhagalpur ...	113	57
Monghyr ...	303	170
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>3,584</b>	<b>2,362</b>

Turning to the variations in different parts of the province, it appears that there has been a considerable increase in the prevalence of blindness in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and Western Bengal, a slight diminution in Central and North Bengal and in South Bihar, and a considerable one in East Bengal, North Bihar, and Orissa. The Sonthal Parganas and the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur now show a greater proportion of blind than they did even in 1881; but as the present figures are in neither case excessive, compared with those for the neighbouring tracts, it is probable that the result is due to a more accurate enumeration rather than to any real increase in the actual number of persons afflicted. The enumeration of both these areas presents special difficulties, and there are good reasons for believing that these difficulties were met more successfully at the present census than on previous occasions. The spread of the infirmity in West Bengal may, perhaps, be attributed to the development of coal-mining and also to the greater use of coal as fuel in the huts of the people. In North Bihar it is possible that the decrease is due in part to the privations endured by the blind in the famine years.

469. The prevalence of blindness in Bengal, as shown by the present census, is almost identical with that in England in 1891. Comparative figures for the other large provinces of India according to the recent census are given in the margin. According to these figures blindness is slightly more common in Bengal than in Bombay and Madras, and much less so than in Upper India. It will be seen, however, in the next paragraph that the distribution of the blind varies so greatly in the different sub-provinces that a comparison of the figures for Bengal as a whole is not of much utility. The proportion of the blind in South Bihar approximates very closely to that in the United Provinces which it adjoins.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER PROVINCES.

PROVINCE.	Number of blind persons per 100,000.
Bengal ...	90
Bombay ...	86
Madras ...	89
United Provinces ...	170
Punjab ...	291

470. The prevalence of blindness is to a great extent determined by climate.

LOCAL DISTRIBUTION.



It is most frequent in a hot and dry climate, where the glare and dust are highly prejudicial to the eyesight, and is comparatively rare in a cool or damp country, where a profusion of green vegetation rests the eye and where there is a comparative absence of dust.

The distribution of the blind in Bengal is in accordance with what might be expected from these considerations. It is most common in South Bihar, especially in Patna and Shahabad. Then comes the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where Manbhum suffers most, and



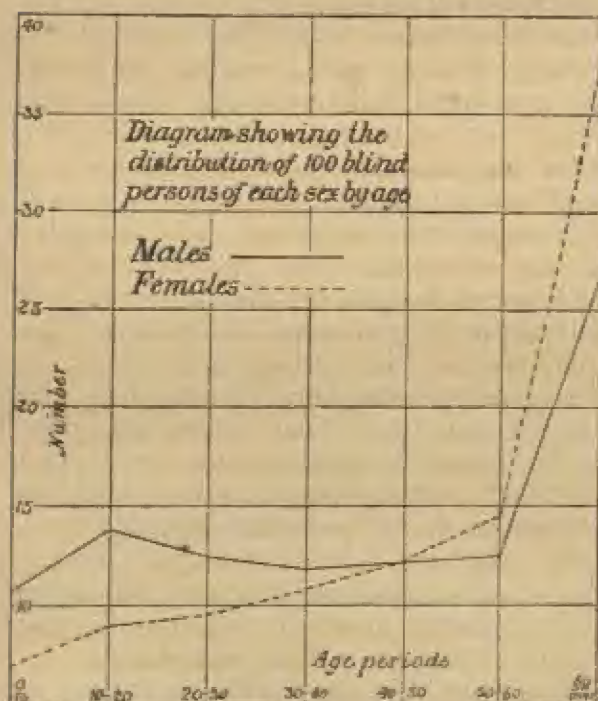
then West Bengal and North Bihar. Then follow, *longo intervallo*, North Bengal, Orissa, and Central and Eastern Bengal. In these last-mentioned tracts blindness is less than half as common as it is in South Bihar. Small-

DIVISION.	Number of deaths from small-pox per 100,000 of the population.
West Bengal ...	263
Central " ...	105
North " ...	34
East " ...	81
North Bihar ...	109
South " ...	383
Chota Nagpur ...	191
Plateau, Orissa ...	1,251

pox often results in blindness, but the proportion of the persons who have thus lost their eyesight to the total number of the blind is not sufficiently great to enable any correspondence to be established between the occurrence of this disease and of blindness. The proportion of deaths from small-pox during the last ten years in each natural division is shown in the margin. Orissa suffers far more than any other part of the province, but it has a comparatively small blind population. Central Bengal suffers three times as much from small-pox as North Bengal, but it has a smaller proportion of persons afflicted with blindness.

471. There is a slight excess of males over females amongst the blind of this province, amounting roughly to 10 per cent., or about the same as in England. In 1891 also the

males were in excess, though to a smaller extent than on the present occasion. In other provinces the female blind are usually more numerous than the males. The excess of the latter in Bengal is most marked in the earlier years of life, when it is probably due, in part, to congenital affections of the eye, from which, like all congenital defects, males suffer more than females. It is also due, possibly, to some small extent, to the concealment of blindness amongst girls of marriageable age. Though less marked, the excess of males continues throughout the years of active life, *i.e.*, up to the age of 50. During these years it may be attributed partly to the survival of persons suffering from congenital blindness, and partly to the harder work and greater exposure to which men are liable. Between the ages of 50 and 60, blind females are in slight excess, and from 60 onwards they greatly outnumber the males. This, however, is because the absolute number of women at the higher ages exceeds that of men, and the



proportional figures show that even at this age blindness is slightly more prevalent among the latter than the former. At the same time the proportion which those who become blind in old age bears to the total number of the blind is much greater amongst females. These results may be attributed on the one hand to the comparative freedom enjoyed by females during the active period of life from the risks and exposure which often cause blindness in men, and on the other to the cumulative effects of a lifetime spent in dark rooms and of the acrid smoke from the fires at which they cook their food. The probability that this explanation is the true one is increased by the figures for East and North Bengal, where the houses are, comparatively speaking,

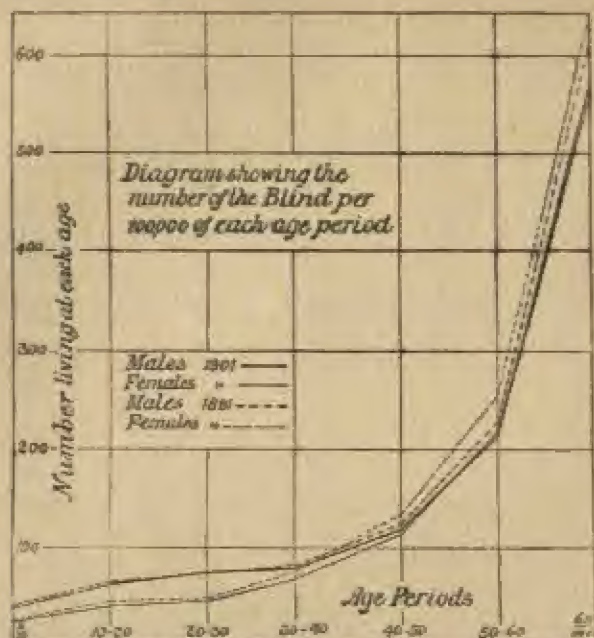
ing, large and well-ventilated. The excess of the female blind at the higher ages is here far less marked than in Bihar, Chota Nagpur, and West Bengal.\*

472. Unlike deaf-mutism, which is a congenital affection, and leprosy and insanity, which are diseases of early manhood and middle age, blindness usually attacks the old. This

\* It is probable, however, the above conditions usually result in great dimness of vision rather than absolute loss of sight, and that our returns still include a certain proportion of old persons with indistinct vision who cannot strictly be called blind.



is clearly seen from the annexed diagram. In youth this affliction is very



rare. It becomes slightly more common as the years advance, but it is not until after 40 that the liability to it increases at all rapidly. There is a remarkable uniformity between the age distribution in 1891 and that on the present occasion up the age-period "30—40," and it is only in the later years of life that the curves show any appreciable difference.

It is from 40 onwards that cataract is the most fertile cause of blindness. At the earlier ages the affliction is due mainly to other causes, chief amongst which may be mentioned opacity of the cornea due to neglected conjunctivitis in infancy. The proportion of blind persons at the earlier ages is, however, relatively very small, and

more than half of the total number are over 45 years of age.

## LEPROSY.

473. The census of 1881 showed a considerable increase in the number of

THE LEPROSY COMMISSION OF  
1890-91.

lepers in India, and some years later, when public attention was attracted to the subject by the death of Father Damien, who for sixteen years had devoted himself to the relief of the Hawaiian lepers, these figures were taken as indicating a rapid spread of the disease, and a Leprosy Commission was appointed to visit India and enquire into the etiology and spread of the disease, and the means by which it might be stamped out. This was in 1890. The census of 1891, which was taken while the Commission was still in India, showed a marked general decline in the number of lepers, and the Commission had no difficulty in disposing of the cry that had been raised that leprosy was an imperial danger. The findings of the Commission on other points may be summarized as follows:—The disease has no marked tendency to spread either by hereditary transmission or by contagion, but in the great majority of cases it originates *de novo*.\* No race is exempt from the disease, but the poor and destitute are attacked much more frequently than the rich and prosperous. No article of diet, *e.g.*, fish, can be held to cause the disease, but it is possible that some kinds of food may render the system more ready to contract it. The same conclusion applies to insanitary surroundings and syphilis. No geological formation and no locality can claim to be free from the disease, and no correspondence can be traced between its occurrence and variations in the temperature; but its diffusion seems to vary inversely with the dryness of the climate, and the tracts which suffer most are generally those where endemic cholera is most prevalent. The most recent investigations made regarding the causation of leprosy are those carried out in South Africa by Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, F.R.S. The conclusion arrived at by him is that in that country at least, it is spread mainly by the use of badly-cured fish.

474. The present census shows a continued decrease in the prevalence of the disease, and the number of lepers now recorded

COMPARISON WITH 1891.

is less by 19 per cent. than it was in 1891. The improvement is shared by all parts of the province except the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where Manbhum and the Sonthal Parganas show a much wider diffusion of leprosy than in 1891. As these districts border on Bankura and Birbhum, where it is more prevalent than in any other part of Bengal or, for that matter, of India, it is not unlikely that there has been a genuine

\* The Berlin International Conference of 1877, held that the disease is caused by a bacillus whose life history is unknown, but that it probably enters the system by the nose and mucous membrane. It also held that the disease is contagious but not hereditary.



spread of the disease. Outside Chota Nagpur, the least improvement is shown in Orissa: elsewhere the decrease is very marked. In South Bihar and Saran it is reported that the lepers suffered more from plague than any other class of the community, and Mr. Oldham, Magistrate of Gaya, states that since the plague epidemic he has noticed a marked diminution in their number in Gaya town. Their mode of living and the sores engendered by their disease would naturally render them specially liable to infection. The decrease, however, is equally noticeable in Central and Eastern Bengal, where there has been no wide-spread outbreak of plague, and most district officers attribute it to the greater accuracy of the present return, *i.e.* to the exclusion of other complaints, such as leucoderma and secondary syphilis, which would have been entered as leprosy but for the care that was taken to examine and correct the census schedules. There is also a fairly wide-spread opinion that the disease is really becoming less common. The decline of leprosy in Europe is attributed mainly to improved hygienic habits and surroundings, and to increased material prosperity, and it may be hoped that the same causes will gradually bring about its disappearance from India.

475. Excluding the small province of Assam, where leprosy is unusually

COMPARISON WITH OTHER PROVINCES.

PROVINCE.	Number of lepers per 100,000.
Bengal ... ..	48
United Provinces ...	23
Punjab ... ..	19
Madras ... ..	35
Bombay ... ..	27

prevalent, the disease is more common in Bengal than in any other province in India. Comparative figures for the larger provinces are noted in the margin. Next to Bengal the disease is most rife in Madras. In the United Provinces and the Punjab there is only half the amount of leprosy that there is in Bengal. Even in Bihar, which adjoins the United Provinces, leprosy is far more prevalent than it is on the other side of the border. It is impossible to offer any satisfactory explanation of these variations so long as the conditions which conduce to the spread of leprosy are so obscure.

As already noticed, the Leprosy Commissioners professed themselves unable to establish any connection between leprosy and the causes which are commonly adduced to account for it.

476. The local distribution of leprosy is shown in the subjoined map. It is

LOCAL DISTRIBUTION.

widely diffused in South Bihar, North Bengal, and Orissa. The Chota Nagpur



Plateau is a vast area, and the incidence of the disease varies considerably in different parts. In the west it is rare, but it gradually becomes more prevalent towards the east, until in Manbhum\* it reaches an intensity which is exceeded only in three districts of West Bengal—Bankura, Burdwan, and Birbhum, which form the great centre of the disease. Bankura and Birbhum in fact enjoy the unenviable reputation of harbouring a greater number of

lepers in proportion to their population than any other tract in the whole of India. There is little in the findings of the Leprosy Commission that will help us to explain the varying prevalence of the disease in this province.

\* There is a leper asylum at Purnia, the district head-quarters, which contained 534 lepers on the date of the census, but the existence of this asylum does not materially affect the figures. All but 20 of its inmates were born in Manbhum; of the remainder, 8 came from Ranchi and 13 from other places.



In Eastern Bengal the people are prosperous and well nourished, and, so far as these factors affect the question, their relative freedom from leprosy is intelligible. But its diffusion is said to vary also with the degree of moisture in the atmosphere, and East Bengal has a far more humid climate than the districts where leprosy is most rife. North Bihar is probably not less humid than these districts, and its population is on the whole less prosperous, and yet it is comparatively free from the disease. As regards cholera also, no connection can be traced. The ravages of this disease during the last ten years have been

NATURAL DIVISION.	Number of deaths from cholera per 1,000 in 1891-1900.	Number of lepers per 100,000 of the population.
Western Bengal ...	20	116
Central " ...	31	31
Northern " ...	20	42
Eastern " ...	30	22
North Bihar ...	29	28
South " ...	30	44
Orissa ...	40	109
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	15	58

worst in Orissa, Central and East Bengal, and North Bihar. Orissa also stands high amongst the localities where leprosy is prevalent, but East Bengal and North Bihar are the two parts of the province where that disease is most common. On the other hand, West Bengal, with the greatest prevalence of leprosy, has suffered less from cholera than any part of the province except Chota Nagpur: and the two districts of West Bengal, where leprosy is worst, have the smallest cholera mortality.

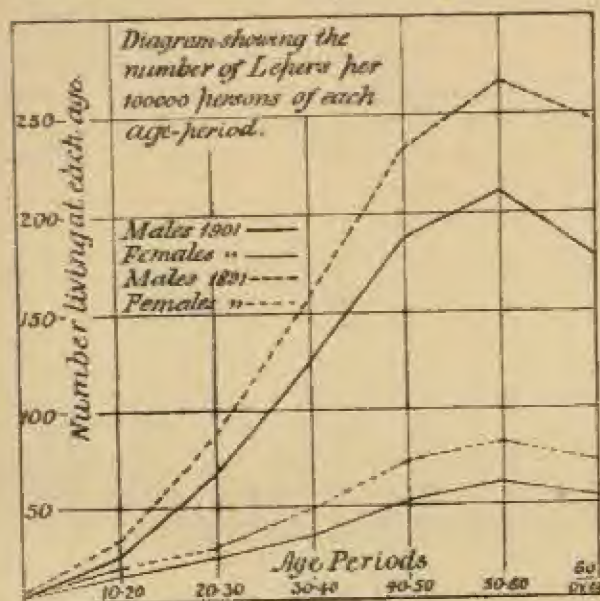
Birbhum has thus lost only 14 and Bankura only 13 persons per 1,000 of its population during the decade, while no other district in the division has lost less than 19 per 1,000. Neither does the hypothesis that it is due to the use of badly-cured fish find any corroboration in the excessive prevalence of the disease in Birbhum, Bankura, and Manbhum. Very little fish is imported to these districts, and it enters but very slightly into the diet of the people. Mr. De, the Magistrate of Bankura, thinks that the people of that part of the country must in some way be specially liable to the disease, and he mentions that in Khulna he found leprosy more common amongst the Bunás who had gone thither from Bankura and the neighbouring districts than amongst the indigenous inhabitants. The Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum says that many of the lower castes eat the carcasses of cattle that have died of disease, and thinks that this may predispose to leprosy, although, as he points out, the disease is not confined to these castes.

477. As in the case of the other infirmities dealt with, males seem to be more liable to the affliction than females. The returns for Bengal show that there are three male lepers to one female, and at the last census the disproportion in India as a whole was even greater than this. This result is doubtless due, in part, to the comparative seclusion in which women are kept, and to the reticence of their male relations regarding them. This, however, applies only to the better classes. Amongst the great mass of the population the women move about freely enough within their own village, and the existence of such a disease as leprosy, except in its earlier stages, could not easily be concealed. The age-statistics show that at the first age-period (0-5) there are 95 female lepers to 100 males; at the next (5-10) the proportion falls to two-thirds, and it continues to decline until at "35 to 40" males outnumber females in the ratio of 4 to 1. The proportion then again rises, and at "60 and over," there are two female lepers to every 5 males. As regards the first two age-periods, the result agrees very closely with that arrived at by the Leprosy Commission, who found that in the case of small children under 5 years of age both sexes were attacked in nearly equal proportions, while of the cases that came under their observation between the ages of 5 and 10, 95 were males and 56 females. If the greater liability of males becomes thus marked in early life, it is only natural to suppose that it should continue to increase as the sexual differentiation develops, and the fact that the disproportion between the sexes is very great even in old-age, when there is no longer the same reticence about females, also tends to show that the excess of males is, to a large extent, real. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where there is comparatively little secrecy about women, there are two male lepers to one female, and in Bankura, where the disease is most prevalent, the proportion is



as 15 to 7. The disproportion is greatest in South Bihar, where male lepers are six times as numerous as females; but probably this is due mainly to the fact that male lepers travel farther from their homes, and find their way in greater numbers to Gaya and other large centres for the purpose of begging.

478. The diagram given in the margin shows the number of lepers to 100,000 persons of each age-period. Under the age of 10 the proportion of lepers is exceedingly small, but it soon begins to grow. There is a considerable increase between



10 and 20, and from that age until 50 the rise is uniform and rapid. Between 50 and 60 the increase still continues, though less rapidly, and it then again declines. A leper's life is a comparatively short one. According to one of the most reliable estimates (that of Daniellson and Bœck) the average duration of life from the date of attack is only nine and a half years for tuberculated, and eighteen and a half years in the case of anæsthetic leprosy. It follows that the steady increase in the proportion of lepers between the ages of 20 and 60 indicates a marked rise in the liability to infection between these ages.

If absolute numbers be taken, the increase in the leper population is greatest between the ages of 20 and 30; between 30 and 40 it is slightly greater than

AGE-PERIOD.	Variation in number of lepers.
0-10	+ 549
10-20	+ 2,382
20-30	+ 3,007
30-40	+ 2,814
40-50	+ 290
50-60	- 3,034
60 and over	- 731

between 10 and 20. After allowing for cases of new infection necessary to fill death vacancies, it would seem that the greatest number of persons must become lepers between the ages of 20 and 40. This confirms the conclusion of the Census Commissioner for India in 1891 that leprosy "seems to pass by the young and to begin its attacks about 25 years of age." The Leprosy Commission found that of the comparatively small number of lepers that came under their observation, the greatest number became lepers when between 25 years of age and 30.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. I—SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS AFFLICTED

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	INSANE.						DEAF-MUTES.					
	Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.		
	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.
<b>BENGAL</b> ... ..	33	41	53	23	28	36	83	117	153	53	71	94
<b>WEST BENGAL</b> ... ..	41	44	60	20	24	34	79	106	140	47	73	96
Burdwan ... ..	43	38	61	20	23	41	81	104	144	54	17	108
Birbhum ... ..	43	53	60	22	32	38	83	127	150	67	107	107
Bankura ... ..	42	53	65	22	30	28	79	141	176	58	108	125
Mudnapore ... ..	36	35	47	19	19	24	59	99	101	31	53	74
Hooahly ... ..	43	50	54	21	26	46	66	80	140	43	62	97
Howrah ... ..	48	55	58	25	25	38	72	107	129	49	67	90
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b> ... ..	43	51	66	28	36	45	54	93	103	46	60	69
24-Parganas*†	41	54	80	26	46	54	57	127	119	40	77	74
Calcutta* ... ..	80	71	49	40	39	42	38	34	45	44	42	43
Nadia ... ..	33	47	64	18	27	32	40	91	106	28	32	59
Murshidabad* ... ..	58	51	78	27	25	30	62	79	123	42	53	52
Jessore ... ..	36	46	80	31	38	40	60	102	97	46	62	69
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b> ... ..	64	71	92	33	55	71	98	119	165	68	83	108
Rajahmudi ... ..	54	54	60	48	50	49	82	84	31	40	60	61
Dinajpur ... ..	62	74	80	51	56	67	91	105	149	84	78	104
Jalpaiguri ... ..	64	88	113	56	82	96	138	97	129	83	79	107
Darjeeling ... ..	21	23	39	15	26	37	162	139	169	124	122	157
Bangpur ... ..	83	62	123	75	48	100	100	97	927	66	26	144
Bogra ... ..	54	99	77	52	80	64	60	116	118	44	107	70
Pabna ... ..	58	68	84	41	30	83	111	158	187	76	94	127
Mahla ... ..	32	47	64	26	34	63	93	141	113	67	111	86
Koch Bihar ... ..	100	119	129	75	90	85	135	209	228	88	109	124
Sikkim ... ..	46	...	...	32	...	...	355	...	...	355	...	...
<b>EAST BENGAL</b> ... ..	47	69	74	36	51	56	66	94	104	45	60	69
Khulna ... ..	44	45	58	38	48	56	82	80	99	43	59	65
Dacca* ... ..	66	79	85	42	47	55	74	96	101	65	53	73
Mymensingh ... ..	56	67	74	42	55	46	80	128	117	58	90	72
Faridpur ... ..	27	51	69	22	41	49	34	78	85	21	47	47
Backergunge ... ..	39	56	63	35	53	60	67	92	84	38	43	60
Tippers ... ..	26	44	67	19	45	64	66	107	119	29	37	67
Noakhali ... ..	34	47	78	30	60	67	82	113	124	49	65	69
Chittagong ... ..	77	83	104	56	64	84	83	116	143	53	59	108
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	120	164	...	134	174	...	64	83	...	65	84	...
Hill Tippera ... ..	58	95	...	39	45	...	48	103	...	44	56	...
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	15	19	33	6	8	18	159	210	264	85	116	143
Saran ... ..	18	28	33	8	7	10	135	195	188	67	129	96
Champaran ... ..	9	31	62	6	7	32	275	424	567	173	235	337
Muzaffarpur ... ..	10	15	22	3	6	16	146	156	205	78	77	119
Darbhanga ... ..	9	12	28	6	9	16	117	155	179	62	70	89
Bhagalpur ... ..	13	16	29	7	8	16	127	189	200	73	89	134
Purnea ... ..	25	29	63	13	20	34	130	199	263	84	130	174
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	17	21	29	8	9	13	63	91	175	35	50	103
Patna* ... ..	38	40	56	12	12	23	61	62	227	34	37	151
Gaya ... ..	12	18	17	6	8	12	49	104	153	26	58	108
Bahabad ... ..	12	28	39	5	8	10	54	136	121	27	42	66
Monghyr ... ..	13	14	19	7	9	7	88	119	173	51	65	92
<b>ORISSA</b> ... ..	27	27	34	12	12	16	64	116	136	29	59	70
Cuttack* ... ..	27	23	31	12	9	16	59	115	116	29	62	64
Halasore ... ..	24	24	28	13	10	10	88	109	176	38	57	101
Puri ... ..	28	41	47	14	19	21	50	124	85	21	63	60
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU</b> ... ..	18	17	25	12	11	15	60	65	88	43	41	55
Hazaribagh ... ..	13	12	18	8	6	13	54	73	100	40	40	50
Ranchi ... ..	21	...	...	17	...	...	80	...	...	55	...	...
Palaman ... ..	12	35	20	13	16	16	63	77	81	60	51	62
Manbhum ... ..	24	27	32	14	16	19	83	90	103	46	52	62
Singbhum ... ..	19	12	27	15	24	24	68	85	67	52	30	68
South Parganas† ... ..	17	12	22	11	9	12	82	40	97	59	28	67
Angul ... ..	16	23	25	5	8	22	66	101	125	39	44	66
Tributary States, Orissa ... ..	17	21	24	8	9	19	36	75	76	20	30	45
Ditto, Chota Nagpur ... ..	21	19	12	12	7	12	42	40	65	35	20	42

\* There are lunatic asylums in Bhowanipour (24-Parganas), Dulianda (Calcutta), Berhampur (Murshidabad), Dacca, Patna, and Cuttack. Excluding the 24 and 33; Murshidabad, 52 and 31; Dacca, 51 and 36; Patna, 15 and 7; Cuttack, 24 and 11.

† There are leper asylums in Purulia (Manbhum), Gohra (24-Parganas), Deoghar (South Parganas), and Lohardaga (Ranchi). Including the population 7 instead of 12; South Parganas 55 instead of 56; Ranchi 31 instead of 32. Most of the inmates of these asylums, however, are district born. In the Purulia



PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION AT EACH OF THE LAST THREE CENSUSES

BLIND.						LEPERS.						DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.
Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.			
1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	
95	100	156	85	97	144	72	93	123	23	31	41	BENGAL.
104	94	156	100	97	150	168	244	287	64	90	107	WEST BENGAL.
123	164	161	121	110	185	239	213	444	88	122	189	Burdwan.
102	130	125	118	147	121	321	322	485	109	180	152	Bybhum.
121	134	152	134	155	170	367	515	640	163	218	214	Banaura.
97	70	117	87	68	129	91	123	124	31	36	52	Midnapore.
93	85	127	78	92	163	55	115	172	14	25	49	Hoochly.
88	70	120	67	59	180	23	47	80	8	14	31	Howrah.
76	86	119	68	69	112	46	78	111	14	23	38	CENTRAL BENGAL.
60	81	110	47	56	127	18	30	72	5	18	30	24-Parganna.*†
71	35	102	106	80	173	32	28	62	22	25	37	Calcutta.*
72	104	112	57	77	106	49	119	180	17	25	42	Nadia.
116	111	139	114	98	157	119	129	194	33	39	63	Murshidabad.*
78	78	101	54	56	78	32	65	63	7	16	46	Jessore.
82	82	129	71	83	118	63	88	147	18	29	50	NORTH BENGAL.
79	88	96	80	87	20	15	30	25	10	17	37	Rajshahi.
75	77	117	78	81	123	56	61	104	15	30	42	Dinajpur.
65	64	106	57	38	107	110	139	185	38	63	69	Jaipur.
63	70	111	48	79	95	43	98	126	27	40	65	Darjeeling.
88	86	122	85	54	129	94	107	231	24	37	64	Bangpur.
76	89	80	82	100	78	38	81	106	11	23	39	Hogra.
90	85	120	85	79	107	40	62	100	11	21	30	Pabna.
100	126	123	99	120	170	54	98	110	18	25	37	Malda.
93	113	120	89	125	128	125	205	307	37	60	112	Kuch Bihar.
71	.....	.....	57	.....	.....	55	.....	.....	25	.....	.....	Sikkim.
70	81	110	49	63	90	35	69	74	8	19	27	EAST BENGAL.
58	44	81	37	31	80	12	14	38	5	8	14	Khulna.
79	73	118	61	92	101	36	57	83	12	14	31	Dacca.*
90	97	104	83	80	90	84	124	189	15	40	39	Mymensingh.
65	74	101	31	47	67	17	44	63	4	11	17	Faridpur.
65	83	105	35	47	58	9	21	33	4	8	17	Backergunge.
51	94	124	34	73	127	22	59	69	5	18	30	Tippura.
71	82	113	50	67	107	9	20	34	2	8	18	Noakhali.
79	71	117	57	65	109	18	35	61	4	13	28	Chittagong.
120	127	.....	97	124	.....	74	71	.....	22	38	.....	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
40	123	.....	58	70	.....	37	67	.....	14	32	.....	Hill Tippura.
103	121	146	86	112	159	47	65	76	10	12	17	NORTH BIHAR.
127	173	103	100	148	162	49	85	89	7	10	15	Saran.
94	114	105	85	103	172	53	53	69	4	10	10	Champanan.
102	105	140	88	97	125	47	52	54	10	5	8	Muzaffarpur.
101	99	114	81	53	37	33	41	45	4	7	9	Darbhanga.
112	137	120	98	128	173	58	70	75	16	22	26	Bhagalpur.
96	93	100	65	115	128	70	94	79	21	28	28	Purnea.
162	170	248	151	175	301	77	95	132	12	20	25	SOUTH BIHAR.
187	173	210	194	191	427	77	80	132	9	10	23	Patna.*
145	162	248	138	161	300	102	127	163	16	27	30	Gaya.
181	229	225	152	102	311	67	130	140	9	13	27	Shahabad.
141	161	155	130	120	179	73	103	90	13	27	19	Monghyr.
82	89	106	63	93	128	170	168	190	49	59	61	ORISSA.
97	89	108	73*	95	139	153	128	171	44	48	57	Cuttack.*
45	62	84	44	60	107	187	153	214	53	59	64	Balassore.
89	117	124	63	119	128	185	229	304	58	83	75	Puri.
103	85	106	117	94	124	77	53	72	40	38	39	CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.
94	85	116	90	100	145	15	20	25	8	13	15	Hazaribagh.
122	145	122	141	148	159	35	37	40	13	29	26	Ranchi.†
140	146	137	145	100	180	23	48	107	18	24	27	Palamu.
143	146	137	105	89	81	166	107	160	120	129	87	Manbhum.†
67	74	70	81	85	84	47	48	62	32	34	44	Sinabhum.
105	42	70	123	95	84	122	87	99	50	25	32	Sonthal Parganas.†
96	123	154	96	127	130	77	73	163	39	35	78	Angul.
96	54	104	62	85	109	69	70	100	33	40	63	Tributary States, Orissa.
101	53	89	111	85	83	40	28	96	25	40	12	Iditto, Chota Nagpur.

population of these asylums, the proportion of lunatics per 100,000 persons of each sex in the districts concerned is—24-Parganna, 39 males and 26 females. Calcutta of these asylums the proportion afflicted per 100,000 persons (irrespective of sex) in the districts concerned is—Manbhum 112 instead of 153; 24-Parganna Asylum, for instance, 514 out of a total of 534 lepers are natives of Manbhum.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. II—SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE INFIRM BY AGE PER 10,000 OF EACH SEX.

AGE.	INEANE.						DEAF-MUTES.					
	Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.		
	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.
	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Total	118	166	193	152	158	249	453	389	469	536	607	522
0-5	575	218	677	658	538	604	1,015	1,340	1,190	1,658	1,310	1,129
5-10	872	748	811	975	733	604	1,729	1,233	1,101	1,597	1,093	988
10-15	930	587	857	982	822	870	1,385	962	840	1,358	937	764
15-20	998	524	876	988	800	1,740	872	850	871	891	820	1,073
20-25	1,313	1,240	1,116	874	1,014	1,008	1,008	871	1,008	871	878	843
25-30	1,238	1,356	1,000	1,000	1,084	1,361	807	823	1,039	798	814	1,219
30-35	1,055	1,054	1,000	848	954	1,000	519	856	1,000	484	800	1,000
35-40	948	1,065	1,000	1,000	1,014	1,074	489	800	1,074	502	873	1,176
40-45	584	504	1,400	575	808	1,000	282	422	1,000	291	429	1,000
45-50	583	622	602	641	766	1,105	277	523	870	330	561	568
50-55	246	304	304	281	338	1,105	114	276	870	128	320	308
55-60	568	605	802	860	1,000	1,217	344	922	1,134	440	1,108	1,010

AGE.	BLIND.						LEPERS.					
	Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.		
	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.
	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Total	379	421	400	271	275	307	29	45	69	87	83	122
0-5	705	712	707	435	402	388	83	96	142	170	167	107
5-10	748	708	699	449	386	397	260	264	271	450	379	286
10-15	628	573	475	441	401	209	411	415	440	700	579	613
15-20	574	532	1,020	451	378	764	571	525	1,444	756	643	1,500
20-25	666	583	1,020	495	458	764	966	900	1,444	978	880	1,500
25-30	538	627	1,112	582	508	1,182	1,182	1,184	1,182	1,053	1,138	1,023
30-35	543	543	1,112	492	484	911	1,272	1,300	1,470	1,008	1,023	1,023
35-40	585	704	1,144	706	787	1,074	1,502	1,464	1,508	1,249	1,317	1,502
40-45	525	508	1,144	517	528	1,074	1,028	1,028	1,508	797	805	1,502
45-50	783	708	1,144	810	810	1,284	1,144	1,085	1,508	1,049	1,000	1,474
50-55	452	605	1,144	545	504	1,284	487	615	1,508	463	518	1,474
55-60	2,678	2,821	3,200	3,710	3,885	4,620	1,076	1,230	1,500	1,340	1,394	1,635

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. III—SHOWING (i) THE NUMBER AFFLICTED AT EACH AGE-PERIOD PER 100,000 PERSONS OF THAT AGE AND (ii) THE NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED TO 1,000 MALES.

AGE.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000.								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED TO 1,000 MALES.			
	INEANE.		DEAF-MUTES.		BLIND.		LEPERS.		Inane.	Deaf-mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
ALL AGES	35	23	53	53	95	85	72	35	653	635	590	317
0-5	8	2	28	20	37	16	1	1	857	742	690	361
5-10	13	10	38	28	44	24	4	3	747	601	547	641
10-15	25	23	115	63	58	37	14	10	731	558	553	570
15-20	38	25	134	90	70	41	24	13	690	628	623	530
20-25	47	28	107	59	73	45	55	30	648	647	700	480
25-30	52	25	93	51	71	47	78	25	435	553	601	321
30-35	65	32	84	34	76	64	107	31	559	628	813	292
35-40	60	35	63	46	63	70	147	37	586	622	808	226
40-45	50	40	68	47	109	103	151	49	696	652	917	283
45-50	54	40	69	47	134	134	200	55	606	606	880	246
50-55	53	37	55	45	106	192	211	60	719	707	1,035	290
55-60	52	59	54	40	257	278	219	69	745	710	1,070	305
60 and over	44	25	63	42	570	558	173	54	861	889	1,234	394

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. IV—SHOWING THE RESULT OF CERTAIN ENQUIRIES REGARDING PERSONS RETURNED AS DEAF-MUTE.

DISTRICT.	Number Enquired about.	Number returned as insane as well as deaf-mute.	Number found really deaf-mute.	NUMBER OF DEAF-MUTES WHO ARE ALSO				Not really deaf-mute.
				Insane.	HALF-WITTED.		Suffering from goitre.	
					Able to work.	Not able to work.		
Total	371	47	327	48	90	15	76	44
Champaran	51	4	44	10	28	6	14	7(a)
Rangpur	46	1	28(5)	13	13	2	12	18
Jaljala	30	9	23(6)	2	6	2	2	3
Kuch Bihar	43	—	43	0	10	0	0	—
Baran	145	12	134	12	8	1	37(c)	11(d)
Sikkim	33	21	28	15	15	—	—	—
Barjeeling	16	—	16	—	0	—	0	1

(a) Includes 4 persons who can hear a little but utter indistinct sounds, 1 who is deaf only and 2 who are dumb only.

(b) Includes 4 persons said to be really deaf-and-dumb, but not from birth.

(c) Of these 37 cases of goitre, 23 were found amongst 26 deaf-mutes enquired about in the Siwan subdivision.

(d) Includes 3 persons who can only speak and hear indistinctly.



## Chapter IX.

### EDUCATION.

479. THE statistics of literacy will be found in Imperial Tables VIII and IX. The former shows the number of persons who

#### REFERENCE TO STATISTICS.

are literate or illiterate, distributed according to age and religion, and the latter, according to caste. The main language in which literate, and the number of literate persons who know English, are shown in both Tables. Proportional figures illustrating the more important features of the return, are as usual, embodied in Subsidiary Tables, which will be found at the end of the Chapter, viz:—

*Subsidiary Table I.*—Number per 1,000 of the total population, and at certain ages, who are literate. Similar information is also given for each religion.

*Subsidiary Table II.*—Number per mille of the total population, and at certain ages, who are literate in each district and natural division.

*Subsidiary Table III.*—Comparison with results of previous enumerations.

*Subsidiary Table IV.*—Number per mille of the total population and at certain ages who know English in each district and natural division.

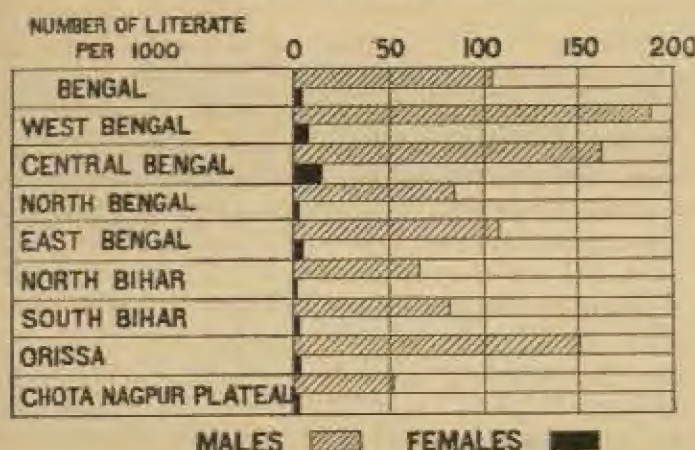
*Subsidiary Table V.*—Number per mille who are literate in certain selected castes.

480. The only test of literacy was the ability to both read and write.

#### EXTENT OF LITERACY.

People of whatever age who could do this were entered as literate, and those who could not, as illiterate. The qualification seems a very simple one, but even so, only one male in 10

*Diagram showing the number of persons per 1,000 in each Natural Division who are literate.*



and one female in 200 were able to pass it, and 9 males out of 10 and 199 females out of 200 were returned as illiterate. For every female who is able to read and write there are 20 males. Of the total number of literate males, 71 per cent. are over 20 years of age and 5 per cent. are under 10. The remaining 24 per cent. are distributed equally between the age periods 10—15 and 15—20. In the case of females, only 61 per cent. of the literate population are

over 20, 30 per cent. are between 10 and 20, and 9 per cent. are under 10. The larger proportion of literate females at the lower ages indicates that at the present time the progress of education amongst them is more rapid than amongst males.

Compared with the number of persons returned as speaking each language

Language.	Number per cent. who		
	speak it	are literate in it	
		Male	Female
Bengali	83	69	70
Hindi	34	21	13
Oriya	9	9	5
Other languages	5	2	10

(Table X), Bengali and Oriyá have a larger proportion of literate males than has Hindi,\* while in the case of females, Bengali has a long lead of both its rivals. The relatively large proportion of females literate in languages other than Bengali, Hindi and Oriyá is due to the fact that the number of indigenous females who are literate is so small, that the foreign-born

bulk much more largely in the total than they do in the case of men.

481. The greatest amount of literacy is met with amongst the Christians,

#### DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION.

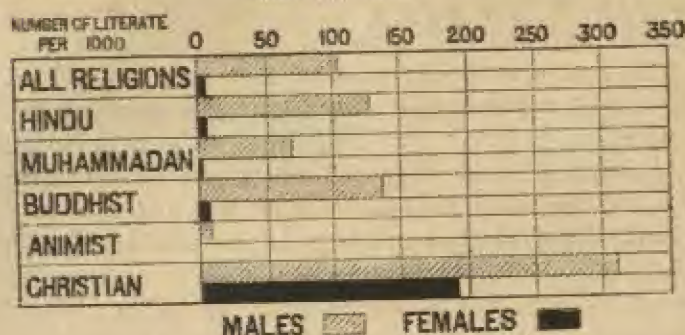
partly on account of the large foreign element, where the proportion of educated persons is very high, and partly because the missionaries do their utmost to give instruction to their converts.

\* As will be explained in the Chapter on Language, Hindi was used at the census in a very wide sense, and includes both Urdu and the group of languages known to philologists as Bihári.



The success of their efforts in this direction will be apparent from the

Diagram showing the number per 1,000 of each main religion who are literate.



proportions for a few tribes noted below, showing the number who are literate per 1,000 amongst converts to Christianity, as compared with those who have retained their old animistic beliefs:—

	Christian.	Others.
Lepcha ...	141	29
Garo ...	115	3
Munda ...	68	7
Oráon ...	41	3
Santál ...	226	3

The proportion in the case of Christians would be even higher, but for the numerous new converts who have passed the school-going age. Next to the Christians, the proportion of the literate, both male and female, is highest amongst the Buddhists; but the difference between them and the Hindus is very slight. The Muhammadans are much more backward, and the proportion who can read and write is barely half as great as it is amongst Hindus. In every 1,000 males only 68 are literate, and in every 1,000 females only 2. The disproportion is more marked in the case of literate persons under 15 than it is at the higher ages. It would, therefore, seem that the Hindus are still increasing the lead which they already hold. The Animists, as might be expected, come last. Only 8 males in 1,000 are literate, and there are practically no literate females.

482. The most favoured part of Bengal, from the point of view of education, is the metropolitan area. In Calcutta itself one male in every 3 is literate, and then come Howrah,

#### DISTRIBUTION BY LOCALITY.

Midnapore, the 24-Parganas, and Hooghly, where 1 in every 5 is able to read and write. The other districts of West Bengal all hold a high place, but Nadia, Murshidabad, and Jessore in Central Bengal, in spite of their proximity to Calcutta, are not specially remarkable for the diffusion of the rudiments of learning. Orissa comes next to West Bengal with one male who is literate in every 7. Then follows Backergunge with about the same ratio. In Khulna, Dacca and Tippera about 1 male in 8 is literate. The low ratio in Dacca is somewhat surprising, in view of the large number of educated *bhadralok* in the Bikrampur pargana. In Bihar, Patna, with 1 male able to read and write in every 8, alone holds a respectable position. South Bihar as a whole can boast of only 1 male in 12 who is literate, or about the same proportion as in North Bengal. In North Bihar the proportion falls to 1 in 15, while in the Chota Nagpur Plateau it is barely 1 in 20. The variations in the proportion of educated females, though on a far lower plane, follow generally those noted above, but there is a remarkable difference between the figures for Calcutta and



those for any other area. In the metropolis the proportion of literate females exceeds 1 in 9, and is rather greater than the provincial average for males, but in Hooghly, Darjeeling, Howrah and the 24-Parganas, which stand next, it falls to about 1 in 70. Then follows Dacca with only 1 in 100. The degree of literacy enjoyed by each district (both sexes combined) is shown in the annexed map while in the diagram in the margin of paragraph 480 the ratios

in each Natural Division are compared for the two sexes taken separately. In



connection with the latter it should be remembered that the districts comprised in each division often show very uneven results. The differences between the figures for Calcutta and the 24-Parganas, compared with the rest of Central Bengal, and between those for Patna and the rest of South Bihar, which have been noticed above, are far from being the only cases where adjoining districts differ greatly in the extent to which the rudiments of education have penetrated to the lower classes of the population.

483. It is difficult to compare the results of the present census with those which have gone before, owing to a change of system.

#### COMPARISON WITH 1891.

On previous occasions the population was divided into three categories—literate, learning, and illiterate—whereas at the present census the only distinction made was between the literate and illiterate. The instructions on this point which were issued to the enumerators in 1891 were as follows:—

Enter against each person, whether grown-up, child or infant, either learning or illiterate. Enter all those as learning who are under instruction either at home or at school or college. Enter as literate those who are able both to read and write any language, but who are not under instruction as above. Enter as illiterate those who are not under instruction, and who do not know how to both read and write, or who can read but not write, or who can sign their own name, but not read.

It was found that the return of the learning was vitiated by the omission, at the one end of boys in the rudimentary stages of instruction, and at the other, of many of the more advanced students, who thought it derogatory to their dignity to call themselves "learning" when people of far lower attainments were recorded as literate, and accordingly caused themselves to be entered under the latter head. There was a considerable discrepancy between the census figures for the learning and those of the Education Department, due partly to the causes noted above, and partly, it was alleged, to an exaggeration in the departmental returns, of the number of children under instruction in elementary village schools. For these reasons it was thought better to leave the compilation of statistics regarding persons under instruction to the educational authorities, and to confine the information collected at the census to the broad question whether a person can or cannot both read and write.\* The rule for the guidance of the enumerators was accordingly modified as follows:—

Enter against all persons, of whatever age, whether they can or cannot both read and write any language.

This change in procedure may have been desirable on general grounds, but it has had the result of obscuring the progress made during the decade along the path of education. Some of the persons who would have been shown as learning under the old rule, have now been classed as literate, while others have been relegated to the category of the illiterate. How many of the learning have been treated as literate and how many as illiterate it is impossible to say, but it is clear that a great many, who would have been entered as learning under the old rule, have been shown as illiterate under the new one. The total number of literate males under 15 years of age at the present census is only 706,546, which is less by 26 per cent. than the corresponding number returned as learning or literate in 1891. Probably the best way of instituting a comparison is to consider only persons over 15 years of age, and to assume that all such persons who were shown as learning in 1891, would have been entered as literate, had the present rule been in force at that census. Comparative figures for the literate over 15 years of age, based on this assumption, will be found in the last four columns of Subsidiary Table III.

484. So far as can be gathered from this comparison, the actual number of literate males has increased by 15 per cent. during the decade. The greatest progress has taken place in Orissa, where the number of males who can read and write is greater by 37

\* In his report on the Census of India in 1891, Mr. Baines, the Census Commissioner, recommended the abandonment of the "distinction between those under instruction and those able to read and write, but no longer in a state of pupilage."



per cent. than it was ten years previously. In Chota Nagpur, where an increase of 31 per cent. has taken place, the progress is due, to a great extent, to the activity of the Christian Missions. In Bengal Proper, Central Bengal with an increase of 22, and West Bengal with one of 16 per cent., show the best results. The improvement in North Bengal is exactly the same as in the Province as a whole. In East Bengal the figures are disappointing, the growth of the literate population being only 12 per cent., or barely 2 per cent. more than the rate at which the general population has increased in that prosperous tract. The worst apparent results, so far as the actual number of the literate is concerned, are those for Bihar; but this is due mainly to the decadent condition of the population as a whole. In North Bihar there are only 4 per cent. more literate males than there were ten years ago; but as the total population is stationary, the proportion who are literate has increased to a greater extent than in East Bengal. In South Bihar the number of the literate has fallen by 2 per cent., while that of the general population has declined by 3·6 per cent., so that while there has been a slight diminution in the actual number, the proportion of the literate has risen.

There seems to be very little correspondence between these results and the

Natural Division.	NUMBER OF PUPILS.		Variation per cent.
	1901.	1891.	
West Bengal ...	222,725	225,012	+ 2·4
Central Bengal ...	123,644	166,763	+ 10·8
North Bengal ...	133,207	99,427	+ 29·8
East Bengal ...	424,375	394,251	+ 10·8
North Bihar ...	142,409	127,987	+ 14·5
South Bihar ...	109,162	98,896	+ 10·7
Orissa ...	105,906	117,454	- 9·8
Chota Nagpur ...	109,383	83,798	+ 29·3
<b>TOTAL ...</b>	<b>1,519,523</b>	<b>1,573,192</b>	<b>+ 10·7</b>

NOTE.—The above figures are exclusive of Kuch Bihar, Sikkim, and Hill Tippera, for which information is not available, and also of the 1891 figures for Angul and the Chota Nagpur States.

statistics of persons under instruction compiled from the school returns. According to the latter, there is a decrease of nearly 10 per cent. compared with 1891 in the number of boys under instruction in Orissa, where the census shows that the male literate population has grown most rapidly. On the other hand, in North Bengal, it appears from the returns of the Education Department that the number of pupils is greater by 39 per cent. than it was in 1891; but the census shows an increase of only 11 per cent. in the literate population. It must, however, be remembered that the comparison between the two sets of statistics is apt to be fallacious, as the persons under instruction are for the most part under 15, while in the case of the census figures, we are dealing only with persons over that age, so that a change in the number of pupils during one decade would not have much effect until the following one.

485. The spread of literacy amongst males has been moderate, but female education has made great strides. In the Province as a whole the number of literate females

#### FEMALES.

has risen by 63 per cent. The greatest advance has taken place in North Bengal, where the number is double what it was only 10 years ago, and the improvement in West and East Bengal is very nearly as great. In North Bihar and Orissa the number of literate females has grown by nearly 80 per cent. and in the Chota Nagpur Plateau by nearly 70 per cent. Then come South Bihar with an advance of 40, and Central Bengal with only 27 per cent. In spite of its comparatively slow rate of progress during the last decade, which is explained by the large proportion which literate foreigners bear to the total, Central Bengal still stands far in advance of all other parts of the Province in respect of the diffusion of education amongst females.

486. In the Province as a whole only 89 males per 10,000 stated that they were acquainted with English, and only 6 females. The ratio is, of course, highest in

Calcutta (1,323 males and 455 females per 10,000), not only on account of the larger proportion of English people resident there, but also because it is the great centre of higher education, and because it is there that the educated classes most easily find employment. Next to Calcutta come, in order, Howrah, Hooghly, the 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Nadia and Dacca. These are the districts which are commonly regarded as the most advanced from the point of view of education, and which furnish a large proportion of the native officials, pleaders, and clerks throughout the Province. The Bihar districts are very backward, so far as the knowledge of English is concerned, and Patna alone holds a fairly high



place. Except in Calcutta and Darjeeling, where Englishwomen are numerous, the proportion of females who are acquainted with English is everywhere so small that there is no object in discussing the local variations in detail.

487. The progress made by Bengal in the matter of education during the last ten years may not seem very great, but compared with other provinces the results are distinctly satisfactory. In Madras, the census figures appear to indicate a serious falling-off in the proportion of persons who can read and write. There has also been a decline, though comparatively slight, in the United Provinces and the Punjab. Bombay alone of the other large Provinces shows a very small improvement during the decade. Taken as a whole, Bengal still ranks below Madras and Bombay, but the difference between the figures is far less marked than it was in 1891.

Province.	NUMBERS PER 10,000 PERSONS (BOTH SEXES) OVER 15 WHO ARE LITERATE.	
	1901.	1891 (including learning).
BENGAL ... ..	756	692
Bengal Proper ... ..	638	608
Bihar ... ..	209	402
Orissa ... ..	1,019	812
Chota Nagpur ... ..	394	520
United Provinces... ..	426	437
Punjab ... ..	320	341
Madras ... ..	903	1,028
Bombay ... ..	838	830

and the United Provinces, but approximating more nearly to the former. The Chota Nagpur Plateau stands at the bottom of the list; but, thanks to the effort of the missionaries, its position is not very markedly inferior to that of the United Provinces.

488. One of the most interesting features in connection with the subject of literacy is the varying extent to which the knowledge of reading and writing is diffused amongst the different castes.\* And in the first place we will consider the statistics for males. The Eurasian stands at the top of the list with 4 literate, in every 5, males. More than a quarter of the total number of Eurasian males are under 12 years of age, and it follows that practically every one learns to read and write as soon as he is of a school-going age. Two trading castes come next, the Mahesri, with 705 males per 1,000 who can read and write, and the Oswál with 649. The high proportion in both these castes is to some extent fictitious. Their home is outside the limits of Bengal, and the persons enumerated in this Province are immigrants who come for purposes of trade, almost all of whom are adults. Amongst the indigenous castes, the Baidyas take the first place with a literate male population of 648 per 1,000, then follow the Káyasths with 560, the Karans with 528, the Subarnabaniks and Gandhabaniks with 519 and 510, respectively, the Aguris with 498, and the Bráhmans with 467. The low position of the Bráhmans is due to the figures for Bihar, where only 273 per mille of the males of this caste can read or write. In Bengal Proper the proportion is 639 per 1,000, which is exceeded only in the case of the Baidyas. It is probable that the figures for the better class of true Káyasths in Bengal Proper are equally high, but this caste is weighted, not only by the inclusion of a certain number of outsiders of lower rank, chiefly Sudras, who often pretend to be Káyasths, but also by the fact that it contains a number of persons of an inferior class who look to service, rather than to clerical work, as a means of livelihood. The educational status of the other high castes is comparatively low. The Khattris have 380 literate males per 1,000, but the Bábhans have only 166, and the Rájputs only 150. Compared with other castes in Bihar these figures are fairly high, but they are exceeded in Bengal Proper in the case of many castes of much lower rank. Amongst the Khandáits of Orissa about 1 male in 7 is able to

\* It must be remembered that the whole population was not dealt with in Table IX, but only the most numerous castes in each district. Some castes have not been dealt with at all, and others only in certain localities, the conditions of which may not be typical of other places where the caste is also found.



read and write. The high position of the Subarnabanik and Gandhabanik castes and of several foreign trading castes, has already been noticed. Of the indigenous trading castes of Bihar the Barnawárs, with 285 males per mille who can read and write, occupy the highest place, and are followed by the Máhuris with 272, the Kasarwánis with 224, the Kalwárs with 220, and the Rauniárs with 202. Amongst the artisan castes of Bengal Proper the Kánsári, Tili, and Mayrá take the highest place, while in Bihar the Halwái stands first.

The race castes generally occupy a very low place, so far as literacy is concerned, but an exception is furnished by the Pods of the 24-Parganas, amongst whom the proportion of males who can read and write exceeds 1 in 6.\* Education has spread amongst them to a far greater extent than amongst their neighbours and congeners the Chandáls, with whom the proportion is only 1 in 15, or very little better than amongst the Kájbañsis. But even these possess a far higher proportion of literate persons than the corresponding communities of West Bengal, and the latter again stand on a much higher level than the depressed race castes of Bihar, such as the Musahars and Dosádhs, of whom only 8 males in every 1,000 are able to read and write. Amongst the Muhamadans, the highest educational rank is held by the Ashráf community, the Saiads, Moghals and Patháns.† Then come Kulu, Kalál, Bediyá, Mallik, Rangrez, Kasái, Dafáli and Bhát; then Joláhá, Hajjám, Lahiri, Dái, Darzi, Fakir, Kunjra, Churihár, Dhuniá, Dháwá, Dhobi, Behára and Bhathiárá. The numbers dealt with in respect of these groups, however, are small, and the areas to which they refer are not the same, so that detailed comparison might mislead. The Animistic tribes stand at the bottom of the list; but we have already seen that those from amongst them who have become Christians occupy a much higher place. The Buddhist tribes possess a fair proportion of literate persons, compared with their immediate neighbours.

489. In respect of female education, the Eurasians again hold the highest place, and practically all their females, other than very small children, possess some degree of education.

#### FEMALES.

Amongst natives of the country, the Baidya is *facile princeps*. More than one of his females in every 4 can read and write. I have noted in the margin the ten castes with the highest proportion of literate females. The question that will probably be asked at once is "where are the Bráhmans?" But in the province as a whole their position is very low, and only about 26 females per mille are literate. In Bengal Proper the proportion rises to 56 per mille. The position of the Káyasths also is improved, if only Bengal Proper be considered, and here the proportion is nearly 80 per mille. The large number of females who are literate amongst the converts to Christianity from the Santál and Gáro tribes is noteworthy, and so, too, is the high place held by Subarnabanik females. This, however, is to a great extent due to the fact that the proportions are calculated on 25,000 Subarnabaniks enumerated in Calcutta. These constitute less than a sixth of the total strength of this caste in Bengal, but they are more advanced than their caste-fellows in other parts of the Province; and if the whole community had been dealt with, their position would doubtless have been a lower one.

Caste, etc.	Number of literate females per 1,000.
Baidya ... ..	339
Pirngl ... ..	158
Santál (Christian) ... ..	131
Moghal ... ..	129
Subarnabanik ... ..	81
Khatrí ... ..	73
Káyasth ... ..	66
Lepcha (Christian) ... ..	64
Gandhabanik ... ..	63
Oswál ... ..	61

amongst the converts to Christianity from the Santál and Gáro tribes is noteworthy, and so, too, is the high place held by Subarnabanik females. This, however, is to a great extent due to the fact that the proportions are calculated on 25,000 Subarnabaniks enumerated in Calcutta. These constitute less than a sixth of the total strength of this caste in Bengal, but they are more advanced than their caste-fellows in other parts of the Province; and if the whole community had been dealt with, their position would doubtless have been a lower one.

490. As in the case of female education, so also in respect of a knowledge of English, the Baidyas easily hold the first place, with 303 males per mille who know English. The Subarnabaniks of Calcutta come next with 268 and the Gandhabaniks with 175, and then the Káyasths with 132. The Bráhmans again hold a relatively low place, and only 74 per 1,000 know English. If, however, we take the Bráhmans for Bengal Proper only, the proportion rises to 157, compared with 147 amongst the Káyasths of the

\* Until the educational qualifications were made more strict, a large proportion of the petty legal practitioners in the 24-Parganas, where they form a large proportion of the population, were Pods.  
† The figures were not extracted for Shekh, as this group is so very indeterminate.



same area. Amongst the lower castes, who form the great bulk of the population, there are practically none who are acquainted with English.

491. The statistics of education by caste throw light on some of the claims which have been set up by certain castes to a higher rank than that which they occupy in the recognised scale of social precedence.\* The Subarnabaniks (519 per 1,000), for example, have almost the same proportion of literate males as the Karans, and a far larger one than the Bábhans and Rájputs. The Sháhás, with 354 per 1,000, also occupy a much higher position in respect of education than they do from the point of view of the orthodox Hindu. Similarly, it is easy to understand why the Chási Kaibartta, with 1 male in 3 who can read and write, wishes to dissociate himself from the Jáliyá Kaibartta who can boast of only 1 in 12; the Tili, with 1 in 3, from the Teli with only 1 in 9; and the Sadgop, with 1 in 4, from the Goálá of Bengal Proper with only 1 in 8. It also explains why the Firingi of East Bengal, with only 1 in 3, wishes to be ranked with the Eurasian, amongst whom practically the whole male population is literate. The fact that amongst the persons who returned themselves as Baniyá only 180 per mille are literate, which is a lower proportion than in any regular caste of the trading community, proves what was surmised on other grounds, that the persons who caused this term to be entered as the name of their caste did not belong to any of the social groups usually classed as Baniyá, but to lower castes, and made use of the term to conceal their humble origin. It has been stated elsewhere that the Kurmi of Bihar is ethnically distinct from the group of the same name in Chota Nagpur, and the fact that the former has 85 literate males per mille, while the latter has only 28, shows that at any rate the educational status of the two communities differs greatly. Again, two-thirds of the literate Chamárs in Bengal Proper returned Hindi as the language in which they were literate, thus clearly showing that they, or their near ancestors, were immigrants from Bihar and up-country. No fewer than 7,239 Bráhmans enumerated in Bengal Proper were entered as literate in Oriyá, and this shows how extensively the Bráhmans of Orissa seek employment (usually as cooks) in this part of the Province. Want of space prevents us from dwelling further on these interesting side-lights of the census.

492. The progress of journalistic enterprise affords a good idea of the extent to which the people have benefited by the spread of education. In 1891 there were only 2 Anglo-native daily newspapers (*i.e.*, papers written in English, but owned, edited and read by natives) with an estimated circulation of 2,400 copies. In 1900 the number of such papers had risen to 5 and the aggregate circulation to 16,800. Ten years ago there were 6 daily papers written in Bengali, with a circulation of 1,088 copies. The number of papers has now fallen to 2, but the total number of copies issued has risen to 2,400. In the case of periodical literature, there has not been much change so far as Anglo-native magazines are concerned, but the number of weekly papers in the Bengali language has risen from 24 to 34, and the circulation from 33,529 to 112,553. There are no daily papers in Urdu, Hindi or Oriyá, and the number of weekly ones is very limited. There are two in Urdu, with a circulation of 800 copies, compared with four having a circulation of 1,055 copies in 1891. In Hindi there are 2 with 3,600 copies, as against five with 1,604 copies ten years ago; and in Oriyá three with 1,240 copies compared with three and 1,170 copies. There are two fortnightly magazines in the Hindi language with an aggregate circulation of 10,500 copies compared with only one in 1891, of which 450 copies were issued. There is one monthly magazine in Hindi and one in Oriyá, but the average circulation is only 500 and 400, respectively.

493. In connection with the subject of literacy, it is interesting to notice the various customs prevailing in different parts of the province in respect of the marks affixed to documents, in lieu of signature, by those who are unable to write. In Eastern Bengal a simple dash, called *nishán shái* or signature mark, is prefixed to the name, which is written by the scribe. In West Bengal the dash is replaced by a cross, called *dherá shái* or signature

\* For a discussion of the claims of some of the castes here mentioned to a higher rank than that usually assigned to them see paragraphs 612 & 618 to 620.



cross.\* In Bihar no special mark is used, and the illiterate executant makes at his pleasure a crooked line, cross, or circle as his *nishán-dastkhat*. The Atithis of Saran and Sannyásis of Gaya, however, are said to use a trident, as emblematical of Siva. Muhammadan females

## SIGNATURE MARKS.

Baishnab (males and females).		Karmálá (bead necklace).
Barhi (male)		Mugur (hammer).
Bhumij (male)		Tir (arrow).
Bhandári (male)		Nahuráni (nail-parer).
Baniya (male)		Nikti (scales).
Darzi (male)		Kainchi (scissors).
Khandáit (male)		Katári (dagger).
Ditto		Kbantá (do. ).
Ditto		Sayeph (sword).
Ditto		Lekhan (style).
Mahuria (male)		Mahuri (wind instrument).
Tiyar (male)		Bejákáthi (fish trap).
Females of all Hindu castes except Baishnab.		Mudi (ring).
Musalman males		Katári (dagger).
Do. females		Kankan (bracelet).

holding landed property generally have a seal with their monogram on it which they affix to documents executed by them. In Orissa each caste uses for this purpose a distinctive mark, or *santak*, symbolical of its characteristic occupation. This is drawn on the document by the person concerned or by his scribe. The word *santak* seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *sánketika*, meaning a sign or symbol. The Khitibansa, or school-master caste, has, as its *santak*, a small circle representing a piece of chalk. The Baishnab makes a sketch of a bead necklace, such as he uses for his prayers, the Barhi of a hammer, the Bhumij of an arrow, the Bhandári of a nail-parer, the Baniyá of a pair of scales, and the Darzi of a pair of scissors. When a caste follows more than one occupation, it has a separate *santak* for each. The Dhobá, for instance, has one mark (an axe) to represent the splitting of wood and another symbolical of the washing of clothes. Except in the case of Baishnabs these special caste-marks are used by males only. Hindu females of all castes use a ring as their *santak*, and Musalman females a bracelet. Specimens of some of the *santaks* in use in the Cuttack district are given in the margin. It is needless to say that the drawings actually made are far less elaborate than those here

printed. The Tributary Chiefs have special *santaks* of their own. Those of Band, Daspalla, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj have a peacock, the Chief of Narsingpur a scorpion, and the Chief of Dhenkanal, a flag and a fish. The Chief's *santak* invariably finds a place on his State seal.

Similar caste symbols are in use in the Sonthal Parganas, where the Khetauri draws a bow and arrow, the Bhuiyá, a dagger, the Santál, an arrow, the Kámár a pair of tongs, the Tánti a shuttle, the Gosáin a trident, the Kahár a palanquin and the like. The same practice formerly prevailed throughout Chota Nagpur and the south of Gaya, and still survives in several districts; but it is rapidly dying out, owing partly to the spread of education and partly to the substitution of the practice of touching the pen or affixing a simple mark, which is in vogue in the Gúrts and registration offices. Wherever these marks are in use the Santáls, Mundas, Hos and Bhumijes almost invariably select an arrow as their device.

\* A *dherd* consists of two pieces of wood tied crosswise, and forms the lower part of the instrument used for twisting jute rope.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—EDUCATION BY AGE, SEX AND RELIGION.

AGE PERIOD.	NUMBER IN 1,000.						NUMBER IN 1,000 LITERATE IN—								NUMBER IN 1,000 LITERATE IN ENGLISH.	
	LITERATE.			ILLITERATE.			BENGALI.		HINDI.		ORIYA.		OTHER LANGUAGES.			
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
TOTAL POPULATION, 1901.																
Total ...	55	194	5	945	896	995	67.8	5.6	23.0	0.7	10.0	0.2	3.2	0.5	9.0	0.6
0-10 ...	10	19	2	990	961	998	14.2	1.3	2.9	0.3	1.4	0.1	0.5	0.3	1.2	0.2
10-15 ...	59	191	6	941	889	992	71.2	5.6	18.7	1.0	8.7	0.2	2.1	0.3	10.7	0.3
15-20 ...	74	140	9	926	890	991	95.0	7.0	28.7	1.0	12.3	0.3	4.0	0.7	18.0	0.9
20 and over ...	76	147	6	924	859	994	92.6	4.1	34.7	1.0	14.9	0.3	4.9	0.6	11.4	0.7
HINDU.																
Total ...	66	127	6	934	875	994	78.4	4.8	31.6	0.9	15.7	0.3	1.3	.....	11.4	0.1
0-10 ...	14	28	2	986	975	998	18.0	1.7	4.0	0.2	2.8	0.1	.....	.....	1.4	0.04
10-15 ...	75	125	9	925	872	991	88.0	7.3	25.6	1.1	13.8	0.4	0.0	.....	14.7	0.2
15-20 ...	80	129	13	910	881	988	110.0	9.0	38.2	1.3	19.0	0.8	1.8	.....	23.4	0.3
20 and over ...	88	171	7	912	829	993	101.1	5.3	45.8	1.2	22.3	0.5	1.8	.....	13.8	0.2
MUHAMMADAN.																
Total ...	35	68	2	965	939	998	54.7	1.2	8.4	0.4	0.4	.....	4.3	0.4	2.8	0.03
0-10 ...	5	8	1	995	991	999	7.5	0.6	1.0	0.2	.....	.....	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.006
10-15 ...	35	60	3	985	940	997	49.4	1.8	6.7	0.6	0.4	.....	3.3	0.6	3.1	0.05
15-20 ...	48	94	3	954	906	997	75.4	1.8	11.4	0.6	0.0	.....	8.0	0.6	6.4	0.06
20 and over ...	64	103	3	946	892	997	89.5	1.6	12.6	0.5	0.8	.....	7.2	0.6	3.7	0.04
BUDDHIST.																
Total ...	72	136	7	928	864	993	39.9	1.0	10.5	0.6	0.4	.....	85.4	5.4	4.8	0.2
0-10 ...	6	11	1	984	980	998	8.0	0.8	0.5	0.3	.....	.....	3.9	0.9	0.4	0.1
10-15 ...	52	90	7	948	910	993	49.6	1.0	4.1	0.6	0.3	.....	39.0	3.4	5.2	0.3
15-20 ...	85	103	8	915	835	992	85.3	1.0	14.7	0.3	.....	.....	94.3	6.7	10.3	0.3
20 and over ...	113	214	9	897	796	991	54.5	1.0	10.7	0.8	0.6	.....	132.2	7.4	6.3	0.3
ANIMIST.																
Total ...	4	8	.....	996	992	1,000	2.5	.....	4.7	.....	0.6	.....	0.2	.....	0.1	0.006
0-10 ...	1	1	.....	999	999	1,000	0.4	.....	0.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.007	0.002
10-15 ...	4	5	.....	996	992	1,000	2.4	.....	5.0	.....	0.5	.....	.....	.....	0.06	0.002
15-20 ...	7	13	.....	993	987	1,000	4.6	.....	7.4	.....	0.6	.....	.....	.....	0.2	0.008
20 and over ...	6	12	.....	994	988	1,000	3.6	.....	6.9	.....	1.3	.....	.....	.....	0.2	0.003
CHRISTIAN.																
Total ...	252	310	191	743	690	509	63.8	46.7	32.8	20.8	8.5	9.0	185.2	114.5	210.7	132.6
0-10 ...	83	87	70	917	913	921	22.8	20.7	13.7	10.5	2.5	2.5	45.3	45.3	54.5	49.3
10-15 ...	266	282	247	734	719	753	87.6	68.8	86.0	43.7	9.1	13.5	29.4	100.0	120.1	130.0
15-20 ...	329	354	304	671	645	626	97.9	86.7	87.0	42.6	10.3	18.7	162.8	167.0	225.8	178.7
20 and over ...	340	440	230	660	600	770	74.7	40.9	60.3	17.6	10.5	10.6	294.5	154.9	302.5	177.2



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—EDUCATION BY AGE, SEX AND LOCALITY.

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.				LITERATE PER 1,000.								TOTAL POPULATION OF ALL AGES.	
				0-10.		10-15.		15-20.		20 AND OVER.			
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1				2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL				19	9	101	8	140	9	147	6	104	5
WEST BENGAL				49	5	211	12	249	13	241	9	188	5
Bardham				44	3	190	11	223	10	197	9	162	8
Birbhum				38	1	189	7	219	7	198	5	153	4
Bankura				51	2	215	9	243	10	241	6	183	5
Midnapore				53	3	205	10	257	10	273	8	205	7
Hooghly				53	5	224	20	257	23	240	16	197	14
Howrah				33	4	242	10	284	19	265	14	212	12
CENTRAL BENGAL				37	6	167	26	217	30	210	18	162	16
24-Pargannas				53	4	227	23	260	21	258	14	202	13
Calcutta				129	62	390	180	425	204	323	108	316	115
Nadia				30	3	116	12	140	17	126	10	104	8
Murshidabad				18	2	111	8	152	10	162	7	108	6
Jessore				17	1	100	8	127	9	105	5	110	5
NORTH BENGAL				14	1	77	5	110	5	122	4	84	3
Rajshahi				13	1	56	5	107	5	118	4	80	4
Dinajpur				10	1	92	4	123	4	145	3	98	3
Jalpaiguri				12	2	59	6	88	6	99	4	70	4
Darjeeling				11	6	77	18	124	21	165	17	119	14
Rangpur				9	1	53	3	78	3	94	3	64	2
Bogra				17	1	101	4	128	4	141	4	96	3
Pabna				15	1	93	5	127	7	154	5	91	4
Malda				14	1	72	3	104	4	107	5	74	2
Koch Bihar				16	2	88	7	134	7	152	5	107	4
Sikkim				4	0.3	32	2	35	3	105	3	66	3
EAST BENGAL				17	2	108	9	153	11	157	8	108	6
Khulna				23	3	130	12	165	13	170	10	124	8
Dacca				22	2	137	15	184	20	171	13	121	10
Mymensingh				10	1	68	4	94	6	104	5	69	4
Faridpur				17	1	100	8	137	13	136	7	87	6
Backergunge				30	3	155	12	210	14	200	10	147	9
Tippura				17	2	123	7	179	8	178	6	121	5
Noakhali				8	1	53	5	140	5	173	4	105	3
Chittagong				13	2	95	5	102	6	201	6	117	6
Chittagong Hill Tracts				4	1	32	2	80	3	120	4	79	3
Hill Tippura				4	1	34	2	53	3	68	2	41	2
NORTH BIHAR				9	.5	55	2	82	3	98	2	66	2
Saran				6	.2	53	2	89	3	119	3	73	2
Champaran				4	.4	30	2	55	2	67	1	45	1
Muzaffarpur				16	1	68	4	100	5	115	4	78	3
Darbhanga				12	1	68	2	111	3	99	3	71	1
Bhagalpur				11	.4	55	2	89	2	96	2	63	1
Patna				10	1	51	2	72	3	81	1	57	1
SOUTH BIHAR				11	1	75	4	106	5	116	4	82	3
Patna				22	2	120	9	162	9	159	7	123	6
Gaya				10	1	68	2	81	3	100	3	72	2
Shahabad				9	1	67	3	106	5	121	4	86	3
Monghyr				8	1	53	2	79	4	80	2	58	2
ORISSA				25	2	139	6	176	7	215	5	151	4
Cuttack				28	2	145	7	183	7	219	5	150	5
Balasore				27	2	142	6	182	7	222	5	157	4
Puri				19	1	116	5	154	7	196	5	130	4
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU				8	1	44	4	66	4	80	3	52	3
Hazaribagh				9	1	42	3	77	3	78	2	52	2
Ranchi				7	2	41	3	70	3	85	3	51	1
Palamau				4	.4	31	2	49	2	60	2	37	1
Manbhum				17	2	72	5	92	6	112	4	77	3
Singbhum				11	1	44	3	55	4	72	3	48	2
South Parganas				9	1	50	4	69	4	71	2	47	2
Angul				6	.4	35	2	47	2	69	1	39	1
Chota Nagpur Tributary States				1	.3	8	1	19	2	27	1	10	1
Orissa Tributary States				7	1	40	3	70	4	101	3	64	2



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—PROGRESS OF EDUCATION SINCE 1881.

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.	NUMBER PER 1,000 MALES.					NUMBER PER 1,000 FEMALES.					NUMBER PER 1,000 OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE WHO ARE LITERATE.			
											Male.		Female.	
	Literate.	Literate.	Learning.	Literate.	Learning.	Literate.	Literate.	Learning.	Literate.	Learning.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<b>BENGAL</b> ... ..	104	81	24	57	29	5	3	1	2	1	146	137	7	4
<b>WEST BENGAL</b> ... ..	188	141	59	112	60	8	3	1	2	1	242	228	10	5
Burdwan ... ..	102	117	36	63	40	4	4	1	1	1	200	190	10	5
Birbhum ... ..	153	120	38	92	50	4	2	1	1	1	201	208	5	3
Bankura ... ..	183	129	56	107	60	5	3	1	1	1	242	223	8	3
Midnapore ... ..	205	139	65	115	62	7	3	1	1	1	270	226	9	4
Hooghly ... ..	197	165	75	139	67	14	7	2	2	1	243	260	16	9
Howrah ... ..	212	179	70	145	72	12	7	2	2	2	263	257	14	8
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b> ... ..	162	122	35	99	41	10	11	3	5	2	211	188	19	16
24-Parganas ... ..	202	157	53	129	62	13	14	5	3	2	260	244	15	10
Calcutta ... ..	310	278	47	246	66	115	71	19	45	21	335	262	121	90
Nadia ... ..	104	71	25	65	27	9	4	1	2	1	138	127	11	6
Murshidabad ... ..	106	75	28	66	27	6	3	1	1	1	132	127	7	4
Jessore ... ..	110	84	22	71	35	5	6	2	1	1	151	143	6	3
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b> ... ..	84	69	19	51	25	3	1	1	1	1	120	116	4	2
Rajshahi ... ..	80	61	18	45	22	4	2	1	2	1	117	110	5	3
Dinajpur ... ..	90	82	19	67	25	3	1	1	1	1	142	128	3	1
Jalpaiguri ... ..	70	71	18	39	18	4	2	1	1	1	98	114	4	3
Darjeeling ... ..	110	114	19	94	19	14	6	2	4	3	168	175	18	8
Rangpur ... ..	64	54	14	47	21	2	1	1	1	1	92	80	3	1
Bohara ... ..	66	70	20	71	40	3	1	1	1	1	139	120	4	2
Pabna ... ..	61	69	24	62	31	4	2	1	1	1	123	125	5	3
Malda ... ..	74	58	21	44	24	2	1	1	1	1	107	106	3	1
Koch Bihar ... ..	107	80	23	62	28	4	2	1	1	1	150	123	6	3
Sikkim ... ..	96	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	144	...	3	...
<b>EAST BENGAL</b> ... ..	108	88	50	66	37	6	3	1	2	1	156	157	8	5
Khulna ... ..	124	87	38	67	35	8	3	1	1	1	163	142	10	4
Dacca ... ..	121	85	34	64	33	10	6	1	2	1	173	163	14	9
Mymensingh ... ..	69	61	18	43	24	4	2	1	1	1	102	107	5	3
Faridpur ... ..	97	88	27	61	34	6	4	1	1	1	135	144	8	6
Backergunge ... ..	147	117	34	82	36	9	4	1	3	1	202	197	11	6
Tippura ... ..	121	100	30	81	40	6	3	1	4	3	178	179	6	4
Naskhali ... ..	105	96	43	79	58	3	2	1	1	1	174	169	5	2
Chittagong ... ..	117	96	41	84	55	5	2	1	1	1	194	190	6	3
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	79	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	123	...	4	...
Hill Tippera ... ..	41	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	61	...	2	...
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	66	58	10	29	15	2	1	...	1	...	96	92	2	1
Saran ... ..	73	59	10	20	15	2	2	...	1	1	114	102	3	2
Champaran ... ..	45	37	5	19	9	1	1	...	...	...	65	60	1	1
Muzaffarpur ... ..	78	75	16	33	14	3	1	...	1	...	113	114	4	2
Darbhanga ... ..	71	68	7	33	15	1	1	...	...	...	100	98	2	1
Bhagalpur ... ..	63	53	8	26	16	1	1	...	1	...	95	86	2	1
Purnea ... ..	57	56	10	30	18	1	...	...	1	1	80	90	2	1
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b> ... ..	82	73	12	44	17	3	3	...	3	1	115	118	4	3
Patna ... ..	123	90	20	67	20	6	4	1	9	4	159	133	7	5
Gaya ... ..	72	67	9	45	17	2	1	...	1	...	99	100	3	2
Shahabad ... ..	86	65	9	39	15	3	2	...	1	...	125	110	4	2
Monghyr ... ..	88	64	10	32	11	2	3	...	1	...	82	102	3	2
<b>ORISSA</b> ... ..	151	101	32	61	42	4	2	1	1	1	208	166	5	3
Cuttack ... ..	189	104	53	67	41	5	3	1	1	1	213	189	6	3
Balasore ... ..	157	96	34	65	33	4	2	1	1	1	216	167	5	4
Puri ... ..	180	92	26	65	32	4	2	1	3	2	192	140	3	3
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU</b> ... ..	52	36	10	23	12	3	1	1	1	...	78	66	3	2
Hazribagh ... ..	52	41	13	21	10	2	1	1	1	...	73	77	3	2
Ranchi ... ..	51	39	8	20	10	5	2	1	1	1	63	56	3	4
Palamou ... ..	57	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	50	...	2	...
Manbhum ... ..	77	56	13	30	10	3	1	1	1	1	108	94	4	3
Singbhum ... ..	45	35	17	21	20	3	2	1	1	1	70	66	3	3
South Parganas ... ..	47	34	9	23	11	3	1	...	1	1	70	62	3	1
Angul ... ..	39	25	10	21	16	1	...	...	...	...	57	43	1	1
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ... ..	16	14	1	8	3	1	1	...	1	...	26	28	1	1
Orissa Tributary States ... ..	61	48	10	23	10	2	1	...	1	...	96	82	3	2

Note.—In columns 13 and 15 the persons over 15 who were returned as "learning" in 1901 have been treated as literate. The figures shown against Calcutta for 1901 include the Suburbs.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—ENGLISH EDUCATION BY AGE, SEX AND LOCALITY.

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.	LITERATE IN ENGLISH PER 10,000.									
	0-10		10-15		15-20		20 AND OVER		TOTAL POPULATION OF ALL AGES.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>BENGAL</b>	12	9	107	8	180	9	114	7	89	6
<b>WEST BENGAL</b>	23	9	231	6	334	8	209	7	175	5
Bardwan	30	5	296	13	424	17	392	12	207	11
Birbhum	16	1	134	2	202	1	112	2	84	1
Bankura	13	1	162	1	217	3	134	1	110	1
Midnapore	11	1	95	4	139	3	82	3	75	3
Hoochly	51	1	440	7	603	8	492	7	351	6
Howrah	48	6	407	13	700	20	464	26	389	20
<b>CENTRAL BENGAL</b>	48	16	369	57	571	58	405	44	324	38
24 Parganas	29	2	301	6	457	9	319	12	251	8
Calcutta	506	258	1,023	784	1,094	680	1,303	441	1,323	455
Nadia	19	1	230	5	271	6	202	4	167	3
Morshidabad	10	1	144	3	257	3	129	3	100	2
Jessore	11	1	147	1	150	1	107	1	94	1
<b>NORTH BENGAL</b>	7	1	67	5	102	4	59	4	48	3
Bajshahi	6	1	79	1	140	2	60	1	58	1
Dinajpur	4	1	39	1	43	1	20	1	29	1
Jalpaiguri	5	1	37	7	47	7	34	4	38	3
Darjeeling	47	33	160	90	152	83	150	60	130	63
Rangpur	4	1	38	3	59	3	39	2	30	2
Bogra	7	1	65	1	83	1	44	1	38	1
Pabna	12	1	138	2	206	3	107	2	93	2
Malda	7	1	47	2	61	1	43	1	55	2
Kuch Bihar	6	1	57	5	118	3	67	3	60	2
Sikkim	3	1	13	1	37	1	16	1	14	3
<b>EAST BENGAL</b>	9	1	116	2	201	3	94	2	80	2
Khulna	16	1	191	2	240	3	119	2	110	2
Dacca	15	1	213	5	423	6	189	4	148	3
Mymensingh	5	1	80	1	122	1	66	1	51	1
Faridpur	9	1	110	1	177	2	86	2	79	1
Backergunge	19	1	152	2	253	2	87	2	89	2
Tippura	5	1	64	1	132	1	71	1	55	1
Noakhali	2	1	40	1	101	1	53	1	39	1
Chittagong	7	1	73	5	174	7	130	4	83	4
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5	1	43	2	41	5	38	1	29	1
Hill Tippera	4	1	41	1	73	2	45	0	34	1
<b>NORTH BIHAR</b>	3	1	27	1	55	2	34	2	26	1
Saran	3	1	20	1	74	2	60	1	35	1
Champan	3	1	18	2	59	2	31	2	23	1
Muzaffarpur	7	1	50	1	85	2	47	2	40	1
Darbhanga	2	1	15	1	30	3	20	2	15	1
Bhagalpur	3	1	30	1	66	1	30	2	24	1
Purnea	2	1	18	1	24	2	25	2	18	1
<b>SOUTH BIHAR</b>	6	2	49	4	91	5	64	4	49	3
Patna	12	6	94	17	165	14	111	8	94	9
Gaya	3	1	34	1	62	1	41	2	32	1
Shahabad	5	1	56	1	103	2	70	2	54	2
Monghyr	6	1	24	2	51	0	41	0	30	3
<b>ORISSA</b>	5	2	46	5	73	5	47	2	38	2
Cuttack	7	1	52	4	80	4	56	5	46	3
Balaso	3	1	24	1	67	2	29	2	31	1
Puri	3	1	33	1	51	2	39	2	31	1
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.</b>	3	1	20	1	37	2	33	2	22	2
Hazaribagh	4	1	4	3	84	3	46	4	35	3
Ranchi	4	1	6	1	63	2	47	3	28	2
Palamu	2	1	21	3	28	2	25	1	17	1
Manbhum	10	1	43	2	68	2	61	1	43	1
Singbhum	3	1	27	2	33	3	65	6	33	4
Bonthal Parganas	3	1	22	2	36	4	51	4	21	3
Angul	1	1	1	1	6	1	17	1	9	1
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	1	1	2	1	3	1	5	1	3	1
Orissa Tributary States	4	1	9	1	14	1	12	1	9	1



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—EDUCATION BY SELECTED CASTES.

CASTES.	NUMBER PER 1,000.						NUMBER PER 10,000 LITERATE IS ENGLISH.			PERCENTAGE OF PROPORTION OF LITERATE ON CORRESPONDING PROPORTION FOR THE WHOLE PROVINCE.		
	LITERATE.			ILLITERATE.			Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Agaria	1	2		999	998	1,000				2	3	
Akarsala	351	544	30	649	455	970	158	242		638	823	600
Agari	313	498	34	687	503	946	357	504		589	479	680
Ahir or Goula	17	33	1	983	967	999	6	13		31	22	20
Atith	34	75		966	922	1,000	2	6		82	75	
Atrai (Muhammadian)	37	76	2	963	924	998	4	9		67	67	40
Babhan	88	169	9	912	834	991	13	27		160	160	139
Bagdi	18	30	2	984	970	998	6	9		29	29	40
Baldya	459	648	269	544	332	741	1,585	3,030	85	829	622	5,199
Baidmab	108	231	10	894	779	1,000	44	94	13	193	213	200
Baniya	89	190	2	911	890	988	17	32		182	173	40
Barhi	23	46	1	977	954	992	6	12		42	44	20
Barnawar	157	285	3	843	715	997	16	23		249	274	60
Barui	74	148	3	926	852	997	64	130	1	135	142	60
Bauri	4	8	1	996	993	999				7	9	20
Bediya (Muhammadian)	66	116	5	934	884	995	7	14		120	112	100
Behara (Muhammadian)	8	14	2	992	986	998				15	13	40
Bhandari	28	72	1	972	928	999	2	5		85	89	20
Bhat (Muhammadian)	28	61	1	972	939	993	2	4		51	59	20
Bhathara (Muhammadian)	6	13		994	987	1,000				11	13	
Bhogta	3	7		997	993	1,000				5	7	
Bhotia	88	190	1	912	864	992				160	131	30
Bhotia (Buddhist)	38	85	5	962	915	995	2	5		69	65	100
Bhoinmali	22	41	1	978	959	999	3	7		40	30	20
Bhuiya	5	9		995	991	1,000		1		9	9	
Bhumij	7	14	1	993	979	999				13	15	20
Bhumij (Animist)	3	5		997	996	1,000				5	5	
Bind	3	6		997	994	1,000		1		5	6	
Brahman	238	467	26	762	533	974	358	737	5	433	449	530
Chakma (Buddhist)	45	83	2	955	917	998	11	21		82	80	40
Chamar	6	12		994	988	1,000	1	3		11	12	
Chandal or Namasandra	33	64	1	967	936	992	4	9		80	63	30
Chasa	38	74	1	962	926	999	2	3		69	71	20
Chero	12	23		988	977	1,000	1	2		28	22	
Chik (Barnik)	17	37	1	983	963	999	1	2		31	38	20
Chinese (Buddhist)	400	518	258	610	482	774	1,241	1,239	1,238	891	498	4,520
Churihar (Muhammadian)	10	20		990	980	1,000				18	18	
Dafai (Muhammadian)	31	63	1	969	937	990	4	9		56	61	30
Dal (Muhammadian)	21	46	3	979	954	997	4	11		38	44	60
Darn (Muhammadian)	19	41	2	981	959	998	11	26		35	39	40
Dhank	10	20	1	990	980	990	1	2		18	19	30
Dhawa (Muhammadian)	9	18	3	991	985	997	2	5		18	19	30
Dhoba	28	61	1	974	949	999	6	11		16	14	60
Dhobi (Muhammadian)	5	10		995	990	1,000		1		47	49	20
Dhunia (Muhammadian)	7	15	1	993	986	999				9	10	
Dom	12	24	1	988	974	999	2	4		13	14	20
Dom Jaliya	27	55	1	973	946	999	2	4		22	23	30
Dosadh	4	8		996	992	1,000	1	2		49	53	20
Drasian (Christian)	788	792	784	212	395	316	7,832	7,800	7,729	1,432	761	13,686
Fakar (Muhammadian)	23	46	1	977	954	999	1	3		42	44	20
Firingi (Christian)	247	339	132	753	683	848	1,798	2,164	1,411	449	325	3,044
Gandhabank	318	510	63	682	490	837	1,018	1,786	39	578	490	1,250
Garo	12	24		988	976	1,000				22	23	
Garo (Christian)	115	171	54	885	829	948	20	38		209	164	1,080
Garo (Animist)	3	5		997	996	1,000				5	5	
Gaur	23	46	1	977	954	999	2	4		42	44	20
Ghad	10	18	2	990	983	993	1	1		18	17	40
Gond	2	4	1	998	996	999				4	4	20
Gour	4	8	1	996	992	999	1	2		7	8	20
Gurung	53	99	6	947	901	993	6	13		96	95	120
Hajjam	13	25		987	973	999	3	7		24	24	20
Hajjam (Muhammadian)	21	39	4	979	961	995	4	6	1	38	38	20
Halwai	111	198	50	889	849	956	108	199	105	202	133	1,000
Hari	10	19	1	990	981	999	1	2		18	12	20
Ho	2	4		998	996	1,000				4	4	
Ho (Animist)	7	14		993	986	1,000	1	3		13	12	20
Jolaha (Muhammadian)	25	50	5	975	950	995	10	20		45	48	40
Jogi	104	202	4	896	798	906	26	51		189	194	80
Kabar	19	39	1	981	961	999	7	15		35	34	20
Kabartta (Chasi)	130	283	4	870	877	996	52	131		236	211	60
Kabartta (Jaliya)	43	94	2	957	918	998	8	16		78	61	40
Kalal (Muhammadian)	63	137	2	937	863	998	11	23		114	132	40
Kala	85	168	4	915	834	990	25	49	1	155	160	80
Kalwar	110	220	3	890	780	997	22	44	1	200	212	60
Kamar	95	192	5	905	815	995	44	86	13	173	175	100
Kandh	6	12	1	994	990	999				9	10	20
Kandh (Animist)	18	36	1	982	964	999				33	35	20
Kandu	25	50	1	975	948	999	3	6		45	50	20
Kansari	219	384	49	782	616	951	425	611	31	389	399	599
Kara	31	62	21	969	938	979	18	37		59	49	420
Karan	260	525	23	734	473	977	125	239	1	484	648	400
Kasai (Muhammadian)	33	77		967	933	1,000	6	13		60	74	
Kasarwani	114	234	3	886	776	997	21	41		207	215	80
Kayastha	311	540	60	689	440	934	673	1,323	33	567	535	1,320
Kowat	20	41		980	959	1,000	1	1		35	39	20
Khambi	43	82	2	957	918	998	3	7		78	79	40
Khandait	76	154	3	924	846	997	6	13		138	143	60
Kharai (Animist)	2	3		998	997	1,000						
Kharwar	5	11		995	990	1,000		1		9	11	
Khas	17	37	3	983	973	997	1	3		31	35	20
Khatri	279	380	73	721	620	927	438	736	17	607	365	1,480
Khatwa	7	13		993	986	1,000				13	14	
Koti	17	34		983	966	1,000	2	4		31	33	



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—EDUCATION BY SELECTED CASTES—concluded.

CASTES.	NUMBER PER 1,000.						NUMBER PER 10,000 LITERATE IN ENGLISH.			PERCENTAGE OF PROPORTION OF LITERATE OR CORRESPONDING PROPORTION FOR THE WHOLE PROVINCE.		
	LITERATE.			ILLITERATE.			Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Kaia (Muhammadan) ...	23	44	1	977	956	990	2	4	...	42	43	...
Kumhar ...	34	67	2	966	933	998	11	22	...	62	64	...
Kunjra (Muhammadan) ...	10	20	1	990	980	990	6	13	...	18	19	...
Kurmi ...	30	60	1	970	940	990	3	6	...	55	54	...
Kurmi (Animist) ...	8	17	...	992	983	1,000	1	2	...	15	14	...
Laheri (Muhammadan) ...	19	40	...	981	940	1,000	1	2	...	55	54	...
Lepcha (Buddhist) ...	29	52	...	971	948	996	8	12	...	53	50	...
Lepcha (Christian) ...	141	229	64	859	771	994	28	44	12	268	230	1,290
Limbū ...	20	54	3	970	948	997	12	23	...	55	52	...
Lohar ...	11	22	1	989	975	999	2	3	...	20	21	...
Mach (Buddhist) ...	87	173	8	913	827	992	24	51	...	158	166	...
Mahauri ...	524	705	40	476	395	960	170	247	...	953	673	800
Mahuri ...	133	272	3	867	735	997	12	26	...	242	282	...
Mai (Muhammadan) ...	22	41	...	978	969	997	...	...	...	40	39	...
Mallah ...	10	24	...	990	974	1,000	1	2	...	18	23	...
Mallik (Muhammadan) ...	43	85	2	957	916	998	13	27	...	78	82	...
Malpahari ...	1	3	...	996	997	1,000	1	2	...	2	3	...
Mangar ...	54	99	5	946	941	995	3	6	...	98	95	...
Mayra ...	243	335	87	752	658	943	505	713	63	451	322	1,130
Moghal (Muhammadan) ...	312	417	129	688	583	971	798	1,205	84	567	401	2,250
Mochi ...	8	15	1	992	985	999	1	2	...	15	14	...
Mochi (Muhammadan) ...	51	104	...	949	892	1,000	...	...	...	83	104	...
Mokeri (Muhammadan) ...	31	66	...	969	934	1,000	...	...	...	56	63	...
Munda ...	20	30	...	980	964	998	1	2	...	38	30	...
Munda (Christian) ...	68	115	18	932	882	982	56	111	1	124	113	300
Munda (Animist) ...	7	13	...	993	987	1,000	...	...	...	13	13	...
Murmi ...	41	71	5	959	929	985	21	43	...	75	68	...
Murmi (Buddhist) ...	54	64	4	906	896	990	1	2	...	62	62	...
Muzahar ...	4	8	...	996	993	1,000	...	...	...	7	8	...
Nagaroda (Muhammadan) ...	30	49	1	970	961	999	7	13	...	55	47	...
Najit ...	98	187	6	902	813	994	61	118	...	178	180	...
Newar ...	62	141	13	918	898	987	18	37	1	149	186	290
Nikari (Muhammadan) ...	29	52	3	971	948	995	9	19	...	53	60	...
Nunliya ...	10	20	2	990	980	998	1	2	...	18	19	...
Oran ...	4	8	1	996	994	1,000	...	...	...	7	6	...
Oran (Christian) ...	41	83	30	959	947	970	23	44	1	75	80	690
Oran (Animist) ...	3	6	...	997	994	1,000	1	1	...	5	6	...
Oswal ...	498	640	61	502	351	930	112	135	...	905	684	1,220
Par ...	6	12	...	994	986	1,000	...	...	...	11	12	...
Paul ...	6	12	1	994	988	999	1	2	...	11	13	...
Pathar (Muhammadan) ...	176	209	51	824	791	940	274	339	34	320	260	1,020
Pod ...	94	153	3	906	817	985	15	29	...	170	175	...
Rajbansi (Koch) ...	31	53	1	969	941	990	3	6	...	66	66	...
Rajput ...	77	150	4	923	890	998	16	31	...	140	144	...
Rajwar ...	2	4	...	998	996	1,000	...	...	...	4	4	...
Rangres (Muhammadan) ...	40	80	3	960	930	998	7	15	...	75	78	...
Ranjar ...	108	202	1	894	798	999	1	2	...	193	194	...
Rodgop ...	139	268	12	861	732	983	165	225	2	252	254	340
Said (Muhammadan) ...	150	274	24	850	726	976	184	361	4	272	305	480
Santal ...	3	5	...	997	995	1,000	...	...	...	5	5	...
Santal (Christian) ...	226	290	151	774	710	943	331	460	76	410	278	3,020
Santal (Animist) ...	3	7	...	997	993	1,000	...	...	...	5	7	...
Sikahar (Muhammadan) ...	50	103	...	950	897	1,000	...	...	...	90	99	...
Sonar ...	68	140	2	932	860	994	13	27	...	123	134	...
Subarnabank ...	323	519	61	677	481	919	1,614	2,083	74	587	429	1,050
Sudra ...	102	209	9	898	791	991	61	129	1	165	200	190
Sunri (Shaha) ...	181	354	11	819	646	980	88	176	1	320	340	290
Sunwar ...	56	123	3	934	878	997	12	22	...	120	117	...
Sutradhar ...	62	116	5	938	894	995	54	102	2	113	119	...
Tanti and Tata ...	62	119	5	938	891	995	57	113	1	113	114	...
Tell ...	60	118	3	940	882	997	26	53	...	109	113	...
Tharu ...	7	13	...	993	985	1,000	...	...	...	12	14	...
Tibetan (Buddhist) ...	81	150	7	919	854	993	13	24	...	147	144	...
Toli ...	164	330	2	836	681	992	77	164	...	296	229	...
Tipara ...	3	5	...	997	995	1,000	1	2	...	5	5	...
Tiyar ...	28	53	10	972	967	990	63	83	...	51	32	...
Vanya ...	344	616	90	656	385	910	403	835	...	625	591	1,800
Yakha ...	126	250	20	874	780	990	55	63	...	229	212	400



## Chapter X.

## LANGUAGE.

494. In 1881 and 1891 the column in which information was collected regarding language was headed "parent tongue" and the enumerators were told to enter the language returned by each person as spoken in his parents' home. This may have led to mistakes when, as occasionally happens, a person changed his domicile and adopted a new language, or when a Munda or Oráon accepted Hinduism, and at the same time discarded his own tribal language in favour of the local Aryan dialect. At the present census the title of the column was changed to "Language ordinarily used" and the corresponding instruction for the guidance of the enumerators was "Enter the language which each person returns as that which he ordinarily uses." If the words "in his own home" had been added, there could have been no possible doubt as to the meaning of the rule, but the omission of these words may sometimes have led to the return of a language other than that spoken in the family circle. Oriyás serving in Bengal and Bengalis employed in Bihar ordinarily speak Bengali and Bihári respectively and not their own parent tongue. In Palamau a dialect of Bihári is in general use as a *lingua franca*, but many of the Dravidian tribes speak their own tribal language at home. The various Nepal tribes have their peculiar dialects which they speak in their own homes, but they can, as a rule, also speak Khas. In these and similar cases it is probable that the wrong language was occasionally returned,\* but it is not likely that this happened to an extent sufficient to seriously affect the return. The enumerators were very carefully taught and the records prepared by them were closely checked, and there are good grounds for believing that such mistakes were, as a rule, eliminated.

495. A more serious difficulty lay in the fact that the philological distinctions between languages and dialects are not always reflected in the names by which they are known to the people. This was especially the case in respect of the dialects spoken in Bihar.

These dialects, taken together, constitute a language which is now recognised as being entirely distinct from Hindi properly so-called, and are now known collectively to grammarians as Bihári†. But to the ordinary native they are all alike called Hindi. Separate dialects, such as Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi, are known to exist, but these distinctions are not looked on as of any practical importance, and at least ninety-nine persons out of a hundred, if asked what their language was, would at once reply Hindi, and this is what was usually recorded in the language columns of the census schedules.‡ So far, therefore, as the Bihári dialects are concerned, the census returns of language are not of much use. They show how many people speak Bengali and Oriyá, as distinguished from Hindi and Bihári taken together, but even here the information is not quite accurate. Language does not change suddenly, but by slow and almost imperceptible gradations, and what is called Bengali by the people is often held to be Bihári by the philologist.

Bengali, like Bihári, is divided into a number of dialects which, with one or two exceptions, were not returned at the Census, and the returns merely show the total number of persons speaking Bengali irrespective of dialect. In respect, however, of the non-Aryan dialects of Nepal, Chota Nagpur and Eastern Bengal, a very complete record was made by the enumerators, but the compilation of the statistics was unusually troublesome, owing to the want of precision in the terms used in the schedules. The same language is often known by different names in different places. The language of the Mundas,

\* A few instances came to my personal notice. Some French gentlemen engaged in the silk business in Muzshidabad returned their language as English, and two German missionaries in Chota Nagpur entered Oráon and Mundári respectively in the language column of the schedule.

† See *post*, paragraph 505.

‡ In the Patna office, statistics of these incomplete returns of dialects were not recorded. Those for districts dealt with elsewhere are given for what they are worth on the last page of Table X—Language.



for example, is known as Mundári in some places and as Horo or Horo Kaji in others, and that of the Oráons as Kurukh, Kunukh or Kachnakhra. It often happens also that the same name has a different meaning in different localities. Kol sometimes means Mundári, sometimes Ho, sometimes the Kármáli dialect of Santáli and sometimes Oráon. Dhángari usually means Oráon, but in the neighbourhood of the Sonthal Parganas it is a synonym for Korá. Paháriá may mean Khas, or Málto or Santáli, and so on. The matter is further complicated, especially in the Tributary States of Orissa, by the fact that the same tribe often speaks different languages in different localities. The Kharias of Ranchi and the Chota Nagpur States speak a Munda dialect, and those of Keonjhar a Dravidian dialect allied to Oráon, while some again speak a corrupt form of Chattisgarhi Hindi.

496. This bewildering confusion would have been almost overwhelming,

#### LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION.

but for the investigations made by Dr. Grierson in connection with the Linguistic Survey of India. Starting with the Census Returns of 1891, Dr. Grierson made elaborate enquiries in each district as to the languages spoken, the number of persons speaking them and the names by which they were locally known.

The results for Bengal are embodied in the volume entitled "First, Rough, List of Languages." This volume shows the languages which after enquiry were found to be spoken in each district, the number of persons speaking each language and the local names by which the various languages and dialects were known, and it has been of the greatest possible use to me in dealing with the Census returns of language. Before the Census I prepared an alphabetical list of all the local names of languages mentioned by Dr. Grierson, and noted against each the head under which it was classified by him. This was then circulated to district officers for examination, and it was revised and supplemented in the light of their reports, and the revised lists were very kindly corrected for me by Dr. Grierson himself.\* I was thus able, as the returns came in, to allot each item shown in the list to the head to which it properly belonged. It often happened that entries were found which were not shown in the list. In such cases the caste and birth-place were examined and this usually furnished the necessary clue. If any doubt remained, a list of some of the persons concerned was sent to the district officer for local enquiry.

It would be tedious to discuss the subject in detail, but a few instances of the way in which the entries were classified may be of interest.

Dhángari was classed as Korá in Birbhum (5,084) and the Sonthal Parganas (1,700), as the district officers reported that the two terms were synonymous. In Purnea and Bhagalpur it had been shown provisionally as Ho in the records of the Linguistic Survey, but acting on Dr. Grierson's suggestion, further enquiries were made and the language was found to be Oráon, though many of the so-called Dhángars now talk a mongrel dialect, partly Oráon and partly Hindi. In several other districts also Dhángar was classed as Oráon, as the caste column showed that the persons concerned were Oráons. In Murshidabad of 555 persons whose language was returned as Dhángari, 50 were Mundas and 505 Korás, and the language classification was made in accordance with these figures.

In the Orissa States, Balasore and Singhbhum Kol was classed as Ho, and in the Sonthal Parganas, Hazaribagh and Manbhum as Kármáli. In eight other districts it was classed as Mundári after referring to the caste column, and in three as Oráon after similar reference. In Palamau of 10,868 persons whose language was entered as Kol, 2,717 were found to be Oráons, and 8,151 Mundas, and the language returns were prepared accordingly.

Lámá in Jalpaiguri was found on a few slips, and a reference to the caste column showed it to be Murmi. Mahli in Bankura and Kharia and Ghási in Dinajpur were classed as Bengali, as local enquiry showed that this was the language actually spoken. In the Orissa States when any caste or tribe speaks an Aryan language, it usually does so with certain tribal peculiarities, and these are indicated by calling the dialect not Bengali, Hindi or Oriyá, but by the name of the tribe or caste concerned, the word 'Thár

\* A similar list prepared by Dr. Grierson for the whole of India was subsequently received through the Census Commissioner for India.



(an Oriyá word meaning 'sign' or 'symbol') being added, *e.g.*, Báthudi Thár, Pátrá Thár, &c. In such cases enquiry was made and specimens of the dialect were obtained, and it was then classed as Bengali, Hindi or Oriyá as seemed most appropriate in each case. Most of these 'Thárs' proved to be Oriyá, which holds a very strong position as the official language in use in all the States, but a few, including 'Dás Thár' spoken by Kaibarttas, and 'Bágti Thár' spoken by Báuris, were entered as Bengali and a few others such as 'Jabáni bháshá' returned as the language of some Bhuiyá immigrants from Hazaribagh, were classed as Hindi. Buná in Dinajpur was classed as Oráon, this being the caste shown on the slips. Gaur in Jalpaiguri and Golá in the Chota Nagpur States were classed as Hindi, and so on almost *ad infinitum*.

497. We had also misreadings to reckon with, *e.g.*, Kodári, Kodhá and Karár for Korá, Khodiár and Khadira for Khariá, Kabluk for Kurnukh, Urá for Oráon, &c. Occasionally one had to guess at the proper entry. Adhá Kotá was a puzzle at first sight, but an examination of the schedule showed that the original entry was Adhá Khottá. The persons concerned were Kewats in the north of Nadia and the entry appeared to mean that their language was Bengali with an admixture of Hindi. It was accordingly classed as Bengali. In several cases enquiry showed that Fársi was used to indicate ordinary Hindi and it was then classed accordingly. But our enquiries were necessarily limited, and it is probable that the figures for Persian are still too high. Some Oráons in Howrah were entered as speaking Andal Mindar. Reference was made to the Magistrate, but the persons could not be traced. I classed the language as Oráon. Dr. Grierson subsequently suggested that it might be a misspelling for Oráon Munda, meaning the corrupt form of Mundári spoken by some Oráons in Ranchi. Madhri and Bangri both appeared as the language of some Oráons born in Ranchi; the language was in both cases assumed to be Oráon. The notes and correspondence regarding language classification have been carefully arranged and bound up so that they may be available for reference at the time of the next census. I may add that notes on the classification of the language entries for several of the more difficult districts were submitted to Dr. Grierson who very kindly favoured me with his advice so promptly that I was able to benefit by it before sending Table X to press. It will thus be seen that every possible effort was made to ensure a correct compilation of the returns, and it is hoped that in respect of the non-Aryan dialects, at least, the results will be found to be of considerable interest and value.

498. The statistics recorded at the Census regarding language will be found in Imperial Table X. The following subsidiary tables in which the principal features of the return are presented in a more compendious form, will be found at the end of this chapter:—

- (I) Distribution of the total population by language.
- (II) Distribution by linguistic families of 10,000 persons in each district.
- (III) Distribution amongst Bengali, Hindi, Oriyá and 'other languages' of 10,000 of the population of each district.
- (IV) Distribution by residence of 10,000 persons speaking each language.
- (V) Comparison of the statistics for language and race in the case of tribes speaking dialects of their own.
- (VI) Statement showing the number of books published in each language during the decade 1891—1901.

499. Excluding immigrants the languages spoken in Bengal belong to one or other of four linguistic families—

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY LANGUAGE.

the languages of the Aryan family are by far the most important numerically, being spoken by no less than 95 per cent. of the total population. The Munda family comes next, but its speakers represent only 3½ per cent. of the total, while the other two families each claim less

Aryan family...	...	...	74,518,085
Munda " ...	...	...	2,781,211
Dravidian " ...	...	...	583,732
Tibeto-Burman " ...	...	...	450,591
Total	...	...	78,433,619



than 1 per cent. The prevalence of these non-Aryan dialects is shown in



the map given in the margin. The Aryan languages are spoken in the plains by almost the whole population. The other families of languages are spoken only in the hills or by recent settlers in the plains. The Munda and Dravidian families are found in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and in the districts adjoining this tract. They are also spoken by numerous emigrants from the Sonthal Parganas in the Bârand, and from Ranchi and the neighbouring districts

of the Chota Nagpur Plateau in the tea-gardens of Jalpaiguri and the Darjeeling terai. The Tibeto-Burman languages are found partly in Darjeeling and Sikkim and the adjoining district of Jalpaiguri, and partly in the south-eastern corner of Bengal—in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera. There are also a few scattered colonies of people speaking languages of this formation in Dacca and Mymensingh. The proportionate strength of non-Aryan languages is greatest in Singhbhum, but the most remarkable diversity of speech is found in Jalpaiguri. In addition to the indigenous languages of the district, Bengali and Mech, the former an Aryan language and the latter a member of the Bodo group of the Tibeto-Burman family, numerous immigrants from Bhotan, Nepal and Sikkim speak respectively dialects of the Himalayan, Nepal and Sikkim groups of the Tibeto-Burman family, while the great and still growing tea-garden population converses chiefly in the Dravidian and Munda dialects which they brought with them from Chota Nagpur.

500. The important Aryan languages of Bengal are Bengali, Bihâri, Eastern Hindi and Oriyâ. According to Dr. Grierson's classification Bengali, Bihâri and Oriyâ form with

Assamese the Eastern Group of Aryan vernaculars of which the Mâgadhi form of Prakrit was the progenitor, while Eastern Hindi, which stands by itself in the 'Mediate Group,' is descended from the fusion of the Mâgadhi and Sauraseni Prakrits known to grammarians as Ardha Mâgadhi. In Darjeeling and Sikkim and, to a less extent, in Jalpaiguri, Khas is spoken by immigrants from Nepal.

It has already been explained that the census does not distinguish between Bihâri and Hindi. An attempt will be made below to estimate the number of persons speaking Bihâri and its dialects on the basis of the enquiries made by Dr. Grierson; but in the meantime, taking Hindi in the wide sense in which it was used at the census, it may be noted that, on the average, of every 1,000

LANGUAGE.	Number speaking it.
Bengali	41,432,899
Hindi	26,780,174
Oriyâ	6,202,751
Khas	81,313
Total	74,497,137

persons in the Province, 528 speak Bengali, 341 Hindi, 79 Oriyâ and 1 Khas, leaving only 51 persons per 1,000 for all other languages put together. As compared with the last census Bengali shows an increase of 7·5 per cent., Hindi of 1·1 per cent., and Oriyâ of 1·7 per cent. The population of the districts where Bengali is spoken has grown more rapidly than that of the Hindi-speaking districts, while in the south of Midnapore, the dialect classed as Oriyâ in 1891 has, at the recent census, been treated in many cases as Bengali. The figures for Hindi in 1891 were swollen in some cases by the inclusion of languages which at this census have been shown under other heads. With a few exceptions, Bengali is the language of the



great sub-province of Bengal Proper, Hindi of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, and Oriyá of Orissa. North of the Ganges, however, Bengali has invaded Bihar territory, and in the portions of Purnea and Malda which lie to the east of the Mahánanda river, the language in common use is Bengali, and not Hindi. South of the Ganges, in the Sonthal Parganas, Bengali is current, in the whole of the eastern and southern portions of the Sonthal Parganas, in the Dhalbhum pargana of Singhbhum, in the greater part of Manbhum and in about half of the State of Seraikela. It also, according to the census, projects to some distance into the district of Hazaribagh. To the south, however, Bengali has failed to reach the present boundary of Bengal Proper, and in Midnapore Oriyá extends northwards as far as the Haldi river (the boundary of the Contai subdivision), and prevails also in the Dantan, Gopiballabhpur, Jhargaon and Binpur police circles of the head-quarters subdivision of Midnapore.\* In



the Chota Nagpur Division and States Oriyá is spoken over the greater part of Singhbhum, Kharsawan, Bonai and Gangpur, nearly half of Seraikela, and the southern portion of Jashpur. On the other hand, about 12 per cent. of the population of Mayurbhanj and 7 per cent. of the population of Keonjhar speak Bengali. The approximate dividing line between these languages is shown in the map given in the margin.

501. It must not be supposed from what has been said above that there is anywhere any sudden change from one Aryan language to another. Unless any great natural

#### DIFFICULTY OF CLASSIFYING BORDER DIALECTS.

obstacle, such as a river, a range of mountains or a tribe speaking a non-Aryan form of speech intervenes, one language merges gradually and almost imperceptibly into the next, and there is a considerable area where it is difficult for any one, even for a philologist, to decide with which of the two languages the local dialect should be classed. Thus in Purnea the number of persons speaking Bengali is estimated by Dr. Grierson to be 603,000, while, according to the census, it is only 91,877. I caused the figures to be worked out a second time, but without any material change in the result. I then obtained a special report from the District Magistrate, who attributed the discrepancy entirely to the difficulty of deciding where Bengali begins and Hindi ends. The dialect in question, according to Dr. Grierson, is in the main Bengali with a strong admixture of Hindi,† but it is written in the Kaithi character, in which Hindi and not Bengali is usually written, and this fact doubtless weighed with the enumerators far more than the niceties of grammatical construction. The Magistrate reports that in one case, well within Dr. Grierson's Bengali-speaking area, where the question as to which language should be entered was referred to him, he decided in favour of Hindi. A further explanation of the difference which I submit with all deference, is that as one proceeds from one language area to another the proportion in which each enters into the hybrid interlingual dialect gradually changes. The Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, for example, writing of Páñch Parganá says:—

"It is in no sense a language, but varies from place to place according to the proportion of Bengali and Hindi in the admixture. It is a question whether it should not be returned as either Hindi or Bengali, according to the discretion of the enumerator."

\* Midnapore has not always belonged to Bengal. It formed part of Orissa in the time of the Gajpati kings and under Daud. It was transferred to Bengal when Prince Shuja was Subadar of these Provinces, but Van den Broucke's map of Bengal in 1660 still shows the boundary north-west of the town of Midnapore.

† I am still using the word 'Hindi' in the sense in which it was used by the enumerators.



Similarly in a report received from Midnapore the Magistrate wrote :

"In parts of the Contai subdivision and Dantan thana a mixture of Bengali and Oriyá is spoken. In some places the Oriyá element predominates, in some places the Bengali."

The classification made for the Linguistic Survey must necessarily depend on the particular specimens submitted for Dr. Grierson's examination, and what is now classed under one linguistic head might well have been classed under another if the specimens had been selected from a different locality.

In Malda, the Sonthal Parganas and Manbhum, the difference between the popular and scientific views regarding linguistic classification is less marked ; according to the census the proportion of persons speaking Bengali as compared with Hindi is slightly greater in Malda and slightly less in the Sonthal Parganas and Manbhum than that shown by the figures of the Linguistic Survey.\*

In Hazaribagh, however, it appears that the greater portion of the 8,762 persons shown at the census as speaking Bengali in reality speak the form of Hindi known as Kurmáli or Khattáhi in Manbhum. But as the enumerators called it Bengali without any distinguishing prefix, I had no alternative but to show it as Bengali in the final returns. The character in use is Bengali, and this probably accounts for the error in the enumerators' diagnosis.

Along the Oriyá-Bengali boundary line, the census shows only 100,095 Oriyá speakers in Singhbhum and 270,495 in Midnapore, against 114,402 and 345,950 respectively in the "Rough List of Languages."† Here again the difference is easily explicable. In his account of the Oriyá language Dr. Grierson says :—

"The Oriyá of North Balasore shows signs of being Bengalised, and as we approach the boundary between that district and Midnapore, we find at length almost a new dialect. It is not, however, a true dialect. It is a mechanical mixture of corrupt Bengali and of corrupt Oriyá. A man will begin a sentence in Oriyá, drop into Bengali in its middle, and go back to Oriyá at its end. The vocabulary freely borrows from Bengali."

Added to this the character employed in writing it is usually the Bengali. In such circumstances a great deal must depend on the idiosyncrasies of the census staff, and it is not to be wondered at that different enumerations should disclose different results.‡

502. Bengali, or Banga bháshá, was formerly thought to be a very modern language, but Dr. Grierson has shown that this is not the case and that the language of the 15th, differs very little from that of the 18th, Century. The present literary form of the language has developed since the occupation of the country by the English, and its most marked characteristic is the wholesale adoption of Sanskrit words in the place of words descended through the Prakrit,§ due at first, it is thought, to the great poverty of the original material in a country where the vast majority of the inhabitants were of non-Aryan descent.|| The Bengalis are unable to pronounce many of the words that have been borrowed from the Sanskrit, but they have nevertheless retained the Sanskrit spelling. "The result of this state of affairs" says Dr. Grierson, "is that, to a foreigner, the great difficulty of Bengali is its pronunciation. The vocabulary of the modern literary language is almost entirely Sanskrit, and few of these words are pronounced as they are written."

503. The book language is quite unintelligible to the uneducated masses, and as, apart from it, there is no generally recognised standard, the variations in the spoken language are very great. The well-known adage that the dialect changes every twelve *Kos* applies probably with greater force to Bengali than to any other language in India. A peasant from Tippera or Sylhet would be quite as unintelligible to a native of Murshidabad as to a Mahratta or Sindhi. Dr. Grierson says that Bengali may be divided first into two main branches, a western and an eastern. "The boundary line between the two may be taken to be the

\* In the two latter districts a possible explanation of the difference is that in accordance with Dr. Grierson's advice I classed as Hindi not only all entries of Kurmáli and Khottá or Khotáhi, but, also, of Khottá Bangalá. It may be that the local officers from whom Dr. Grierson obtained his figures, followed the popular view as expressed in its name and treated Khottá Bangalá as Bengali.

† The Collector's estimate.—The census of 1891 showed 572,798 Oriyá speakers in Midnapore. In the Dantan thana of Midnapore, Oriyá is now returned as the language of 91,480 out of 123,541 persons ; in Gopiballabhpur of 96,287 out of 163,156 ; in Egra of 57,202 out of 77,384, and in Ramnagar of 10,741 out of 76,090. The remaining Oriyá speakers are found chiefly in Narayanganj, Contai, Jhargan and Midnapore thanas.

‡ In Balasore, Oriyá corrupted by an admixture of Bengali is known as Rorhuáli. In Midnapore the jargon is frequently called Bheri Oriyá.

§ Known respectively as Tatsamas and Tadbhavas.

|| Beames' Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Vol. I, page 36.



eastern boundary of the districts of the 24-Parganas and Nadia. It then follows the river Brahmaputra till it comes to the Rangpur district, up the western boundary of which it runs, and thence along the west of Jalpaiguri till it meets the lower ranges of the Himalayas." Each branch, he says, includes several dialects. The changes of course are gradual; but, broadly speaking, one may distinguish the following:—

- (1) *Central Bengali* spoken in the 24-Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, Midnapore, Hooghly and Howrah.
- (2) *Rārhi Boli* or Western Bengali spoken in Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, the Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum, and Singhbhum.
- (3) *Northern Bengali* spoken in Malda and the districts of the Rajshahi Division excluding Rangpur and Jalpaiguri.
- (4) *Rangpuri* or *Rājbañsi* spoken in Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and the Kuch Bihar State.
- (5) *Eastern* or *Musalmani-Bengali* spoken in Jessore, Khulna, Tippera, and the districts of the Dacca Division.\*
- (6) *Chátgáiyá*, or the Bengali of the Chittagong Division excluding Tippera.

There are also several minor dialects such as—

- (7) *East Central Bengali*, or the form of Eastern Bengali spoken in Jessore, Khulna and the greater part of Faridpur.
- (8) *South-West Bengali* spoken in the south-western part of Midnapore.
- (9) *Chákmá*, a corrupt Bengali written in an archaic form of the Burmese character which is current in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.
- (10) *Hájang* or the corrupt Bengali spoken by people of Gáro origin in Mymensingh.
- (11) *Kishárganjia* or *Siripuríá*, the mixture of Bengali and Hindi spoken in East Purnea.
- (12) *Mál Paháriá*, the broken Bengali spoken by converted aborigines in the centre of the Sonthal Parganas.
- (13) *Khariá Thár*, the corrupt dialect spoken by Khariás in Birbhum, and
- (14) *Pohirá Thár*, spoken by a small tribe of the same name in Manbhum.†

The Chákmás are Buddhists and formerly spoke Arakanese, and it is a remarkable circumstance that they should have changed their language while retaining their old character. The explanation is probably to be found in the circumstance that, as with other Buddhist communities, the education of their children is in the hands, not of outsiders but of their monks, who are naturally averse to adopting a character other than that in which they were brought up. In the Chákmá dialect the inherent vowel in the case of consonants is *á*, not *á*.

The only dialects separately recorded at the census were Chákmá,

Dialect.	Number of persons speaking it.
Chákmá ...	48,921
Mál Paháriá ...	27,040
Hajong ...	4,424
Khariá Thár ...	1,390
Pohirá Thár ...	377

Mál Paháriá, Hajong, Khariá Thár and Pohirá Thár. The figures for these dialects are given in the margin. Chákmá is spoken mainly in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where more than one-third of the inhabitants have returned it as their language. In the Chákmá Circle it is spoken by three-quarters of the whole population. No useful purpose would be served by attempting to estimate the number of persons speaking the other Bengali dialects, as the limits assigned to them

are artificial, and there is no well defined standard of each such as exists in the case of the Bihári dialects.

504. "Bengali has a fairly voluminous literature" (I quote again from Dr. Grierson) "dating from pre-historic times. Accord-

BENGALI LITERATURE.

ing to the latest authority its oldest literary record

is the song of Mánikchandra, which belongs to the days of the Buddhists,

\* It is a question whether Musalmani-Bengali ought not to be treated as a special dialect spoken by Muhammadans in Eastern and Central Bengal. Its distinguishing feature is the large admixture of Persian and Arabic words in its vocabulary and, as will be noted below, many books are printed in it. A special version of the Bible has been printed in this dialect.

† I might perhaps add Khariá Bangalá, the name contemptuously applied to the corrupt Bengali spoken by the domiciled Bengalis of Orissa, of whom there are a good many. The term is probably derived from the constant recurrence in their talk of the word *kari*, e.g., *jai kari*, *khai kari*, etc. This dialect is merely the home language of the Bengali settlers. Away from their own homes they speak Oriyá, and when literate, they write in the Oriyá language and character.



though it has no doubt been altered in the course of centuries through transmission by word of mouth. Of the well-known authors, one of the oldest and most admired is Chandī Dās, who flourished about the 14th century and wrote songs of considerable merit in praise of Krishna. Since his time to the commencement of the present century, there has been a succession of writers, many of whom are directly connected with the religious revival instituted by Chaitanya."

None of the dialects detailed above are of any literary importance with the exception of Musalmani-Bengali. The latter has a large body of literature, dealing chiefly with religious subjects, in which the colloquial vocabulary is supplemented by words derived from Persian and Arabic sources and not from Sanskrit. The books in this dialect are printed backwards, *i.e.*, they are arranged in such a way that the first page is found where the last page would ordinarily be looked for.

505. The dialects spoken in Bihar were formerly treated as dialects of Hindi,

BIHÁRI.

and in his Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages of India, Beames defined Hindi as the language which is spoken in the Valley of the Ganges and its tributaries from the watershed of the Jamna to Rájmahal. Subsequently Dr. Hœrnle pointed out that the dialects spoken in the above area divide themselves naturally into two great groups, Western and Eastern. Between the two lay the language of Oudh and Baghelkand which shared some of the characteristics of both, but which, on the whole, seemed more nearly allied to the Eastern Group, *i.e.*, "the dialects of Benares, Tirhut and Bihar" with which accordingly it was classed, the name given to the whole group being 'Eastern Hindi.' Dr. Grierson has now shown that the Bihári dialects not only cannot be treated as appertaining to the same language as those of Oudh and Baghelkand, but that they do not even belong to the same linguistic group. The latter dialects, which are derived from the Ardha Mágadhi Prakrit, are recognised as constituting a separate language which he calls Eastern Hindi, while the former, which he distinguishes collectively as Bihári, are derived from the Mágadhi Prakrit, which is also the parent of Bengali, Oriyá and Assamese, and it is to these languages that Bihári is most closely allied, and with which it is accordingly grouped.

The descriptive notes on the Bihári dialects which follow, are taken almost wholly from Dr. Grierson's account of them. In pronunciation, says Dr. Grierson, Bihári leans rather to Hindi, although there are traces of Bengali influence. In declension, it partly follows Bengali and partly Eastern Hindi, but in the most important point, the formation of the oblique base, it follows the former and bears no resemblance to the latter. In conjugation, it differs altogether from Hindi and closely follows Bengali.\* In the introduction to his Grammar of the Gaudian languages, Dr. Hœrnle pointed out the probability of two great immigrations of people speaking Aryan languages at different periods, and this view has been confirmed by Dr. Grierson's investigations. The conclusion he has come to is that the earlier invasion was by the Kabul Valley and the later one through Chitral and Gilgit. The speakers of the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars have derived their language from the earlier invaders, and those who speak Hindi from the later ones.†

506. The character officially recognised for use in Bihar is now the Kaithi,

CHARACTER IN USE.

a running hand derived from the Nágari and named after the Káyasths who in their capacity of estate managers were probably the first to use it, but until recently the Urdu language in the Persian character was taught in the schools and used in the Courts. The change was inaugurated in 1871 by Sir George Campbell who expressed strong disapproval of the style of Urdu which was then current in Bihar, and desired to prohibit the excessive use of Arabic and Persian words. He did not wish to exclude Persian words altogether, but insisted on an adherence to the real languages of the country, *i.e.*, Hindi and Hindustani, which he assumed to be very nearly the same vernacular language though written in different characters. The Court officers were required to learn the Nágri character and the public were allowed at their option to use either that character or the Persian in their petitions, etc. These orders remained a dead letter until 1880, when the exclusive use of Kaithi was prescribed. With the

\* The sign of the future tense in Bengali and Bihari is 'ô,' that of the past 'z,' and that of the present definite 'chôô'. The numbers are used, not to distinguish between singular and plural, but to show respect or the reverse, and the distinction between the conjugation of transitive and intransitive verbs has disappeared.

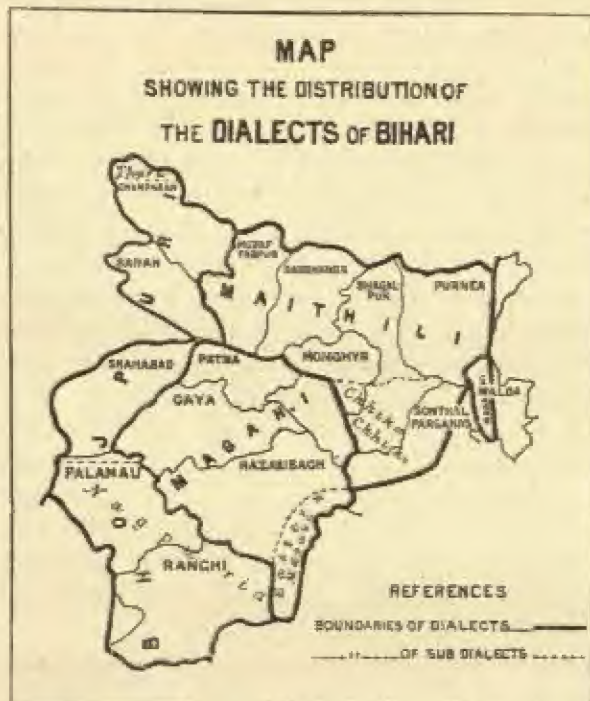
† A full and interesting account of these conclusions and of the reasons for them will be found in Dr. Hœrnle's Presidential Address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898, pages 78 to 81.



introduction of the Kaithi character the language in use in Court documents and in school-books has gradually been more and more closely assimilated to that in common use among the people.

507. Bihári has three main dialects—Maithili or Tirhutíá, Mágadhi or Magahi and Bhojpuri. Maithili means the language of Mithilá or the tract of country bounded on the

north by the Himalayas, south by the Ganges, west by the Gandak, and east by the Kosi. In Champaran, Bhojpuri and not Maithili is the prevalent dialect, but to compensate for this loss Maithili is now spoken east of the Kosi as far as the Mahánandá, and south of the Ganges in South Bhagalpur, the eastern part of South Monghyr and the north and north-west of the Sonthal Parganas.



It is spoken in its greatest purity by the Brahmans of the north of the Darbhanga and Bhagalpur districts and of Western Purnea who, instead of Kaithi, use the old Maithili character, to which that of modern Bengali is very closely allied. Towards the east of Purnea it becomes more and more infected with Bengali, and is eventually superseded by the Siripuríá dialect of that language, which is a border form of speech, Bengali in the main, but containing a strong admixture of Maithili and written in the Kaithi character. South of the Ganges, Maithili is influenced by both Magahi and Bengali, and the result is a well-marked sub-dialect locally known as *Chhiká Chhiki Boli* from its frequent use of the syllable *chhik* in the conjugation of the verb

substantive. The Musalmans of Mithila do not all speak Maithili. In Darbhanga they speak a form of Maithili with an admixture of Persian and Arabic words which is known as *Joláhá Boli*, but in Muzaffarpur they speak a form of Awadhi Hindi known as *Shekholi* or *Musalmáni*.<sup>\*</sup> Maithili is the only Bihári dialect which has a literary history. The Pandits of Mithila have long been famous for their learning, and the religious poems of Vidyapati Thákur, who flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century, are still famous.

508. Magahi or Mágadhi, the language of Magadha, is spoken over the greater part of South Bihar, excluding Shahabad, in

Hazaribagh and in East Palamau. It is also spoken in a belt of country starting in the south-east of Hazaribagh and running along the east and south of the Ranchi district and the adjoining portions of Manbhum, Singhbhum, Seraikela and Kharsawan; in this belt, and specially in the south-east of Hazaribagh and on the border of Manbhum, where it is written in the Bengali character, the dialect is not local but tribal, and speakers of it live side by side with speakers of Bengali and (in the south) Oriyá. It has been affected by its contact with Bengali and is called by Dr. Grierson Eastern Magahi.<sup>†</sup> It is locally known as Kurmáli or Khottá, or even as Khottá Bangalá. Eastern Magahi is also spoken in Western Malda and in Mayurbhanj. In Gaya the Awadhi dialect of Eastern Hindi is spoken by Muhammadans.

509. Bhojpuri is so called after Bhojpur, a town in the north-west of Shahabad, which was formerly the head-quarters of the Dumraon Raj. It is the most westerly of the

Bihári dialects and is spoken far into the United Provinces. In Bengal it is the language of Shahabad, Saran, Champaran, the west of Hazaribagh, and the greater part of the districts of Palamau and Ranchi; but in Shahabad, Saran

<sup>\*</sup> Shekholi is also sometimes, though incorrectly, called *Joláhá Boli*.

<sup>†</sup> In Kharsawan some castes speak the standard form of Magahi.



and Champaran the Muhammadans and Káyasths mostly speak Awadhi which, as we have already seen, is also the language of the Muhammadans of Gaya and Muzaffarpur. In Chota Nagpur the language has borrowed grammatical forms from the adjoining Chattisgarhi dialect of Hindi and is known as Nágpuriá; the people who speak it sometimes call it Sadán or Sadri, while to the Mundas it is known as Dikku Káji.\* In Champaran there is a certain admixture of Maithili giving rise to a sub-dialect known as Madesi (Madhyadesi). To the north of that district the Thárus speak it in a corrupt form which may be conveniently described as Tháru.† This dialect of the Thárus is the only one for which there are separate census figures that are at all reliable. According to our returns it is spoken by 19,512 persons.

510. Taking the census of 1891 as a basis, Dr. Grierson estimated that the total number of persons speaking Bihári dialects in this Province is about 23½ millions, of whom rather more than 9 millions speak Maithili, while Magahi and Bhojpuri are each spoken by rather more than seven millions. I have carefully examined the returns for the present census to see if it would be possible to bring these estimates up to date by taking the figures for the recent census as the basis. Dr. Grierson's figures, however, were arrived at, not solely on the basis of the 1891 returns of language and birth-place, but also on local enquiries and protracted correspondence with

NUMBER OF PERSONS SPEAKING BIHÁRI DIALECTS.

Dialect.	Number of persons speaking it.
Maithili ...	9,307,131
Magahi ...	7,117,531
Bhojpuri ...	7,103,089
Total ...	23,427,751

District Officers, and it is very

Maithili ...	10,387,897
Magahi ...	6,584,185
Bhojpuri ...	7,310,946
Total ...	24,283,028

difficult for any one lacking his special qualifications for dealing with the subject to make the necessary adjustments. As a rough approximation, however, the figures given in the margin may perhaps be taken, pending a revision of the original estimate by Dr. Grierson himself.‡

511. We have already seen that most of the Musalmans and some of the Káyasths of East Bihar speak the Awadhi dialect of Eastern Hindi. Dr. Grierson estimates their number at 504,454. In the centre and north of the group of Tributary States of Chota Nagpur§ and in part of the Tributary States of Orissa, the Chattisgarhi dialect of the same language is in use. Taking the total number of persons returned as speaking "Hindi" in each State and assuming that the proportion borne by Chattisgarhi to the total number of persons returned as speaking Hindi is the same as that in Dr. Grierson's estimates, the number of the former comes to 491,483. The corresponding figure for the Orissa States may be taken at 8,863. In addition to the above Eastern Hindi is probably the language of 142,000 immigrants from other provinces settled in other parts of Bengal.|| The total number of persons in Bengal who speak Eastern Hindi may therefore be estimated at rather less than 1,150,000.

#### EASTERN HINDI.

\* Both these terms are applied indifferently to any Aryan language, and it is only here that they usually refer to the local form of Bhojpuri.

† The dialect of the Thárus varies. In Champaran it is corrupt Bhojpuri, but further west it is a form of Eastern Hindi.

‡ The details of the calculation are as follows:—

*Magahi* includes persons born in (1) all Patna and Gaya, (2)  $\frac{1}{2}$  Hazaribagh, (3)  $\frac{1}{2}$  Monghyr, (4)  $\frac{2}{3}$  Malda, and (5)  $\frac{1}{4}$  Ranchi and Palaman; also 166,679 persons enumerated in the Sonthal Parganas, 47,949 in the Chota Nagpur States, and 286 persons in the Orissa States.

*Maithili* includes persons born in (1) all Darbhanga and Bhagalpur, (2)  $\frac{2}{3}$  Muzaffarpur, (3)  $\frac{1}{2}$  Monghyr, and (4)  $\frac{2}{3}$  Purnea; and also  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Hindi speakers enumerated in the Sonthal Parganas.

*Bhojpuri* includes persons born in (1) all Champaran, Saran and Shehabad, and (2)  $\frac{1}{2}$  Palaman and Ranchi; also 59,937 persons enumerated in the Chota Nagpur States, and 362,671 immigrants from the United Provinces comprising immigrants from the districts of the United Provinces where Bhojpuri is spoken, viz., the whole of the Gorakhpur Division, Benares, Ghazipur, Ballia,  $\frac{2}{3}$  Mirzapur,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Jaunpur and  $\frac{2}{3}$  Fyzabad.

§ Chang Bhakar, Korea, Udsipur, and one-third of Jaahpur. Except in Chang Bhakar, the dialect has been modified by its contact with Nágpuriá and it is treated as a separate sub-dialect which Dr. Grierson calls Sargujia.

|| This is the number of immigrants from the districts and States where Eastern Hindi is spoken:—In the United Provinces (101,503), the Central Provinces (22,389) and the Central India Agency (18,006).



512. We have seen that Oriyá is spoken beyond the limits of Orissa, in

ORISSA.

Midnapore and Singhbhum and in some of the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur. It is also spoken by 1,608,705 persons in the West of the Central Provinces, and by 1,809,336 persons in the Madras Presidency, chiefly in the northern part of Ganjam. These, with the Oriyá speakers in this province, make a total of 9,620,792. With the exception of the mixed Oriyá and Bengali already described, and of the corrupt dialects of the semi-Hinduised tribes of the Orissa States, the language is remarkably uniform and the only noticeable foreign element consists of a few words and idioms imported from Maráthi during the fifty years that the province was under the sway of the Bhonslas of Nagpur. According to Beames it is spoken with the greatest purity in the north of Ganjam, but Dr. Grierson is of opinion that Khurda has the greatest claim to being considered the well of Oriyá undefiled. Its right to rank as a separate language from Bengali was vindicated by Beames, who showed that it was a fixed and settled language by the end of the fourteenth century. Its literature begins with Upendra Bhanj, who flourished more than three hundred years ago, and whose poems are written in a language which differs but very slightly from the present vernacular. Oriyá has the disadvantage of an exceedingly awkward character. The letters themselves are based on the Deva-nágari but, instead of the straight top line or *mátrá*, each letter is almost surrounded by a curve. This peculiarity is generally assigned to the peculiar method of writing which formerly obtained throughout Orissa, viz., by making scratches on a palm leaf with an iron stylus, the leaf being subsequently rubbed over with ink which settled in the scratches.\* The writing was necessarily along the grain of the leaf and straight lines drawn in this direction would tend to make it split. We have already seen that in the north the Bengali character has supplanted the original Oriyá. In the Tributary States Oriyá is sometimes written in the Deva-nágari character, but on the other hand the local Chattisgarhi dialect of Hindi is often written in Oriyá.

513. Khas, or Naipali Hindi, is the Aryan dialect spoken by the Khas tribe of Nepal. They obtained it from the numerous

KHAS.

Brahman and Rájput refugees who took refuge in the hills during the period when the Muhammadans overwhelmed the ancient Hindu Kingdoms of India, and who intermarried and gradually became fused with the original Mongoloid inhabitants, upon whom they imposed their religion and their language. The way in which Aryan displace non-Aryan languages, of which this is a striking instance, will be dealt with in a subsequent paragraph. Khas is derived from the Sauraseni Prakrit and has very marked affinities to the dialects of Rájputana. According to Hodgson there are still some traces in its vocabulary of the non-Aryan language which it displaced. Since the overthrow of the Newár dynasty in Nepal in the 18th century Khas has gradually spread and is now current throughout that exceedingly polyglot principality as a *lingua franca*, or means of communication between persons of different tribes. It is also gradually ousting the various tribal dialects, especially that of the Gurungs, who are gradually adopting Hinduism and who appear to discard their old language at the same time as they throw off their allegiance to the Lámás. The Hindu Newárs are also gradually giving up their own language in favour of Khas. This language has no literary history. It was returned at the census as the speech of many of the immigrants from Nepal and their descendants, chiefly in Darjeeling, Sikkim, Jalpaiguri and Champaran. The total number of persons shown as speaking Khas (or Khas kura, as they prefer to call it, 'kura' being an affix equivalent to the 'boli' of Bihar and the 'thár' of the Orissa States) is 81,313 or almost exactly the number estimated by Dr. Grierson. The details for individual areas, however, vary considerably, and in Bhagalpur, where it was estimated that 10,000 persons speak Khas, the returns of the present census show only 523, and those of 1891 only 1,171. The discrepancy did not attract my attention in time to enable me to make special enquiries as to

\* All the old manuscripts of the Province are on palm leaf. These primitive writing materials are still in use in some parts, and many of the persons originally selected as enumerators in the Khondmals had subsequently to be rejected, as it was found that they could only manipulate the stylus and the palm leaf and could not write on paper with pen and ink.



the cause, but it is doubtless the same as that already assigned for the difference between the census figures and those of the Linguistic Survey in the language statistics of Purnea, viz., that the dialect there spoken is intermediate between Maithili and Khas and was called Hindi by the enumerators. In 1891 the number of persons shown as speaking this language was nearly double that now returned, but this was due to the inclusion under this head of all Nepalese languages, such as Gurung, Mangar, &c., which have now been shown separately, as they are not only quite distinct from Khas but belong to an entirely different linguistic family.

514. Excluding the districts dealt with in the Patna office, where the details were not tabulated separately, Urdu has been returned as the language of 89,677 persons. These figures, however, are worth very little. Urdu or the literary Persianised form of Hindi is spoken by the upper ranks of Muhammadan society, and it is generally looked on as the proper language for a Muhammadan to speak. In Patna there was a general agitation amongst the Muhammadans to have their language shown as Urdu, and there can be no doubt that it was thus described by many who in reality speak the local form of Bihári, with or without a smattering of Persian and Arabic words in the vocabulary. In the same way, in several cases, where Farsi, *i.e.*, Persian was entered as the language, it was found on enquiry that the persons concerned in reality spoke Hindi.

515. Márwári is shown as the speech of 10,677 persons. Though nearly double the number returned in 1891, this is less than two-thirds the number estimated for the Linguistic Survey, and barely one-fourth the number of persons who were enumerated in Bengal but born in Rajputana.\* The enquiries that were made on the subject leave no doubt that the indiscriminate use of the word Hindi is to blame for this result. The same cause accounts for the small figures recorded for Panjabi—only 2,280, or about one-eighth of the number of immigrants to Bengal from the Punjab and Punjab States.

Gujaráti is returned by 4,368 persons, of whom nearly half were found in Calcutta. It is also the language of a small colony of Siyalgirs settled in Midnapore and Orissa—a tribe with criminal propensities that is said to have come from Gujarat five or six generations ago. The Kichaks of Dacca, to whom reference will again be made in the Chapter on Caste have been ascertained, in the course of enquiries made after the census, to speak a dialect of Gujaráti,† but they have lost all traditions of their original home, and the enumerators, for want of a better name, entered their language as Hindi.

The terms Gipsy dialects is used to indicate the various forms of "Thieves' Latin" spoken by criminal tribes. These dialects are not true languages, but are merely perversions of the local Aryan dialect deliberately invented in order to prevent outsiders from understanding what is meant. Thus 'Jamadár' becomes 'Majadár' and a rupee is called 'bajaiya,' *i.e.*, a thing that rings. The census return of these dialects is very incomplete, and shows only 146 persons. In Dr. Grierson's "List of Languages" 4,000 persons are estimated to speak

Domra	...	...	48
Naton ki boli	...	...	23
Gulgulia	...	...	76

Domra in Champaran, but it is probable that most of these are quite as much at home in the ordinary Bhojpuri of the district as in their own peculiar jargon.

516. Next to the Aryan the Munda family of languages is numerically the most important. These languages are of special interest from the Bengal point of view, as they are spoken almost entirely within the limits of this province. They are also current in parts of the Central Provinces and in the north-east of Madras, and amongst numerous emigrants in Assam, but their great stronghold is in the Chota

\* Márwári is in reality one of sixteen dialects classed by Dr. Grierson as forming the Rájasthání language, which is intermediate between Western Hindi and Gujaráti. But I prefer to use the older name, Márwári, as that was the word almost invariably found in the schedules. I have added to it the extremely small number of persons returning other Rájasthání dialects, viz. Jaipuri 14, and Bikaneri 39.

† Specimens of this dialect were sent to Dr. Grierson who confirmed this conclusion.



Nagpur Plateau. A map showing the extent to which these dialects are



spoken in different parts of Bengal is given in the margin. Intermixed with the tribes who speak Munda languages are others speaking dialects which belong to the Dravidian family, *i.e.*, to the family of which Tamil and Telugu are the chief representatives. They are all unwritten, except under missionary auspices, and their peculiarities and points of resemblance and difference have not yet been fully explored. There can be no doubt that at some remote period dialects of these

families were spoken far into the Gangetic Plain. Traditions still exist of the former domination of the tribes that speak them, and traces of them survive in the names of places. They have also, according to Prof. Vilh. Thomsen of Copenhagen, "influenced the Aryan vernaculars. The inflection of the noun, for instance, follows the same principles in both, and does not at all agree with Indo-European tendencies." They have, however, in the plains succumbed to Aryan influences, and survive only in the hills where the difficulty of access has combined with the inhospitable character of the country to discourage the intrusion of outsiders.

517. The earliest general account of the languages of the Chota Nagpur Plateau with which I am acquainted is that of the late J. R. Logan in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* for 1852 and 1853.\* They are there classed together as North Dravidian, but Mundári, Ho, Bhumij and Santáli are treated as forming a separate group called 'Kol,' and its linguistic affinities are described as follows:—

"The Kol is Dravidian considerably modified by ultra Indo-Gangetic, particularly in its glossary, and very slightly by Tibetan. The latter element is so small as to render it certain that the Kol was originally a pure Dravidian language, which was deeply influenced by the ancient Mon-Gangetic. The phonetic basis of the language and many particles and words are Dravidian, but the pronouns, several of the numerals, and a large portion of the words, are Mon-Anam."

In his *Letter on the Turanian Languages*, written in 1853, Max Müller gave the name "Munda" to the same group of languages, which he treated as forming an entirely independent linguistic family. Subsequently Sir G. Campbell gave them the name Kolarian, on account of an imagined connection between the Kols and Kolar in Southern India. It was noticed that there were marked affinities, especially in the numerals and pronouns, between these languages and those of the Mon-Anam and Tibeto-Burman formations, and this connection, though already explained by Logan, led to the view, enunciated by Colonel Dalton, that the tribes speaking them immigrated from the North-East.

The term Kolarian is objectionable as indicating, in its true meaning, a connection which is not proved, and as conveying to the uninitiated an idea that the languages referred to are in some way connected with the Aryan family.† Professor Thomsen and others have therefore used a new name, 'Khervarian,' from Khervar, which is said to be employed in the traditions of the Santáls as the designation of themselves and their connected tribes.‡

\* These little known essays are of very great value, though they suffer from the incomplete state of our knowledge of many of the languages dealt with, at the time when they were written. The conclusions arrived at had been previously stated in an article by the same author in the "*Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*" for April 1851, but this I have not seen.

† How little the true origin of the term Kolarian is known is shown by Lefèvre's criticism of it—*Race and Language*, page 120.

‡ Mr. W. B. Oldham says:—"The Santáls never so call themselves except in self-abasement. Their name for themselves, to themselves, and to their friends is *Hac*; to strangers it is *Mánjhi*. Their classic name is *Kharwar*"—"Some Historical and Ethical aspects of the Burdwan District"—Index, page XXII.



Dr. Grierson, on the other hand, prefers the word Munda which was originally used by Max Müller on the ground that it should have been allowed to stand until it was shown to be unsuitable. I have accordingly used this term to indicate the family, though if the name chosen by the original authority is to be taken, it would seem that Logan's appellation of Kol should hold the field. It is also more suitable in itself as being connected with the various names *Hc*, *Horo*, *Kol*, *Kora*, *Korwa*, *Kharia*, etc., by which the tribes who speak these dialects designate themselves in their own tongue,\* whereas Munda is a Sanskrit derivative applicable only to one tribe, and that not the most numerous.

518. The idea that the linguistic distinction between Munda and Dravidian, involved a corresponding distinction of race, has been shown by Mr. Risley's anthropometrical investigations to be quite unfounded. The tribes of Chota Nagpur who speak Munda dialects are physically undistinguishable from those whose speech belongs to the Dravidian family of languages. It is now well known that there is no necessary connection between race and language. The later Jews spoke Greek; Arabic is in Africa the language of many tribes who are not Semites by race, and the Mongoloid Pods and Chandals of Bengal speak Bengali—a language of the Aryan family. Recent enquiries tend to show that too much stress has been laid on the differences between the Dravidian and the Munda languages, and on the affinities between the latter and those of Further India, and just as the tribes of Chota Nagpur, whatever their form of speech, have been proved to belong to the same physical type, so, too the languages are now held to be very closely allied. "The Mundari Grammar," says Hahn, "bears a genuine Dravidian stamp on its brow."† To this extent, therefore, the view originally propounded by Logan is confirmed by modern research. The physical type of these tribes, like that of the great majority of the inhabitants of Southern India is Negritic. They may have come from the North-West by way of Arabia, where all traces of them have been obliterated by the intrusion of a Semitic race from the head of the Euphrates, but it seems more likely that they came from the South, either by sea, or at a time when India was connected with Madagascar by land.‡ If so, the variation from the Dravidian formation, which has taken place in the Munda languages which are spoken only in the north, must be due to contact in India with other linguistic families. Logan attributes these modifications to the influence of linguistic invasions from the North East, the first of which was the Mon-Anam, which was in its turn obliterated in India by languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, except in the Khasi Hills in Assam where a language belonging to this family still survives.

The latest speculators on the subject do not altogether accept this view, and there is a tendency to hold, on the other hand, that the common substratum of the two families was Munda, *i.e.*, that there were once Munda speakers in the places where Mon-Anam is now spoken. This hypothesis does not seem to explain how the Munda languages came to be differentiated from the Dravidian, but it would be out of place to pursue the subject further in a report on the Census of Bengal.§

519. No less than sixteen dialects belonging to the Munda family have been shown in Table X. The real number is considerably smaller, but until they have been completely surveyed and classified it seemed safer to give

#### CLASSIFICATION OF DIALECTS RETURNED.

\* Kol has been identified with a similarly spelt Sanskrit word meaning "pig," but it is now generally held to be a variant of the word *Horo* meaning man. The change from *r* to *l* is familiar, and needs no illustration, while in explanation of the conversion of *k* into *h* we may cite *hon*, the Mundari for 'child,' which in *Korwa* becomes *Kow*, and *Koro*, the Mudei (Korku) form of *Horo*, "a man." It may be added that the Kharias of Chota Nagpur call the Mundas *Korá*, a name closely approaching Kol (Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. II, page 191). According to Mr. W. F. Driver, the Eastern Kols use *k*, while those farther west prefer *h* (J. A. S. B., 1891, Part I, page 26). The only apparent objection to this word as the generic name of these languages is that it is sometimes used by Hindus to designate the non-Aryan tribes of Chota Nagpur generally, irrespective of the languages spoken by them.

† Kurukh Grammar, Introduction. Appendices IV and V of this work contain lists of words common to Oráon and Mundari, and points of resemblance in their Grammar.

‡ Naturalists urge that there must once have been an Indo-African land area (which has been called Lemuria) which broke up and sank beneath the sea in the tertiary period. The theory of this ancient land connection is well stated by Mr. O'Donnell in the Bengal Census Report of 1891, page 263. The Negritic physical type can be traced far beyond the limits of India to the Malayan peninsula, to Borneo, New Guinea and Australia.

§ That there was a Dravidian, as distinguished from a Munda, formation, not only in the tract where Mon-Anam is now spoken, but in the whole of Further India, Malaya, and in the islands of the Indian Archipelago as far as Australia, was one of Logan's express conclusions. He held that the Dravidian linguistic formation was once co-extensive with the distribution of the Dravidian physical type.



separate figures for each dialect bearing a separate name. According to Dr. Grierson Mahli and Kármáli are almost identical with Santáli, and Agariá with Asur, while Mundári, Ho, Bhumij, Turia and Birhor are merely variants of one and the same language which Dr. Grierson calls Kol. Singli again is said to be a dialect of Korwá and Birjiá of Agariá.

Agariá ...	...	4,836
Juáng ...	...	10,798
Khariá ...	...	79,383
Kol ...	...	885,959
Korá ...	...	23,827
Korwá ...	...	16,055
Santáli ...	...	1,780,370
Total ...	...	2,781,211

If we add together the dialects thus classified, the number of separate languages falls to seven, and it is probable that further enquiry will still further reduce the number. On the other hand it may be necessary occasionally to separate the figures returned in different areas under the same name. Thus

Khariá in Ranchi and the adjoining states of Chota Nagpur is a Munda language, but enquiries made on Dr. Grierson's advice since Table X was printed, show that in Bonai and some parts, at least, of the Tributary States of Orissa the Khariás speak a Dravidian dialect closely allied to Oráon.

520. The persons speaking Santáli constitute more than three-fifths of the total number speaking Munda languages. Rather

#### SANTÁLI.

more than a third of them were enumerated in the district to which they have given their name, whither they immigrated from Hazaribagh during the early part of the last century.\* Santáli speakers are still numerous in Hazaribagh and also in the whole tract of country lying south of the Sonthal Parganas as far as Mayurbhanj, including Manbhum, Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura and West Midnapore. This tract may be taken as the home of the language, but it is still spreading as the tribe moves east and north, and Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Malda, Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur all contribute largely to the total. The persons speaking Santáli have increased by 10 per cent. since 1891 in spite of a marked diminution in the Chota Nagpur States where some other language, possibly Oráon, must then have been classed with Santáli.† The increase is most marked in Dinajpur, Malda and Jalpaiguri.

It will be seen from Subsidiary Table IV that the Santáls for the most part speak their own language. It is only in outlying districts, such as Burdwan, Dinajpur, Purnea and Bhagalpur that they have begun, to any marked extent, to give it up in favour of some Aryan language. In the Sonthal Parganas some persons whose caste was entered as Rájá Mál returned Santáli as their language; in Burdwan, Bankura and Hooghly it was entered as the language of 568 Korás, in Manbhum of 745 Bhumis, 257 Mundas, 110 Khariás, 98 Oráons and 48 Mahlis, while in Hazaribagh and Birbhum it was returned by a few Birhors and Mundas. Mahli on the other hand appears to be dying out and less than a-third of the persons so-called still speak their own tribal language. Kármáli is a form of Santáli which in the Sonthal Parganas is usually called Kol. I am not confident of the correctness of the figures for this dialect. In Hazaribagh it may have been confused with Kol meaning Mundári, while in Manbhum it is shown as the language of 2,438 Kurmis, which leads me to think that Kurmáli and not Kármáli was meant.

Santáli has received much study, especially from the Scandinavian Missionaries of the Sonthal Parganas. Mr. Skrefsd's Grammar is the leading authority on the language.

521. Kol is spoken by rather less than one-third of the total number of persons speaking dialects of the Munda family, or by rather more than half the number speaking Santáli.

#### KOL DIALECTS—MUNDÁRI.

Its most numerous dialect is Mundári, the language of the tribe known to us by the Sanskrit word Munda, but who call themselves Horo (meaning man) and are called by their kinsmen the Khariás, Korá. Seventy-five per cent. of the persons speaking this dialect are found in Ranchi, chiefly in the eastern part of the district, in the Khunti, Tamar and Ranchi thanas. It is also spoken in Gangpur,‡ north Singhbhum and south Hazaribagh, and by emigrants in the tea-gardens of the Jalpaiguri district.

\* There were few or no Santáls in the tract now known as the Sonthal Parganas in 1818, but ten years later they were becoming numerous. These earlier immigrants appear to have come, not from Hazaribagh, but from Singhbhum.

† The speakers of Santáli in the Chota Nagpur States in 1891 were shown as 97,005 against only 43,023 Santáls by race. There are now 20,943 persons speaking Santáli and 29,345 Santáls by race.

‡ About 80 per cent. of the Mundári speakers in the Chota Nagpur States were found in Gangpur.



Including converts to Christianity who returned their tribe as Munda, the			total number of Mundas by race is 438,143		
Tribe.			Number speaking Mundári.		
Oráon	...	...	23,281	compared with 403,383 persons who speak the	
Lohár and Kol Lohár	...	...	2,348	tribal language. In Ranchi, the head-quarters	
Pán	...	...	2,069	of the tribe, the Mundári speakers exceed the	
Mahli	...	...	427	number of Mundas by race by about 11,000. The	
Tánti	...	...	139	reason is that in this district persons of other	
Kharáá	...	...	131	tribes speak Mundári, and especially the Oráons	
Kurmi	...	...	130	in Ranchi thana, whose dialect of the language	
Birhor	...	...	128	is known as Horolia Jhagar. The details are	
Ghási	...	...	58	given in the margin. In Singhbhum also,	
Gond	...	...	43	a few Oráons, Bhumijis and Lohárs speak	
Total	...	...	28,744	Mundári, as also do some Korás in Bankura.	

There is a tendency amongst Mundas when they emigrate to other districts, to give up their tribal dialect in favour of the local Aryan language, and in these districts the number of Mundári speakers is much smaller than the number of Mundas by tribe. And in Ranchi itself the tribal language has been abandoned by the members of that section of the tribe to which their former chiefs belonged, who claim a Rájput origin and call themselves Nágbansi, as distinguished from the Mánkipati, or ordinary Mundas. In the west of the same district and in Gangpur and Jashpur some of the tribe have assumed the name Sad Munda and have abandoned their tribal language and religion in favour of Hindi and Hinduism.

Owing to differences of classification it is impossible to compare the number of persons speaking Mundári with the returns for 1891. If we add together all the Munda languages, except Santáli and its dialects, Mahli and Kármáli, it would appear that there is an increase of over 15 per cent., but the classification of these non-Aryan dialects in 1891 was not very accurate and the comparison may be misleading.\*

522. The Ho speakers are nearly as numerous as the Mundári. Their habitat is immediately south of the latter in Singhbhum and the adjacent Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. Outside this tract the number of Ho speakers is insignificant. In Singhbhum they are known as the Larká, or fighting Kols, and in the Orissa States as Kolha. The dialect was first described by Tickell.† The main difference between it and Mundári is in the pronunciation. The letter *r* at the end of a word is often dropped; thus the tribal name which in Mundári is Horo becomes Ho. The number of Ho speakers is 367,613 as compared with 385,084 Hos by tribe. The Hos move but little from their homes and here, as a rule, they retain their tribal dialect. It is only in the Chota Nagpur States that they have abandoned it to any marked extent. In Singhbhum Ho is sometimes spoken by other tribes and it was returned at the census as the language of 1,004 Bhumijis, 307 Lohárs, 161 Oráons, 114 Santáls and 63 self-styled Goálas, as well as of some Native Christians.

523. Bhumij is spoken chiefly in Midnapore, Singhbhum and the Orissa Tributary States, or in the same areas as Ho. According to Mr. Risley, the Bhumijis are nothing more than a branch of the Mundas who have spread to the eastward. Herr Nottrott says that their speech most closely resembles that of the Mundas, but the vocabulary published by Hodgson‡ shows on the whole a nearer relationship to Ho, with an occasional preference for the Santáli form of a word.§ The number of words that have no apparent correspondence with those in the other Kol languages is so small as to make it doubtful whether this is not due to such words having

\* The 1891 returns show a language called Baiga spoken by 40,032 persons in the Orissa States. The language was not returned at all on the present occasion and enquiries made after the census failed to elicit any information regarding it. Dr. Grierson informs me that he also has been unable to trace any such language. In the Chota Nagpur States Korwa was returned in 1891 as the language of 46,606 persons, but no Korwas were shown in the caste table. On the other hand, as will be seen further on, there were 83,863 Oráons by race and only 110 by language. The usual word for the Oráon language is Kurukh and this was possibly taken as a variant of Korwa or Kol. The fact is that prior to Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey the correct classification of the terms used to denote language was a matter of very great difficulty and if, on the present occasion, a greater measure of success has been attained, it is very largely due to the light he has thrown on matters that were previously most obscure.

† J. A. S. B., 1840, Part II, page 997.

‡ Essays, on Indian Subjects, Vol. II, page 29.

§ Thus 'iron' is *mérhá* in Bhumij and *mérhad* in Santáli, while in Ho it is *mélá* and in Mundári *marhan*. In some specimens which I received from Mayurbhanj through the Deputy Superintendent of Census, Cuttack, Tamaria seemed more nearly allied to Ho, and Bhumij to Santáli. I sent the specimens to Dr. Grierson but did not myself continue the enquiry.



some different shade of meaning from that of the words taken as their equivalents in the other dialects.\* I have included in Bhumij the dialect variously

Singhbhum	...	4,018
Orissa States	...	2,705
Chota Nagpur States	...	799
Total	...	7,520

returned as Tāmariá, Tamuliá or Tamuliá Bhumij in Singhbhum and the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur, the figures for which are reproduced in the margin. This is said to be practically identical with Bhumij. It must not be confounded with the Tāmariá of Ranchi which is the same as

Páñch Parganiá, a form of Magahi.

The Caste Table shows that the strength of the tribe is 328,445, but only 111,210 persons speak the Bhumij language. In the Orissa States, Singhbhum and the west of Midnapore, the dialect is still extensively spoken, but elsewhere it has been abandoned in favour of some Aryan form of speech. On the other hand, it was returned in Singhbhum as the language of 500 persons of the Ho tribe.

524. The other Munda dialects need not be discussed in detail, but it is

#### OTHER MUNDA DIALECTS.

necessary to advert to the extreme difficulty of distinguishing Korá, Korwá and Khariá. These words are spelt in a variety of ways, and it was often very difficult to decide which dialect was meant.† As far as possible they were distinguished, but in spite of the care that was taken, it is certain that some confusion must have occurred. In regard to Korá, it may again be mentioned that this is the name by which the Mundas are known to the Khariás, and that the Mundas themselves admit some connection with them. In Palamau the Korwás prefer to call themselves Koreá Munda.‡ The dialect of the Juángs has borrowed largely from Oriyá, but otherwise it is said by Dr. Grierson to be closely allied to the Munda dialect of the Khariás; while the latter, as has already been explained, in Bonai and in some parts at least of the Orissa States speak a Dravidian and not a Munda dialect.§ In Gangpur there are said to be two sub-tribes, Delki and Dudh, speaking slightly different dialects. A grammatical sketch of the Asur language by the Rev. F. Hahn has recently been published.|| It appears that the language is very closely allied to Mundári and Santáli, but its vocabulary contains a few words borrowed from Oráon and Hindi.¶

Subsidiary Table No. V shows that Asur, Birjiá, Juáng and Khariá are still extensively spoken by the tribes from which they derive their names, but Turiá, Agariá, Birhor, Korá and Korwá are rapidly dying out.

525. The Dravidian languages spoken in Bengal are only outliers of the

#### DRAVIDIAN FAMILY—ORÁON AND MALTO.

main body of these languages which, in one form or another, are current throughout the southern part of the Indian Peninsula where they hold much the same position as do the languages of the Indo-Aryan family further north. They represent, says Dr. Grierson, a later stage of development than the Munda family, a circumstance which may perhaps be attributed to the fact that while the latter is the speech only of rude tribes ignorant of writing, the former boasts of several languages (notably Tamil) which have been spoken by highly civilised communities and which have an extensive literature of their own. The most numerous representative of the Dravidian family in Bengal is Oráon or Kurukh as it is called by the tribe concerned.\*\* It is spoken by more than

\* The difficulty of obtaining the exact equivalents of English words is very great, not only on account of the ignorance of the people dealt with, but also because in these rude dialects words with a general signification are often replaced by a number of words, the meaning of which is more specialised. Thus instead of a general word meaning "hair" there may be a number of different words for the hair of the head, the hair of the face, the hair of the body, &c.

† Korá in particular was spelt in many different ways, e.g., Korá, Kodá, Kodári, Kherá, Khairá, &c.

‡ Driver J. A. S. B., 1891, Part I, page 24.

§ A specimen of the "Khariá" spoken in Pál Láhera which I sent to Dr. Grierson was pronounced by him to be simply badly spelt Oráon. I also obtained specimens from the Udaipur, Gangpur, Jashpur, Sirgaja and Bonai States in Chota Nagpur. In Bonai, as in Pál Láhera, the language proved to be a form of Oráon, but in the other four States it is clearly allied to Mundári. The Khariás have intermixed both with Oráons and with Mundas and each of these tribes has a sub-tribe called by their name.

|| J. A. S. B., 1900, Part I, page 149.

¶ The vocabularies of these unwritten languages are never very fixed and foreign words are easily admitted. Haldar's Mundári vocabulary (J. A. S. B., 1871, Part I, page 46) contains a sprinkling of words adopted from Hindi, but these are chiefly words embodying abstract ideas for which the Mundas have no equivalent in their own tongue.

\*\* According to Hahn, Oráon is the name of one of the tribal septs which was applied by their Hindu neighbours to the whole tribe.



half a million people, mainly in the north and north-west of Ranchi, the south of Palamau, and the adjoining States of Gangpur and Jashpur\* and also by emigrants in the tea-gardens of the Jalpaiguri district. The Oráons of Gangpur, who have long been separated from the main body of the tribe, have a special dialect which is locally known as Berga Oráon, but this was not separately entered at the census.†

The Caste Table shows the number of Oráons to be 652,286, and the tribal language is spoken by 543,505 persons. As in other cases members of the tribe who have emigrated to other districts are more prone to abandon their original language than those who stay at home. In the north of Ranchi, however, where they are much mixed up with Mundas, more than 23,000 Oráons have given up their language and now talk a dialect of Mundári

Tribes.	Number speaking Oráon.
Munda ...	724
Khariá ...	406
Lohár ...	146
Gond ...	75

known as Horolia Jhagar. On the other hand, a few Mundas, Khariás, Lohárs and Gonds in that district returned Oráon as their language. In Singhbhum also, some members of other tribes speak Oráon, including 806 Kurmis, 115 *soi-diant* Rájputs, 74 Támariás and 50 Lohárs. In Manbhum

72 Santáls, 19 Bhumijis and 5 Mundas were returned as speaking Oráon.

The number of persons returned as speaking Oráon shows a great increase since 1891, owing mainly to the fact that only 110 persons were then returned under this head in the Chota Nagpur States, against 103,707 on the present occasion. The Caste Table shows 83,663 Oráons in these States in 1891 and 129,993 in 1901. There has been a marked increase in the Oráon speakers in the Jalpaiguri district, and a large number have been returned in Palamau, Hazaribagh and several other districts where none were reported at the last census.

526. The fact that an illiterate non-Aryan tribe, placed as the Oráons are, in the midst of a Munda-speaking population should still speak a language of another family, seems to point to a comparatively recent settlement in their present home, and this supposition is borne out by their own traditions. They believe that they came from the Carnatic, whence they went up the Narbada river and settled in Bihar on the banks of the Sone, and it is at least a curious coincidence that their language is more closely allied to Canarese than to any other Dravidian language spoken in the south of India.‡ Driven out by the Muhammadans, the tribe split into two divisions, one of which followed the course of the Ganges, and finally settled in the Rájmahal hills; while the other went up the Sone, and occupied the north-western portion of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where many of the villages they occupy are still known by Mundári names. The latter were the ancestors of the Oráons, while the former were the progenitors of the Málé, or Sauriá as they often call themselves, whose grammar is closely connected with Oráon,§ though it has borrowed much of its vocabulary from the Aryan languages in the neighbourhood.

The meaning of the word Kurukh is uncertain. It may come from the Dravidian-Scythian word Kuruk, "a crier," or it may perhaps be derived from the Munda Horo or Koro. The word is very similar to Korku, the name of a western Munda tribe, which is derived from *kor*, "man" and *ku*, the sign of the plural. Málé, like Horo, means "man."|| Their language is known as Málto. It is also called Rájmaháli, but this term is sometimes also applied to the corrupt Bengali usually known as Mál Paháriá. Málto, itself, moreover, is not always used in the proper sense, and in Rajshahi it was entered as the language of

\* Of the total number of Oráon speakers in the Tributary States, over 93 per cent. are found in Gangpur and Jashpur.

† It has been suggested that *Berga* is derived from *begárd kud*, but the etymology seems more than doubtful.

‡ Hahn's Kurukh Grammar. See also the article on Oráon in the "Tribes and Castes of Bengal."

§ See Appendix III to Hahn's Kurukh Grammar and the instructive remarks in the introduction to the same book. These later migrations of the Oráons have their counterpart in the still more recent movements of the Santáls who during the last eighty years have steadily worked their way from Hazaribagh and Singhbhum through the Sonthal Parganas to the uplands of the Báring and are gradually moving still further afield.

|| Strictly it means "he is a man," the affix *e* being the sign of the 3rd person singular of the verb substantive. Mr Oldham prefers the form Málér which is the 3rd person plural. It is possible that the word may be derived from *Mala*, a Dravidian root meaning mountain, from which Oppert derives the names of various tribes such as Malla, Mát, Mhár, Mahár, Mhair, Pallar, Pallava, Bhil, etc., and having done so, classes them in consequence as Dravidian. Similarly he derives Kola, Kola, Koi, Kandh, Gond, Kodaga, Toda, etc., from another Dravidian root *Ku* (also meaning mountain), and having done so holds that they are all Gaudians.



some persons whose caste was shown as Mál Paháriá. The Mál Paháriás speak a form of Bengali, so that either the language entry was erroneous or the caste was wrongly described. I assumed that the caste entry was correct, and classified the language as Bengali. The number of persons shown in Table X as speaking Málto is 60,777, of whom all but about 1,000 are in the Southal Parganas. The corresponding figure for the Málé tribe in Table XIII is only 48,281. According to Mr. W. B. Oldham, the Málés on the border of the Málé country understand the tongue of the latter, but it seems doubtful if they would return it at the census, and even if they did, this would not wholly account for the discrepancy. The true explanation seems to be that Rájmaháli which, following the Linguistic Survey, I classed as Málto, should in many cases have been treated as Bengali, and that the word Málto itself was sometimes misused in the same sense. Except in the case of Rajshahi, the ambiguity attaching to these terms did not attract my attention in time to enable me to remove it by classifying the language of the persons so returned according to their caste or tribe.

Málto does not appear in the Language Table of 1891, and it is not quite clear how it was then classed. Possibly it was included in the figure for Mál Paháriá, which was treated as a language of the Dravidian family.

527. Gondí is returned by only 240 persons, chiefly in Angul. The Gond tribe is numerous, but most of its members have abandoned the tribal language in favour of some Aryan

GONDÍ.

form of speech, usually Oriyá. In 1891 no less than 21,724 persons were shown as speaking Gondí in the Orissa Tributary States,\* but on the present occasion not a single one was returned. The schedules were again examined, and it was found that Oriyá had in all cases been returned as the language of persons shown as Gond by caste. Particulars of some of these entries were sent to the States concerned for verification, and it was reported in all cases that Oriyá had been correctly entered as the language in use. I sent some specimens of the dialect in use amongst the Gonds of Mayurbhanj to Dr. Grierson who informed me that while the nouns were Oriyá, the pronouns were typical Gondí. It appears, therefore, that the transition from their own Dravidian dialect to Oriyá is not yet quite as complete as would appear from the statistics of the present census.

528. Kisán is the language of 2,055 persons in the Chota Nagpur States, which I have treated as Dravidian in accordance

OTHER DRavidian Languages.

with Dr. Grierson's classification. It seems, however, that in some parts, the tribe may speak a Munda dialect, or it may be that the same name is used to designate different tribes. In the "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," Kisán is given as a title of Khariás and as a synonym for Nágesia: it is also a title of Oráons†. The great stronghold of Kandh or "Kui" as it is called by the people themselves, is Angul (especially the Kondhmals subdivision) where it is spoken by about 40,000 people, or nearly 84 per cent. of the Kandh tribe; the other Kandh speakers, about 15,000 in number, are found in the adjoining Tributary States, but here the majority of the Kandhs speak Oriyá or Hindi. Even in Angul the number of Kandh speakers is decreasing, the decline during the last decade being no less than 14 per cent. Dr. Grierson says that the Kandh language is much more nearly allied than Gond to Telugu. Malhar is the language of a small tribe of the same name which is found chiefly in the Keonjhar State. It escaped notice at the Linguistic Survey, but Dr. Grierson informs me that it appears to be a Dravidian dialect, so far as he can judge from a few specimens of the language which I obtained and sent to him.

Telugu is the language of some settlers in Cuttack, Puri and the more southerly States of Orissa. Elsewhere, it and Tamil are spoken chiefly by temporary immigrants. So far as the latter are concerned, the entry in the schedules was frequently Madrasi, and it was necessary to divide the persons thus returned between Tamil and Telugu as best one could. Frequently the birth-place gave the necessary clue, persons born in districts north of Madras being assumed to speak Telugu and those to the south Tamil, but this was not always the case, and the figures for each language taken separately are probably not quite accurate.

\*The number of Gonds by caste was only 16,669 in the Orissa States according to the caste table of 1891.

†Dr. Grierson tells me that in the Central Provinces further enquiry seems to show that there is no such language as Kisán, but that the term is used generally to designate the speech of all cultivating aboriginal tribes, just as Kodá is in the case of those who live by earth-work.



529. The last family of languages to be dealt with is that known as the Tibeto-Burman. This is the name given to a variety of tribal dialects spoken mainly in the Himalayas, Assam and Burma, of which Tibetan and Burmese represent the two standards to which the other and ruder dialects tend to conform. According to Logan this formation must have arisen at a very ancient date in Eastern Tibet or adjacent territory, now Chinese. Burmese is nearer Chinese and represents the formation in a very archaic form, while in Tibetan it has been modified by Turanian influences. The languages of this family are distinguished from the Dravidian in that they are monosyllabic and have in many cases retained the use of tones. In Bengal, the Tibeto-Burman languages are found only along the northern and eastern frontiers. They were formerly spoken by the Rājibansi Koch, and also doubtless by many other tribes whose identity has long since been lost, but except in the hills and in the unhealthy terai at their base they have given way to Bengali. The languages of this family current in Bengal, which taken together are spoken by less than half a million souls, have been divided into six groups as shown in the margin. Of these the first and third are spoken in the Himalayas by tribes whose headquarters are for the most part outside British territory; their affinities have not yet been fully examined and the grouping is to some extent tentative and geographical. The Bodo, Kuki and Burmese groups, on the other hand, are fairly well known.

Himalayan	...	22,506
Sikkim	...	41,916
Nepal	...	113,240
Bodo	...	171,747
Kuki	...	26,642
Burman	...	74,640
Total	...	450,591

530. The first or Himalayan group includes Tibetan or the Bhotia of Tibet, Sikkim Bhotia, Bhotan Bhotia, Sharpa Bhotia and Toto. These languages are found almost entirely in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim. With the exception of Sikkim Bhotia and Toto, they are spoken by immigrants whose home lies beyond the limits of British territory. The English word Tibet appears to be derived from the Mongolian Thübot, which according to Mr. Earle, whom I have to thank for an interesting note on these languages, is the Mongolian name for the Northern tracts of the Tibet

Tibetan Bhotia	...	1,810
Sikkim Bhotia	...	8,825
Bhotan Bhotia	...	7,294
Sharpa Bhotia	...	4,407
Toto	...	170
Total	...	22,506

Plateau. The Indian name for the Tibetan region is Bhot and the Tibetans call it Phö (spelt Bod). The people they call Phö-pá and the language Phöke (spelt Bod-sked). In English the language is ordinarily called Tibetan, but Dr. Grierson prefers to call it Tibetan Bhotia, taking Bhotia as the generic name of the family, and prefixing Tibetan to indicate the dialect spoken in Tibet proper. The Tibetan character was adopted from the Nágari about the year 632 by the minister of the king then reigning. Two distinct characters are recognised, *uchen* (possessed of a head) or the printed character, with the top line or *mátrá* and *u-med* (without a head), or the written form in which the top line is dispensed with. There is a third form called *gyuggi* which is also used in writing. The language is unusually difficult to learn owing to the use of a number of silent consonants; the spelling of every single word has to be committed to memory, and it is quite impossible from the sound to know how a word should be spelt. Mr. Walsh informs me that amongst the Tibetans themselves, the less educated are frequently unacquainted with the conventional system of orthography and spell many words incorrectly, thus in many cases altering the meaning which they wish to convey.

Sikkim Bhotia and Bhotan Bhotia are of course the dialects spoken in Sikkim and Bhotan respectively. The Tibetan name for Bhotan is Lho\* and for Sikkim Denjong; the people are respectively known as Lho-pá and Denjong-pá, and the dialects they speak as Lhoké (Drukpa or Dharma Bhotia) and Denjong-ki-ke. Sharpa Bhotia is the dialect spoken by a tribe of Tibetan origin in the North East of Nepal.† It includes Kágateh Bhotia which,

\* Lho means "South" and Denjong "rice valleys." The Lepchas call the Bhotanese *Prü*, which reminds one of the appellation *Plava* used in the Jogini Tantra.

† It has been said that Shar is the name of a cantonal division of Eastern Nepal, but according to Mr. Earle it is the Tibetan word for "East," and appears to mean and include all persons of Tibetan origin who reside in the East of Nepal.



according to Mr. Earle, is identical with Sharpá but an educated Yákhá assures me that there is a slight difference between the two languages. Toto is spoken by a small community in the Jalpaiguri district whose ancestors probably came from Bhotan, and who have not yet abandoned their tribal speech in favour of Bengali.

Tibetan, of course, is well known, but the other languages of this group have not been properly examined. Tsangla or the form of Bhotan Bhotia spoken on the Assam frontier is said by Logan to have been largely influenced by the adjoining Bodo languages, but, judging from the words collected by Hodgson,\* both it and Sharpá are, in their vocabularies at least, almost purely Tibetan. I have been favoured by Mr. Walsh with the following interesting note on the mutual intelligibility of these dialects:—

I have consulted several Tibetans about the mutual differences between these languages and their relative intelligibility to one another. The general opinion is that taking Central Tibetan as the standard, the Bhotanese is the least intelligible of all to persons of the other countries. A Bhotanese will understand a Tibetan better than the Tibetan will understand him, though they can make themselves mutually understood. A Sharpá would hardly understand a Bhotanese at all, as in their case the variation from the standard Tibetan is in another direction. Similarly, the Sikkim Language being spoken slowly and the consonants more clearly pronounced than in Tibetan or Bhotanese, a Bhotanese would understand a Sikkimite more easily than a Sikkim Bhotia would understand him. They could, however, make themselves mutually intelligible. The two languages of the above group that are the most similar and easily intelligible to one another are Sikkim Bhotia and standard Tibetan. This is owing to the fact that there has always been intercourse between Sikkim and Tibet, and that the Sikkim method of talking is slow and the consonants are more clearly pronounced than in Tibetan.

For this latter reason too, a Sharpá will understand a Sikkim Bhotia more easily than the latter will understand him.

I am not in a position to offer an opinion on the point but it is probable that the admixture of Malayan-Mongolian blood with the Bhotanese through the Assam frontier tribes, has affected their language to some extent, and may account for the difference between it and standard Tibetan. There is a noticeable difference in the physiognomy of the Bhotanese and the Tibetans; the cheek-bones of the Bhotanese are more prominent, and the type of face slightly different.

A comparison of the language returns with the Caste Table shows that the tribes of this group in almost all cases speak their own tribal dialects.

531. The Sikkim group includes only three languages, Limbu, Lepcha or Rong and Dhimál. Lepcha is a nick-name given to the people concerned by the Nepalese. They

THE SIKKIM GROUP.  
call themselves Rong, and

Limbu	...	...	22,035
Lepcha	...	...	19,274
Dhimál	...	...	607
Total	...	...	41,916

are known to the Tibetans as Rong-pa or Mún-pa. Dhimál has hitherto been classed with the Bodo family, in consequence of Hodgson's associating it with the latter in his famous essay on the Koch, Bodo and Dhimál tribes. But at the time when this essay was written, the linguistic unity of all the languages now classed as Tibeto-Burman had not

been recognised, and it was to the proof of this that Hodgson's efforts were directed. It does not appear that he ever considered the question of differentiating these languages by groups, and a glance at the comparative vocabulary given by him† will show that Dhimál differs from Bodo to a far greater extent than does Tipará or Gáro, or in fact than any other language assigned to the Bodo group. I give below a list of sixteen out of thirty Dhimál words for which corresponding words were found in one or other of the neighbouring languages, and also the equivalents in Bodo:—‡

English.	Dhimál.	Bodo.	Languages of Sikkim and Nepal.
Bird	Jihá	Danohen	Jhá (Sharpá).
Blood	Hiki	Thóí	Hí (Newár).
Cat	Menkon	Mouji	Myong (Limbu).
Dog	Khia	Choimá	Khia (Limbu).

\* Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, Part II, page 29 ff. A collection of Tsangla Bhotanese sentences by the late Mr. E. Stack, I.C.S., was published a few years ago by the Assam Administration.

† Essays on Indian Subjects, volume I, page 1.

‡ The Dhimál and Bodo words have been taken from Hodgson's Essay on the Koch, Bodo and Dhimál tribes and the others from the lists of words given in Part II of the Languages, Literature and History of Nepal.



English.		Dhimál.		Bodo.		Languages of Sikkim and Nepal.
Ear	...	Nahathong	...	Khomá	...	Nhaipong (Newár).
Egg	...	Thui	...	Doudoi	...	A-ti (Lepchá) Thin (Limbu).
Eye	...	Mi	...	Mogon	...	Mik (Limbu) a-mik (Lepcha).
Fire	...	Men	...	Wát	...	Me (Limbu) Mi (Lepchá).
Goat	...	Échá	...	Burmá	...	Sár (Lepcha).
Hair	...	Moi-Shú	...	Khomon	...	Moi (Gurung) Moá (Khambu).
Hog	...	Payá	...	Nong Yoma	...	Pyá (Chepáng) Phá (Newár) Phag (Limbu).
Horn	...	Dáng	...	Gong	...	Táng (Limbu).
Horse	...	On-hya	...	Gorai thangan	...	On (Lepchá and Limbu).
Iron	...	Chir	...	Shúrr	...	Chyá (Tibetan).
Mountain	...	Rá	...	Hájo	...	Rok (Lepcha).
Light	...	Jolká	...	Shráng	...	Jala (Newár).

There can be no doubt that in its vocabulary at least Dhimál is much more nearly allied to the other languages than to Bodo. Whether it should be assigned to the Nepal or the Sikkim group is less easy to say, but so far as its vocabulary is concerned it seems to resemble Limbu more than any other language, and it has accordingly been placed in the Sikkim group.

The title of this group is that given to it by Mr. Cust, but so far as it implies that its present head-quarters is in Sikkim, it is somewhat misleading, as out of a total of 41,916 persons speaking these languages, only 13,855 are found in what is now known as Sikkim. The majority (26,218) were enumerated in the Darjeeling district. Historically the term is more correct, as the part of the Darjeeling district where the Limbus and Lepchas are found has been taken from Sikkim within comparatively recent times.\* The Dhimáls, however, live in the Terai, in the Siliguri thana and in the adjoining portion of Nepal. The Lepchas, Limbus and Dhimáls, like the tribes of the Himalayan linguistic group, in almost all cases speak their own peculiar dialects. The Lepchas have a character of their own which is said to have been invented by one of their former kings. Its general characteristics including its palatal sibilants, clearly point to Tibetan as the source of the Raja's inspiration but some of the individual letters seem to differ altogether from the corresponding Tibetan ones.

The Limbus are also said by Hodgson to have a character peculiar to themselves, but I have not been able to procure any specimen of it. According to Hodgson it is difficult to assign it to any known origin.†

532. The Nepal group comprises such of the languages of Nepal (other than the Aryan Khas) as were returned at the Census.

NEPAL GROUP.				Hodgson mentions many other languages as spoken in that most polyglot of countries and gives a number of comparative vocabularies and grammatical notes in a series of papers contributed originally to the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and subsequently reprinted in two books entitled respectively—"The Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet" and "Essays on Indian Subjects." These papers, though most of them were written more than half a century ago, are still in many cases the only source of information available regarding the dialects with which they deal. As in the case of the Himalayan and Sikkim groups, the speakers of these languages in Bengal are found almost entirely in Darjeeling, Sikkim and Jalpaiguri.
Murmi	...	...	32,062	
Gurung	...	...	6,142	
Mangar	...	...	16,661	
Khambu	...	...	43,390	
Newar	...	...	7,491	
Thami	...	...	811	
Yákhá	...	...	1,251	
Mánjhi	...	...	903	
Háyu	...	...	24	
Sunuwár	...	...	6,006	
Total	...	...	112,240	

533. The most numerous of these languages is that which I have designated Khambu. It is not really a separate language, but a collection of sixteen dialects,‡ one of which, Báhing, has been described with considerable fulness by Hodgson. It should be explained that Hodgson gives the appellation Kiránti to these dialects, and includes in

Khambu and Yákhá.

\* The Limbus are most numerous in the Darjeeling thana, and the Lepchas in Kalimpong.

† Essays on Indian Subjects, Volume I, page 401, foot-note.

‡ Excluding Yákhá. The existence of sixteen different tribes doubtless explains the expression "Solah Khambu" which is often applied to the country which they inhabit. Khambu seems to have no connection with Kham, the province of Eastern Tibet, whose inhabitants, called Khámpá, are well known on the Assam frontier.



the term, Yákhá and Limbu. Kiránti is a Sanskrit derivative which is used in the Mahábhárata in a very wide sense as meaning any border tribe, and although it is now applied by outsiders to all the tribes inhabiting the country between the Dud Kosi and the Singilela ridge, I am informed by an educated Yákhá that, strictly speaking, it is the designation only of the Ráis, *i.e.* of the Jimdárs and Yákhás who inhabit the portion of the present kingdom of Nepal which lies between the Támbor river on the east and the Dud Kosi on the west. Jimdár is often treated as a synonym for Khambu and in the Language Table I have taken it to be so. I am now informed, however, that the two terms are quite distinct. The Khambus of Darjeeling often assume the title of Rái and claim to be the same as Jimdár but their pretensions are not admitted in Nepal. Their country or Khambuán lies to the north-east of Kiránt Desh on the southern spurs of the Himalayas. The Limbu country, or Limbuán is east of Kiránt Desh and south-east of Khambuán. Towards the Mechi river the Limbus are much mixed up with Lepchás. Their language has been treated as belonging to the Sikkim group of languages, while Khambu and Yákhá have been classed with the Nepal group; but this, as already explained, is due to the fact that, in the absence of a scientific comparative analysis of these languages, our grouping is geographical rather than philological. Like the Khambus, the Limbu, Yákhá and Jimdár tribes have each several distinct dialects. More than 96 per cent. of the Khambus enumerated in Bengal were entered as speaking Khambu.\* Those who returned other languages were found mainly in the Jalpaiguri district. Very few of the Yákhás living in Jalpaiguri have retained their tribal tongue, whereas in Darjeeling very few have abandoned it. It is said that even in their own country these tribes, women as well as men, can all speak Khas as well as their own dialects.

534. The Murmis are also known as Támáng Bhotias. There are traditions of their emigration from Tibet to Nepal, and for this reason it has been proposed to class their language with the Himalayan group. The vocabularies given by Hodgson, however, give rise to the presumption that it is more closely related to the Nepal group. In a list of 45 words, I counted 28 that closely resembled the corresponding Gurung words against only 14 that were like Tibetan. In dress and appearance also they resemble the Nepalese tribes rather than the Tibetans, and their present home is in Nepal. The Murmis have retained their tribal form of speech, and it is only in Jalpaiguri that a few of them speak other languages.

535. Newáris interesting as being the ancient State language of Nepal before the overthrow of the Newár dynasty in 1769. Unlike the other dialects of this group, it is the speech of a nationality or country rather than of a single tribe. The Newárs were the subjects of the old Newár kingdom, irrespective of the particular castes to which they belonged, just as the Bengalis are the inhabitants of Bengal and the Assamese of Assam in the restricted sense in which that word was used prior to the formation of the Assam Province in 1874.†

Buddhism spread to Nepal at a very early date, but although the majority of the Newárs were Buddhists they preserved their own national language. Their sacred books were in Sanskrit, but the medium of conversation in ordinary life remained purely Newár, and it has done so to the present day.‡ In this respect Buddhism presents a great contrast to the Hinduism of Northern India. Except in the solitary case of Manipur, wherever the Hindu religion has penetrated, the language is also of the Hindu type, but Buddhism leaves its votaries in possession of their own language, not only in Nepal and Tibet, but also in Arakan and Burma. The reason may perhaps be that Buddhism was an active, proselytising religion and was thus prepared to meet its neophytes half way, whereas admission to the Hindu social system is ordinarily accorded only to those who conform in all respects to the customs and practices of their Hindu neighbours.

Newár has three alphabets known as Bhanjin Mola, Ranja and Newári, all traceable to the Devanágari. The two former appear to have been used only

\* Khambu here, as in Table X, includes Jimdár.

† Newár and Nepál are merely different forms of the same word.

‡ This will be apparent from an examination of the vocabularies at page 3 *et seq.*, Part I, at page 29 *et seq.*, Part II of the Languages, Literature and History of Nepal. A few words are found of Sanskrit origin, but these relate chiefly to religious and abstract ideas.



by the Buddhist Newárs, and even amongst them they are no longer in vogue. The Newári character is still current, and it is this that we see in the inscriptions on the Nepalese coins.

In the Darjeeling district almost all the Newárs speak their own dialect, but in Sikkim more than two-fifths of the total number enumerated returned Khas as their language, while in Jalpaiguri barely one-third still speak Newár.

536. We may pass rapidly over the other languages of this group. Gurung and Mangar are spoken by the well known tribes

#### OTHER LANGUAGES.

of the same names who form the back-bone of our Gorkha regiments. They and the Sunuwárs have their home in the basin of the Gandak, to the north-west of Nepal Proper, but they have spread eastwards and are now to be found all over Nepal, and even in Darjeeling and Sikkim. The Gurungs, who, in Western Nepal are Buddhists, following the Lámás of Tibet, show more marked affinities to Tibetan in their vocabulary than do most of the other Nepal tribes. They are now abandoning Buddhism for Hinduism, and at the same time are giving up their tribal language in favour of Khas. Barely 42 per cent. of the Gurungs found in Bengal (including Sikkim) returned Gurung as their language.\* The Mangars are much more faithful to their mother-tongue, and nearly 88 per cent. returned it at the census. The Sunuwárs and Thamís have also as a rule preserved their own language. Thami is sometimes supposed to be identical with Sunuwár, but this is a mistake as will be seen from a comparison of the Thami words given below with the Sunuwár vocabulary collected by Hodgson:—†

Air—Phásá	Day—Oláng.	Hand—Lák.
Ant—Tiku.	Dog—Kuchu.	Head—Kápu.
Arrow—Pará.	Ear—Kulná.	Hog—Langur.
Bird—Ráhaleng.	Earth—Násá.	Horn—Ném.
Blood—Chái.	Eye—Méshe.	House—Ném.
Bone—Kosá.	Fire—Mé.	Iron—Chiném.
Buffalo—Meshá.	Fowl—Wá.	
Cow—Seyá.	Fish—Nángá.	

It is needless to observe that the Mánjhi here shown has no connection with Santál or Bágdi, but refers to the dialect of the Nepal caste of that name.‡ It is spoken by about half the persons shown as Mánjhi by caste, but it is possible that the caste return may include some persons who ought to have been classed as Santáls. Háyu or Váyu is spoken by a tribe inhabiting the basin of the Kosi, east of Nepal Proper. Their language has been fully described by Hodgson. It was returned by only 24 persons in Bengal.

537. Leaving the northern sections of the Tibeto-Burman family we come to the great Bodo group, of which Kachári or Mech is usually taken as the main representative. It is

probable that languages of this family were at one time widely spoken

Mech	...	21,175
Kachári	...	234
Gúro	...	36,145
Tipara	...	101,571
Koch	...	12,522
Total	...	171,747

in Bengal Proper, especially north of the Padma, but they have given way to Bengali; and at the present time they are current only in Jalpaiguri, Mymensingh, Dacca and Hill Tippera.§ Their stronghold is now in Assam where they are still spoken by nearly half a million people. Thanks mainly to the labours of Hodgson and, more recently, of Messrs. Endle and Anderson, these languages are well known. They were discussed at some length in the Assam Census Report of 1891, and have recently been very fully described by Dr. Grierson in connection with the Linguistic Survey. They will, therefore, be dealt with very briefly here.

\* In Sikkim, of 4,503 Gurungs, 2,721 returned their language as Khas and only 1,782 as Gurung. It has been stated that where a Nepali knows Khas as well as his tribal language he prefers to return the former, but this cannot explain the great defection from their tribal language on the part of the Gurungs as compared with other tribes. Of the 2,440 Mangars enumerated in Sikkim, only 406 returned Khas against 2,034 who gave Mangar in their parent tongue. Of 5,263 Murmis only 26, and of 5,918 Limbus, only 35 returned Khas as their language.

† Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, Part II, page 29.

‡ According to Hodgson the designation embraces two tribes, Kúwár and Botia, each speaking a distinct dialect, who were dubbed Mánjhi by the Khas on account of their occupation as fishermen.

§ According to Logan traces of a prior Dravidian formation are more marked in Bodo than in other Tibeto-Burman languages.



538. Mech is a foreign word popularly derived from Mlechchha. The proper tribal name, like that of the Kacháris, is Bodo, which seems originally to have merely signified man.\* It is almost identical with the Kachári of the Assam Valley, but has been shown separately in accordance with past practice. Of the total number of Mech speakers, all but 600 were enumerated in Jalpaiguri. About 86 per cent. of the persons returned as belonging to the Mech tribe speak their own language, but this high proportion is due, not so much to the Meches being as a class unaffected by the example of their neighbours, as to the fact that the adoption of Bengali as a language is usually accompanied by conversion to Hinduism and an effort to obtain recognition as good Hindus by abandoning the old tribal name and assuming some less distinctive appellation, such as Rájbansi, Kuri Sajjan or Kuri. The language, however, seems to have held its own during the last decade, and the number returned as speaking it is only about 400 less than in 1891. The persons who returned their language as Kachári were immigrants from Assam enumerated in Hill Tippera. Their dialect is thus probably that of North Cachar which is commonly known as Dimásá. The Kacháris by tribe outnumber the persons returned as speaking the Kachári language in the proportion of 4 to 1.

The home of the Gáros is in Assam, in the hills to which they have given their name. In this province the language is spoken mainly in Mymensingh, but it has also been returned in Dacca, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Kuch Bihár. There has been an increase of 45 per cent. in the number of Gáro speakers since 1891, which is due mainly to the figures for Mymensingh. More than 92 per cent. of the persons returned as Gáro by caste speak the Gáro language. The reason, as in the case of the Meches, is not that Gáro is specially qualified to resist the encroachment of Bengali but that when its speakers abandon it in favour of this language, they at the same time affect to be Hindus and hide their origin under some new designation. There are in Mymensingh several castes (*e.g.*, Hájang and Hadi) which are clearly of Gáro origin. Two dialects of Gáro were returned in Mymensingh, *viz.* Atong with 1,417 and Dual with 146 speakers. The former is mentioned by Dr. Grierson as being spoken in the Lower Somesvari valley. The latter is probably the same as Dálu which, according to the Linguistic Survey, is spoken in a village of the same name on the Bogai river. The term "Nám Dánu" is applied to Gáros who have left the hills and settled in the plains, and Dálu is also the name of a professedly Hindu caste of obviously Gáro origin.

539. The language described as Koch is spoken by a small number of people, who call themselves Koch Mándé, living in the Madhupur jungle on the borders of Dacca and Mymensingh.† It was formerly thought that the Koch Mándé were a remnant of the great Koch tribe which in North Bengal has lost its tribal identity by assuming the garb of Hinduism and the name of a Hindu caste. Latterly, however, the belief has prevailed that they are merely Gáros with a slight veneer of Hinduism. Their language is very closely allied to Gáro, but so also probably was that of the true Koch.‡ In Dacca most of the persons returned as Koch by caste speak the Koch language, but in Mymensingh more than 95 per cent. have abandoned it in favour of Bengali. In 1891 no Koch speakers were returned in Mymensingh, and only about half the present number in Dacca. The difference can only be attributed to a more accurate return on the present occasion.

\* Bodo-k still means man in Tipará.

† Mándé in Gáro means 'man' and the expression seems to lend some support to the hypothesis that has been put forward that the word 'Kachári' is derived from 'Koch-arai' or sons of the Koch.

‡ This is not the place for a lengthy discussion of the origin of the Koch Mándé but I venture to mention a few arguments which seem to support the earlier theory. The Koch Mándé have the same legend regarding their descent from a union between Mahádeb and Hira that is given in the annals of the Koch Kings, and the general idea in the locality they inhabit is that they came from a north-westerly direction. Five of their sixteen sections given in the Tribes and Castes of Bengal have the word Darrang prefixed to their designation, which seems to afford a clear indication of their former connection with the Assam district of the same name. The old course of the Brahmaputra flows not far from their present home, and they might quite easily have come thither from the country where the Koch kings formerly ruled. There are Gáro settlers in Dinajpur who have found their way thither from Mymensingh, and the journey of the Koch Mándé in the opposite direction, *i.e.*, down stream, would have been a much easier one. The Koch Mándé have no tradition of any connection with the Gáros.



In North Bengal Koch has not anywhere been returned as a language. The Rájibansi Koch of that part of the country now speak corrupt Bengali, and have completely forgotten their old tribal language.

540. Seventy-five per cent. of the Tipará speakers are found in the State of Hill Tippera, and most of the rest in the Chittagong Hill Tracts; a few only are found in the adjoining districts to the north and west. The language is in most respects very similar to Kachári, and where it differs, Gáro frequently supplies the connecting link. Sometimes, too, Tipará words which have disappeared from Kachári are still preserved in the moribund Bodo dialect spoken by the Moráns of Upper Assam.\* The persons who still call themselves Tipará almost to a man speak the tribal language. Some of the Riyáng Tipará (as shown in the margin) returned their language as Riyáng, but the great majority contented themselves with the general term Tipará. I am not aware if the dialect spoken by the Riyágs differs in any way from that of other Tipará. Tipará was returned as the language of 621 Kukis, 314 "Kshattriyas," 159 Kahepangs, 114 Mursangs, 101 Káthichhuas, 59 Muhammadans and 6 Chákmás.

541. The Kuki-Chin languages are more nearly allied to the Burmese than to the Tibetan branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. They are spoken chiefly in the hill range that divides Assam from Burma, and were returned in Bengal, with very few exceptions, only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera, both of which tracts lie on the western extremity of this range. Neither of them found a place in the language returns of 1891. Manipuri, Meithei or Mekhali stands apart from the other Kuki-Chin languages, in that it has preserved many traces of a more ancient stage of phonetic development, and thus sometimes agrees more closely with Burmese and even with Tibetan than with the other languages of the group. It is interesting as being, so far as I know, the only language in Northern India which has been retained intact by a tribe that has accepted Hinduism and for which the Bráhmans have invented a written character (based of course on the Devanágari). The characters used for Tibetan, Newár and other Himalayan languages were also derived from India, but they were apparently in all cases introduced under Buddhist and not Hindu auspices. The persons speaking Manipuri outnumber the persons returned as Manipuri by race, as in their case the abandonment of the tribal language is by no means a necessary preliminary to conversion, and they often described themselves in the schedules as Bráhman or Kshattriya without adding the word Manipuri, and so escaped being relegated to that category. This explains why in Dacca there are 132 persons speaking the Manipuri language, while none are shown as Manipuri by race. In Hill Tippera it is returned as the language of 484 Muhammadans of Manipuri origin, and also of 17 Nábits and 9 Tipará.

Strictly speaking, Kuki is not the name of a language at all. It is a term applied by the people of the plains to various hill tribes on this frontier, much in the sense in which Pahárá is often used elsewhere.† In the Chittagong Hills

\* According to Mr. Anderson, Kachári has suffered from phonetic decay more than most of the languages of this group. Thus Tipará *ra* (*give*) becomes *lu* in Kachári and *chád* (*eat*) becomes *chád*; the Gáro, *not* (*home*) becomes *ná*, and so on. "We also," says Dr. Grierson, "see going on before our eyes that process of phonetic attrition which in all the languages of the family has turned dissyllables into monosyllables." Thus *frán* "to dry" is compounded of two words *fi* "make" and *rán* "dry."

† It has been suggested that the word is really Koh-ki or "hill-men" an Urdu variant for Pahárá, but if this were the derivation the term would be *Koh-ka* not *Koh-ki*. *Khu* means "village" in Khami and other Kuki-Chin languages, and *ki* or *khi* is sometimes the sign of the Genitive. It is possible that some of the tribes first met with when asked who they were described themselves as men of such and such villages. Thus a man from a hypothetical village Langrin might reply "Langrin khu-ki" and the word Khu-ki might thus be taken as indicating the tribal name. We know that the name of the Khami tribe is derived very much in the manner here suggested for Kuki. *Khu* means "village" as stated above, and *mi* means "person." An inhabitant of Balte, for instance, would be called *Balte Khami* and the word *Khami* has thus become the general designation of the whole tribe. It may be mentioned here that the Lushais and some of the Kukis are known to each other as *Khu-sak* and *Khu-tlang*, *sak* meaning "high" and *tlang* "low" and *khu*, as before, being the word for "village."



the term is used freely, not only of persons across the frontier, but also of people of all tribes other than that to which the speaker himself belongs. As regards language therefore, the term is practically equivalent to "Kuki-Chin, unspecified." In Hill Tippera it probably refers mainly to the Hallám and Rangkhól dialects.

I have included under this head the three dialects shown in the margin, not mentioned by Dr. Grierson, which were returned as languages in Hill Tippera. Of the other dialects of this group Hallám and Lushei were returned exclusively in Hill Tippera; and Banjogi Pankhu, Khyang and Khami, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Lushei, Banjogi and Pankhu belong to what Dr. Grierson calls the central group of Kuki-Chin languages; Hallám and Rangkhól to the Old Kuki; and Khyang and Khami to the southern group.

542. The review of Bengal languages comes to an end with the Burma group, comprising Burmese, Arakanese and Mru. Burmese is spoken by a few scattered immigrants all over the Province. Arakanese, which is merely the dialect of Burmese spoken in Arakan, is the language of the Maghs settled in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong, Backergunge and Hill Tippera. There are also Maghs in Tippera and Noakhali, but these now speak Bengali,\* as do the Chákmás to whom reference has already been made. Many of the Maghs of Chittagong also have returned Bengali as their language. Mru is a distant cousin of

Burmese, and is spoken by a tribe of the same name in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

543. In reviewing briefly the local extent of the different languages spoken in Bengal it has been repeatedly stated that a non-Aryan tribe has already abandoned or is gradually giving up its own native language. Occasionally it is replaced by another non-Aryan dialect, as in the case of the Oráons of some parts of Ranchi, who speak Mundári, or of the Khariás of Keonjhar, who speak Oráon, but more frequently it is an Aryan tongue which ousts it. Thus the Hindu refugees in Western Nepal carried with them their language which, after gradually supplanting the original Khas, is now steadily gaining fresh adherents at the expense of the various hill dialects current in Nepal. The Koches of Northern Bengal have completely forgotten their own dialect and know only Bengali. The Bhuiyás, even in Keonjhar, have no recollection of their tribal language, and the Bhumijes have abandoned theirs, save only in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and in Midnapore. The Chákmás have given up Arakanese and now use a mongrel dialect of Bengali, which they write in an old form of the Burmese character. The Maghs of Tippera and Noakhali have forgotten their own language altogether and those of Chittagong are gradually following suit. In the Sonthal Parganas the Mál Paháriás know only broken Bengali, and in Hazaribagh and Ranchi a kind of Magahi is spoken everywhere as a *lingua franca*, and is gradually ousting the tribal dialects, even in the family circle.

The reverse, however, never happens. There is no known case where any community has abandoned an Aryan language and adopted a non-Aryan one. The Lohárs and Tántis of Chota Nagpur who were returned as speaking Mundári and Oráon are not Hindus, but aborigines, to whom these functional designations have been applied.† Nor does a community speaking one form of Aryan speech easily give it up in favour of another. Muhammadans of up-country origin all over Bengal preserve the speech they brought with

\* On noticing the absence of Arakanese from the language tables for Tippera and Noakhali, I caused the schedules to be referred to, and subsequently referred the matter to the District Magistrates for local enquiry the result of which established the accuracy of the census record. All the Maghs in these districts speak Bengali.

† Colonel Dalton speaks of the persons thus designated in the Kolhán as "remnants of the Aryan colonies that the Hos subjugated" who learnt the Ho language, but this does not appear to be the case. There are some foreign (Dikku) settlers in the Ho country but the Deputy Commissioner reports that, though they are conversant with Ho, they have not ordinarily given up or forgotten their own language which remains the vehicle of conversation among themselves. In a few cases, in the more remote localities, where their number is very small, they have abandoned their own languages and now speak only Ho, but these cases are so rare and the circumstances are so exceptional that they can scarcely be taken as constituting an exception to the general assertion made in the text.



them.\* In their case, religious prejudice may account for it, but the peculiarity is not confined to Muhammadans. In Singhbhum, Bengali, Hindi and Oriyá are spoken side by side, and in Manbhum also the Aryan dialects are tribal rather than local. A more extreme case is furnished by the Siyalgirs of Midnapore and the Kichaks of Dacca: both are small isolated communities who have been settled in the midst of a Bengali population for many years, and yet they have both preserved their original Gujaráti dialect almost unchanged.

544. The phenomenon of one form of speech superseding another has often been noticed, and all over the world we see races speaking languages introduced from outside.† Sometimes it is due to conquest, as in the case of Alsace and Lorraine. It more often arises from contact and friendly intercourse, when the more advanced and easier of the two languages is adopted as a *lingua franca*, and then gradually ousts the weaker tongue. Thus Greek was at one time the common form of speech throughout Asia Minor and Northern Egypt. Both of the above causes were doubtless at work in ancient times in India. The tribes of Aryan speech who entered India from the North-West imposed their language on the people they subdued, while those whom they did not subdue gradually adopted it. The non-Aryan languages had no written character and no literature; their vocabularies were scanty, and they had no words to express many of the ideas, practices and implements, introduced by the invaders. They were thus bound to succumb to Aryan dialects wherever they came into contact, even if in other respects the conflict had been an equal one. But the Aryan dialects had other advantages. They were spoken by men of superior intelligence, knowledge and energy, who forced their way to the front, even in States that preserved their independence. More important still, they were the language of a religion of a far more elevated type than the primitive animism and demon worship prevalent amongst the non-Aryan tribes, and possessing a priest-hood far more subtle and awe-inspiring than the simple exorcists of the earlier faiths.

A striking instance of the way in which these moral influences can affect language without any aid whatever from physical force is afforded in the history of Assam. The Ahoms conquered Upper Assam early in the 13th century, and gradually extended their dominion over the whole of the Assam Valley. They were never in any way subject to any Hindu power, and even the Muhammadans not only failed to conquer them, but were eventually forced to retire before them. Yet in less than four centuries from their first appearance, we find them employing Hindus as envoys, and using Sanskrit as the language of the inscriptions on their coins and copper-plate land grants and as the medium of communication with other kingdoms. A hundred years later their king formally embraced Hinduism and became the disciple of a Brahman priest from Nadia. The Ahom tongue gradually fell into desuetude, and has long since disappeared from the realm of living speech, leaving scarcely any trace on the Aryan language which supplanted it.‡ This case is the more remarkable as Ahom had a written character and literature, and there was a powerful body of tribal priests who did their utmost to preserve the language and religion on which their own position so much depended.

545. The gradual disappearance of the non-Aryan dialects is thus only a matter of time. Even now it is only in the remoter tracts and in the less accessible and inhospitable hills that they still flourish. In the Himalayan Terai the Dhimal and Mech tribes still hold to non-Aryan dialects, but the Tharus all

\* The Musalmans of Orissa, though they form an exceedingly small fraction of the population, have preserved a fairly pure, though not very grammatical, Urdu as the language of their home life. But they cannot write it any more than can the domiciled Bengalis write Bengali. When they are literate at all they use the Oriyá language and character. I should point out here that it does not follow that a Muhammadan in Bengal is of foreign origin because he speaks Urdu. The Garpada Bhuiyá family of Balasore were formerly Hindus, but since they became Muhammadans they have abandoned their native Oriyá for the Hindustani of their co-religionists.

† In Africa, for example, the term Bantu comprises a complicity of people representing every shade of transition between the pure Negro and the Hamitic types, all of whom speak dialects of a common language. There is absolute linguistic unity with the greatest physical diversity. So also in the United States, English is the language spoken, not only by the Anglo-Saxon race, but also by the descendants of immigrants of all nationalities and even by the negroes. In the British Islands the speakers of English are by no means all Anglo-Saxons.

‡ I tried some years ago to make a list of Ahom words that have passed into Assamese, but was unable to find even fifty words in common use that have come down from the Ahom.



speaking some form of Hindi, and the Koch talks what he is pleased to call Bengali. At the foot of the Garo Hills a few small settlements speak Gáro or Koch, and in Chittagong many Maghs still speak Arakanese. Otherwise it may be said that throughout the Bengal plains Aryan languages reign supreme. And even in the hills, the struggle is going on and the non-Aryan dialects are gradually giving way. In Nepal, as we have seen, Khas is driving the aboriginal tongues into oblivion. In Hazaribagh and Palamau a form of Magahi Bihári is in common use as a second language and is gradually being adopted by the non-Aryan tribes for domestic as well as foreign intercourse. In the Chota Nagpur States the Chattisgarhi dialect of Eastern Hindi is supplanting all the tribal dialects, while in the Orissa States Oriyá is the Court language of the chiefs, and is steadily growing in favour amongst the local tribes. The process of absorption will doubtless go on with increasing rapidity as communications continue to improve, and intercourse with the outside world becomes more and more extended and continuous. What the languages were which were spoken in Bengal before the Aryan dialects extinguished them, we can now only speculate. According to Logan there are traces of a Dravidian element in the dialects not only of the Bodo tribes, but even of the Nagas and Manipuris. This seems to have been the earliest linguistic formation all over India. It was displaced in Bengal by the Mon-Anam which has left a comparatively pure remnant in the Khási, while its mixture with the Dravidian in Bihar and Chota Nagpur led to the evolution of the Munda family of languages. Then came the Tibeto-Burman formation which spread along the Himalayas and up the Ganges valley as far as the Mahánandá. To this linguistic family belonged the dialects of the ancestors, not only of the Koch and Mech, but probably also of the Pod and Chandál. It is now spoken only by a few scattered remnants and even in the names of places its influence is rarely seen. The Tista and the Dimla recall the Bodo word for water, *Ti* or *Di*, and so does the Di-chhu, now usually known as the Jaldhaka river.\* The Western Provinces of China and the eastern portion of Tibet are in Logan's opinion the hive from which the tribes who spoke the Mon-Anam and Tibeto-Burman languages originally came.

It will be amply apparent from what has already been said that the speakers of Aryan languages are by no means universally Aryans by race. These languages are spreading at the present day without any racial admixture at all, and they may equally well have done so in the past. The amount of foreign blood which the prevalence of the Aryan languages necessarily indicates is thus very small, and it is not absolutely certain that even this small admixture was Aryan. The people who brought the parent language may themselves have borrowed it from others, just as have those who are now spreading it, in the remote tracts where it is still struggling for the mastery.

The position of the Aryan languages as compared with the non-Aryan is specially strong, and it is not likely that the preceding linguistic formations were spread so easily. In other words, it seems probable that the diffusion of the earlier invading languages was accompanied by a more considerable racial mixture than was the case in connection with the spread of Aryan dialects in this Province. Here, however, we are trenching on the domain of anthropometry to which alone we must look for positive conclusions as regards race.

546. In concluding this chapter it may be interesting to note the degree

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN EACH LANGUAGE, 1891-1901. of literary activity possessed by each language, as evidenced by the number of books published in it.

Subsidiary Table VI shows the number of books published in each main language in each year of the decade exclusive of official publications.

The total number of books of all kinds printed and published in Bengal during the decade 1891-1901 was 15,843. Of these 9,331 were in Bengali, 2,580 in English, 286 in Musalmani Bengali, 1,323 in Oriyá, 968 in Hindi, 258 in Urdu, 736 in Sanskrit, 45 in Persian, 32 in Tibetan, 37 in Santáli, 10 in Khas, 7 in Mundári and 43 in other languages. This is in addition to 127 books published in Assamese and 60 in other languages of that Province.

\* The *Cānu* of Dichhu is the Tibetan word for water. Further east in Assam the majority of the river names are derived from the Bodo, e.g., Di-phang, Dihing, Dihong, Dibong, Dikhu, Dikrai, Diju, etc. Incidentally it may be mentioned here that *Kosi* is simply a variant of *Kāsi* the Newá word for "river." The Sanskrit names for the Tista are *Trishna* (thirst) and *Trisrota* (three springs) and a mythical origin of the river which accounts for these names is given in the *Kálika Purán*. Similarly the Kosi is said to be *Kāsiñi*, the daughter of Kúsik Rájá, king of Gádhi. Here, as in many other cases, the name has preceded and suggested the myth.



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. I—SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL  
POPULATION BY LANGUAGE.**

LANGUAGE.	Persons.	Male.	Female.	Proportion per 10,000 of population.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>LANGUAGES OF INDIA.</b>	<b>78,433,636</b>	<b>39,240,695</b>	<b>39,192,941</b>	<b>9,992</b>
<i>Aryan</i> ... ..	<b>74,518,085</b>	<b>37,289,542</b>	<b>37,228,543</b>	<b>9,494</b>
Bengali ... ..	41,492,899	20,842,136	20,650,763	5,279
Hindi ... ..	28,780,174	13,312,453	15,467,721	3,412
Oriya ... ..	6,202,751	3,079,307	3,123,444	790
Khas ... ..	81,313	41,949	39,364	10
Marwari ... ..	10,677	6,282	4,395	1
Gujarati ... ..	4,368	3,040	1,328	1
Panjabi ... ..	2,380	1,990	290	.....
Marathi ... ..	1,995	1,058	937	.....
Assamese ... ..	1,031	917	114	.....
Others ... ..	597	510	87	.....
<i>Munda</i> ... ..	<b>2,781,211</b>	<b>1,382,078</b>	<b>1,399,133</b>	<b>354</b>
Santali ... ..	1,724,227	858,418	865,809	220
Mundari ... ..	403,883	198,481	204,902	51
Ho ... ..	367,613	182,635	184,978	47
Bhumij ... ..	111,210	54,047	57,163	14
Kharis ... ..	79,383	40,603	38,780	10
Kora ... ..	23,827	11,635	12,192	3
Mahli ... ..	18,801	9,177	9,624	3
Karmali ... ..	17,342	8,732	8,610	2
Korwa ... ..	15,882	7,534	8,048	2
Juang ... ..	10,798	5,809	4,989	1
Turia ... ..	3,220	1,826	1,394	.....
Asur ... ..	3,126	1,645	1,481	.....
Birjis ... ..	1,377	683	692	.....
Others ... ..	1,022	651	471	.....
<i>Dravidian</i> ... ..	<b>683,732</b>	<b>337,330</b>	<b>346,402</b>	<b>87</b>
Oran ... ..	543,506	266,205	277,300	69
Malto ... ..	60,777	30,994	29,783	8
Kandh ... ..	55,665	27,625	28,030	7
Telugu ... ..	18,680	9,697	8,983	2
Kisan ... ..	2,055	1,036	1,019	.....
Tamil ... ..	2,274	1,346	928	.....
Others ... ..	786	427	359	.....
<i>Tibeto-Burman</i> ... ..	<b>450,591</b>	<b>231,731</b>	<b>218,860</b>	<b>57</b>
Tipara ... ..	101,571	52,643	48,928	13
Arakanese ... ..	63,589	32,174	31,415	8
Khambu ... ..	43,390	22,128	21,264	5
Garo ... ..	36,145	18,085	18,060	5
Murmi ... ..	32,062	16,024	16,038	4
Bhotia dialects (including Tibetan).	22,506	11,898	10,608	3
Lambu ... ..	22,035	11,603	10,432	3
Mech ... ..	21,175	11,256	9,919	3
Lepcha ... ..	19,274	9,588	9,686	2
Mangar ... ..	16,661	8,961	7,700	2
Manipuri ... ..	13,445	7,078	6,367	2
Koch ... ..	12,622	6,297	6,325	2
Mru ... ..	10,484	5,352	5,132	1
Newar ... ..	7,491	4,020	3,471	1
Kuki ... ..	6,838	3,510	3,328	1
Gurung ... ..	6,142	3,076	3,066	1
Sunwar ... ..	6,006	2,692	2,314	1
Hallam ... ..	3,672	1,793	1,879	.....
Khami ... ..	1,460	761	708	.....
Yakha ... ..	1,251	659	592	.....
Others ... ..	3,763	2,135	1,628	.....
<i>Khasi</i> ... ..	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>.....</b>
<i>Khasi</i> ... ..	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>.....</b>
<b>LANGUAGES FOREIGN TO INDIA.</b>	<b>59,774</b>	<b>37,491</b>	<b>22,283</b>	<b>8</b>
English ... ..	48,450	28,230	20,214	6
Pashto ... ..	3,051	2,953	98	.....
Persian ... ..	3,020	2,251	769	.....
Chinese ... ..	2,302	2,064	238	.....
Arabic &c. ... ..	1,254	885	369	.....
Others ... ..	1,697	1,102	595	.....



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. II—SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION BY LANGUAGE OF  
10,000 OF THE POPULATION OF EACH DISTRICT.**

District.	NUMBER PER 10,000 SPEAKING LANGUAGES OF THE—				
	Aryan family.	Munda family.	Dravidian family.	Tibeto-Burman family.	Other languages.
1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>PROVINCE</b> ... ..	<b>9,494</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>West Bengal</b> ... ..	<b>9,519</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>6</b>	.....	<b>7</b>
Burdwan ... ..	9,684	288	3	.....	15
Birbhum ... ..	9,401	595	1	.....	3
Bankura ... ..	9,106	893	.....	.....	1
Midnapore ... ..	9,363	632	3	.....	2
Hooghly ... ..	9,883	95	16	.....	6
Howrah ... ..	9,947	4	23	.....	26
<b>Central Bengal</b> ... ..	<b>9,911</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>	.....	<b>49</b>
24 Parganas ... ..	9,922	47	14	.....	17
Calcutta ... ..	9,575	.....	33	4	388
Nadia ... ..	9,995	1	1	.....	3
Murshidabad ... ..	9,887	100	11	.....	2
Jeessore ... ..	9,997	1	.....	.....	2
<b>North Bengal</b> ... ..	<b>9,558</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>5</b>
Rajshahi ... ..	9,917	44	37	.....	2
Dinajpur ... ..	9,527	441	30	1	1
Jalpaiguri ... ..	8,465	363	684	478	10
Darjeeling ... ..	4,534	238	309	4,839	80
Rangpur ... ..	9,967	26	3	1	3
Bogra ... ..	9,938	54	6	1	1
Pabna ... ..	9,981	17	.....	.....	2
Malda ... ..	9,543	425	30	.....	2
Kuch Bihar ... ..	9,986	1	.....	10	3
Sitkim ... ..	2,780	.....	.....	7,268	2
<b>East Bengal</b> ... ..	<b>9,852</b>	<b>1</b>	.....	<b>146</b>	<b>1</b>
Khulna ... ..	9,995	4	.....	.....	1
Dacca ... ..	9,956	1	.....	41	2
Mymensingh ... ..	9,911	.....	.....	68	1
Faridpur ... ..	9,998	.....	.....	.....	2
Backergunge ... ..	9,967	.....	.....	32	1
Tippera ... ..	9,992	.....	.....	7	1
Noakhali ... ..	10,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chittagong ... ..	9,840	3	2	162	3
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	4,139	7	.....	6,854	.....
Hill Tippera ... ..	4,207	16	.....	5,770	7
<b>North Bihar</b> ... ..	<b>9,977</b>	.....	<b>4</b>	.....	<b>2</b>
Saran ... ..	9,999	.....	.....	.....	1
Champanan ... ..	9,996	.....	.....	1	3
Muzaffarpur ... ..	9,998	.....	.....	.....	2
Darbhanga ... ..	9,998	.....	.....	.....	2
Bhagalpur ... ..	9,895	87	16	.....	2
Purnea ... ..	9,967	29	12	.....	2
<b>South Bihar</b> ... ..	<b>9,978</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1</b>	.....	<b>5</b>
Patna ... ..	9,986	.....	.....	.....	14
Gaya ... ..	9,999	.....	.....	.....	1
Shahabad ... ..	9,993	.....	5	.....	2
Monghyr ... ..	9,934	61	.....	.....	5
<b>Orissa</b> ... ..	<b>9,946</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29</b>	.....	<b>2</b>
Cuttack ... ..	9,965	.....	32	.....	3
Balasore ... ..	9,899	89	10	.....	2
Puri ... ..	9,957	.....	41	.....	2
<b>Chota Nagpur Plateau</b> ... ..	<b>7,215</b>	<b>2,197</b>	<b>586</b>	.....	<b>2</b>
Hazaribagh ... ..	9,216	755	25	.....	3
Ranchi ... ..	4,376	2,972	2,650	.....	2
Palamau ... ..	9,379	271	349	.....	1
Manbhum ... ..	8,509	1,485	3	.....	3
Singbhum ... ..	3,820	6,058	116	.....	6
Sonthal Parganas ... ..	5,959	3,699	388	1	3
Angul ... ..	7,792	36	2,171	.....	1
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ... ..	7,814	1,128	1,068	.....	.....
Orissa Tributary States ... ..	8,054	1,837	109	.....	.....



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. III—SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION AMONGST  
BENGALI, HINDI, ORIYA AND OTHER LANGUAGES OF 10,000 PERSONS IN  
EACH DISTRICT.

DISTRICT.				Bengali.	Hindi.	Oriya.	Other languages.
1				2	3	4	5
PROVINCE	...	...	...	5,279	3,412	790	519
<i>West Bengal</i>	...	...	...	<i>8,778</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>343</i>	<i>485</i>
Burdwan	...	...	...	9,198	478	6	319
Birbhum	...	...	...	9,144	255	1	600
Bankura	...	...	...	9,067	56	2	895
Midnapore	...	...	...	8,045	344	970	641
Hooghly	...	...	...	9,443	409	19	117
Howrah	...	...	...	8,898	1,005	98	59
<i>Central Bengal</i>	...	...	...	<i>9,074</i>	<i>766</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>93</i>
24 Parganas	...	...	...	9,154	672	94	80
Calcutta	...	...	...	5,131	4,047	361	461
Nadia	...	...	...	9,910	74	3	5
Murshidabad	...	...	...	9,178	705	4	113
Jessore	...	...	...	9,973	22	2	3
<i>North Bengal</i>	...	...	...	<i>9,047</i>	<i>432</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>518</i>
Rajshahi	...	...	...	9,772	141	3	84
Dinajpur	...	...	...	9,213	313	1	473
Jalpaiguri	...	...	...	7,672	616	25	1,687
Darjeeling	...	...	...	1,799	893	1	7,307
Rangpur	...	...	...	9,704	268	2	36
Bogra	...	...	...	9,794	142	1	63
Pabna	...	...	...	9,555	123	2	19
Malda	...	...	...	7,408	2,134	1	457
Kuch Bihar	...	...	...	9,563	307	3	28
Sikkim	...	...	...	.....	36	.....	9,964
<i>East Bengal</i>	...	...	...	<i>9,768</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>149</i>
Khulna	...	...	...	9,954	38	3	5
Dacca	...	...	...	9,806	150	1	44
Mymensingh	...	...	...	9,749	162	1	88
Faridpur	...	...	...	9,940	66	2	2
Backergunge	...	...	...	9,947	18	2	83
Tippera	...	...	...	9,951	38	.....	8
Noakhali	...	...	...	9,995	5	.....	.....
Chittagong	...	...	...	9,809	30	.....	161
Chittagong Hill Tracts	...	...	...	4,121	3	1	5,875
Hill Tippera	...	...	...	4,019	155	28	6,798
<i>North Bihar</i>	...	...	...	<i>72</i>	<i>9,895</i>	.....	<i>33</i>
Saran	...	...	...	3	9,998	.....	1
Champaran	...	...	...	5	9,947	.....	48
Muzaffarpur	...	...	...	4	9,993	.....	3
Darbhanga	...	...	...	5	9,991	.....	4
Bhagalpur	...	...	...	18	9,861	.....	121
Purnea	...	...	...	490	9,480	1	49
<i>South Bihar</i>	...	...	...	<i>6</i>	<i>9,968</i>	.....	<i>26</i>
Patna	...	...	...	7	9,975	.....	18
Gaya	...	...	...	6	9,990	.....	4
Shahabad	...	...	...	6	9,986	.....	8
Monghyr	...	...	...	8	9,923	.....	69
<i>Orissa</i>	...	...	...	<i>98</i>	<i>287</i>	<i>9,558</i>	<i>57</i>
Cuttack	...	...	...	65	291	9,607	37
Balasore	...	...	...	150	293	9,442	105
Puri	...	...	...	103	272	9,531	44
<i>Chota Nagpur Plateau</i>	...	...	...	<i>1,435</i>	<i>3,853</i>	<i>1,923</i>	<i>2,789</i>
Hazaribagh	...	...	...	67	9,153	1	789
Ranchi	...	...	...	95	4,249	30	5,626
Palamau	...	...	...	2	9,375	.....	623
Manbhum	...	...	...	7,243	1,251	8	1,498
Singbhum	...	...	...	1,753	428	1,632	6,187
Sonthal Parganas	...	...	...	1,360	4,666	.....	4,044
Angul	...	...	...	4	48	7,740	2,208
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	...	...	...	347	5,985	1,477	2,191
Orissa Tributary States	...	...	...	342	47	7,695	1,946



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. IV—SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION BY RESIDENCE OF 10,000 PERSONS  
SPEAKING EACH LANGUAGE.**

LANGUAGES OF INDIA.	West Bengal.	Central Bengal.	North Bengal.	East Bengal.	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur plateau.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>A. ARYAN FAMILY</b>	<b>1,053</b>	<b>1,029</b>	<b>1,283</b>	<b>2,242</b>	<b>1,852</b>	<b>1,033</b>	<b>554</b>	<b>954</b>	
Bengali	1,740	1,685	2,153	3,098	84	1	10	341	
Hindi	121	221	161	69	2,111	2,872	44	1,413	
Oriya	406	83	6	4			5,307	3,064	
Khas	7	22	8,943	16	983	3		9	Spoken by Immigrants.
Assamese	48	593	8,070	1,591	89				Ditto.
Marwari	364	151	1,136	65	4,667	1,812	301	1,974	
Punjabi	1,947	2,829	2,171	580	1,154	1,066	80	800	
Gujarati	1,703	4,572	144	131	298	379	1,175	1,401	Includes Sipsair.
Marathi	4,690	543	83	95	73	1,823	627	2,351	Spoken by Immigrants.
Gonawse	326	2,140	216	421			507		Ditto.
Singhalese		9,061		435			454		Ditto.
Kachchhi				548			8,082	1,370	Ditto.
Kashmiri			3,332	909	4,342	1,212			Ditto.
Sindhi			5,628			5,750		853	
Gipsy dialects						1,807		8,403	
<b>B. MUNDA FAMILY</b>	<b>1,386</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>577</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>7,783</b>	
Asaria			31					9,969	Palamau and Ranchi.
Asur			1,760					8,231	Ranchi.
Birja			58					9,942	Palamau.
Jasna								9,096	Orissa Tributary States.
Kharai	45		500					9,433	Ranchi and Chota Nagpur Tributary States.
Mundari	59	118	506	13	23			9,186	Ranchi.
Bhumij	2,083	87	19					7,709	Orissa States, Singhbhum and Midnapore.
Turik	113	1,424	4,843					3,553	Chota Nagpur States, Bogra, Jalpaiguri.
Ho	9							9,984	Singhbhum.
Hirhor								10,000	Hazaribagh, Singhbhum and Ranchi.
Kora	6,560	212	91	9			227	2,822	Hirbhum and Burdwan.
Korwa		91	61					8,908	Chota Nagpur States and Palamau.
Singli (Erags)								10,000	Ditto.
Santali	1,376	94	728	4	133	72	48	6,943	Sonhal Parganas.
Karnali	336		1,190			43		8,367	Ditto.
Mahli	1,161	196	603					7,650	Ditto.
<b>C. DRAVIDIAN FAMILY</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>1,104</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>8,438</b>	
Oran	76	73	1,371		86	13		8,366	Ranchi.
Malto	6		134		50			9,780	Sonhal Parganas.
Gondi and Kisan								9,891	Chota Nagpur Tributary States.
Kandh			5					9,963	Anul.
Malhar					1	23		10,000	Orissa Tributary States.
Telugu	408	885	19	179			6,188	2,297	Cuttack and Puri.
Tamil	633	6,092	61	67	40	43	1,724	440	Spoken by Immigrants.
Qanaroso		3,371		3,000			1,459		Ditto.
Malayalam		9,851					149		Ditto.
<b>D. TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>4,488</b>	<b>5,493</b>	<b>8</b>			<b>3</b>	
Tibetan		83	9,851		134				Spoken by Immigrants.
Sikkim Bhotia		1	9,908					1	
Bhotanese Bhotia		4	9,984		1	8		3	Spoken by Immigrants.
Sharpa Bhotia			10,000						Ditto.
Toto			9,983			15			Only in Jalpaiguri.
Limbu			10,000						
Lepcha			10,000						Only in Darjeeling.
Dhimai			10,000						Spoken by Immigrants.
Murmi			10,000						Ditto.
Gorung			9,803		15				Ditto.
Mangsar			10,000						Ditto.
Khambo			10,000		20				Ditto.
Newar			9,977		150				Ditto.
Thami			9,807						Ditto.
Yakha			9,984						Ditto.
Majhi			10,000						Ditto.
Baju			10,000						Ditto.
Sonwar			10,000						Ditto.
Mech			9,952						Ditto.
Kachari			10,000						Chiefly in Myinsingh.
Garo			1,056						Do. Hill Tippera and Chittagong Hills.
Tipara			10,000						Dacca.
Koch			10,000						Hill Tippera.
Kuki			9,944						Ditto.
Hallam			10,000						Ditto.
Manipuri			9,903						Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Banjagi			10,000						Ditto.
Pankhu			10,000						Ditto.
Khyang			10,000						Ditto.
Khaol			10,000						Ditto.
Lushai			10,000						Hill Tippera.
Burmese	197	4,180	364	1,005	943	192	80	514	Spoken by Immigrants.
Arakanese		2	5	2,993					Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Mru				10,000					Ditto.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. V.—COMPARING THE STATISTICS IN THE CASTE AND

LANGUAGES.	WEST BENGAL.		CENTRAL BENGAL.		NORTH BENGAL.		EAST BENGAL.	
	X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
MUNDA FAMILY	355,571	456,026	23,441	45,552	160,355	217,098	1,510	6,103
Agaria		24			1	51		
Asur					553	553		
Birja				8	8	157		
Juang								7
Kharis	359	10,028		837	4,129	4,868		29
Mundari	2,309	74,329	4,766	11,145	24,037	31,456	753	3,483
Bhumij	23,279	60,386	983	12,483	213	4,003		970
Turi	58	244	475	1,633	1,660	5,384		358
Ho	334	478		255		2		10
Birhor		23		1		4		
Korā	15,651	20,841	505	3,773	314	5,013	42	111
Korwa		703	49	49	97	194		
* Singli (Ernga)								
Santal	340,628	1,356,683	10,317	15,414	125,596	154,413	733	906
Karmali	670				5,079			
Mahli	1,183	5,214	309	557	1,566	3,038		110
DRavidian FAMILY	4,156	9,137	3,959	10,045	75,459	102,598		599
Orāon	4,117	8,363	3,939	9,970	74,407	99,612		592
Malto	37	449		30	936	360		
Gondi		229		43		151		24
Kisan						2,429		
Kandh	2	106		2	27	27		13
Malhar						13		
TIbeto-BURMAN FAMILY	5	81	365	1,442	202,914	225,003	247,507	348,133
Himalayan Group—								
Tibetan			15		1,754	11,789		
Sikkim-Bhotia			1		8,543	13,863		
Bhotanese-Bhotia			3	3	7,282	19,372	1	5
Sharpa-Bhotia					4,407	74,434		
Toto					170	171		
Sikkim Group—								
Limbu					21,092	124,373		2
Lepcha					19,371	719,431		
Dhimal					697	632		
Nepal Group—								
Marmi				6	33,042	102,920		4
Garung				30	4,138	114,513	4	4
Manzer				2	10,423	19,189	35	34
Khamba				1	43,390	744,500		
Newar				2	7,474	110,355	15	30
Thami					505	303	6	
Yakha					1,351	2,376		
Manjhi					902	1,027		
Hayu					24	37		
Sunwar					5,000	15,221		1
Bodo Group—								
Mech					21,070	24,460		16
Kachari							324	954
Garo				6	3,816	4,366	31,329	34,732
Tipara				9			101,871	101,608
Koch		21				255	12,649	64,031
Kuki-Chin Group—								
Kuki			35	7			6,500	9,163
Hallam							3,074	2,215
Manipuri			6				12,435	12,993
Banjoli					2		560	636
Pangkha							113	144
Khyang							414	416
Khami							1,469	1,469
Luabai							131	135
Burmese Group—								
Burmese	5	30	980	753	17	22	75	35
Arakanese		31	13	826	20	53	63,547	100,180
Mra							10,484	10,551
KHASI			11				6	3
Khasi			11				6	

\* Singli has been included under

+ The figures given for Table XIII include not only Hindus and Animists who are shown in the body of that Table, but also the Native Christians referred included in as follows:—

Asur in Chota Nagpur Plateau	21	Turi in Chota Nagpur Plateau	118
Kharis in Ditto	10,367	Ho in Ditto	961
Munda in West Bengal	38	Santal in West Bengal	702
Ditto North Bengal	33	Do in North Bengal	211
Ditto Chota Nagpur Plateau	56,447	Do in Orissa	5
Total	86,512	Do in Chota Nagpur Plateau	7,920
		Total	8,901



## LANGUAGE TABLES (TABLES X AND XIII) FOR TRIBES SPEAKING DIALECTS OF THEIR OWN.

NORTH BIHAR.		SOUTH BIHAR.		ORISSA.		CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.		BENGAL.	
X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
23,635	38,476	12,546	94,858	9,570	18,955	2,164,583	2,548,217	2,781,211	3,383,385
			151			222	12,988	323	13,217
						2,571	72,875	3,126	13,613
					1	1,909	9,723	1,377	9,887
				2	3	15,796	11,159	10,728	11,160
	143				144	74,696	709,241	79,393	715,119
906	3,891	2	183		29	370,555	733,413	403,353	743,143
			1	356	7,617	80,380	295,366	111,210	325,445
	33		1,094			1,144	730,500	3,220	740,500
				244	773	307,033	734,406	367,613	735,033
					2	326		339	1,833
	1,191		3,105	707	1,070	6,734	33,647	23,827	87,703
	316		2		301	15,735	58,271	15,822	40,690
25,730	33,539	12,461	10,781	8,381	78,019	173	173	173	173
		83				1,197,442	71,347,420	1,724,227	71,530,074
						14,410		17,542	
	264		2		11	14,353	48,950	18,801	61,074
5,372	18,373	969	1,831	27	3,597	372,564	914,839	662,697	1,061,239
5,234	15,567	962	1,833	12	306	454,717	913,173	543,805	705,286
338			13		1	59,476	47,423	69,777	44,251
				2	103	238	201,647	540	262,293
	6				1	2,035	30,137	2,025	32,374
				13	3,180	55,713	121,011	55,465	124,338
					1	425	1,445	425	1,467
349	7,936	70	9	4	17	137	184	450,591	555,805
41	40							1,810	71,838
						1		8,225	12,963
3						2		7,294	9,350
								4,307	14,425
								170	171
63	76						25	22,035	723,376
1	1	1	1			1		19,274	719,453
								607	632
								32,062	732,347
	17							6,143	714,613
	78							16,881	719,100
214	901				1		3	43,330	745,191
	381							7,481	710,633
	382				2		2	511	203
								1,251	2,377
	1							902	2,027
								24	46
	43				4			5,006	73,209
						305	133	21,174	24,531
								234	826
								36,145	780,106
	2							101,571	101,596
	6,056						6	12,023	79,375
								6,858	9,170
								3,672	2,215
								12,445	12,993
								569	630
								115	144
								414	410
								1,469	1,462
								131	135
44	5	6	9	4		26	15	467	872
					1			63,580	109,898
								10,484	10,551
								17	3
								17	3

the head "Kharis" in Table XIII.

to in the 'Remarks' column of that Table who have retained the memory of their origin and returned themselves as Monda, Orion, &amp;c. The number thus

Orion in West Bengal	79	Limb in North Bengal	86
North Bengal	110	Lepcha ditto	1,417
Chota Nagpur Plateau	61,477	Murmi ditto	133
Total	61,609	Garung ditto	87
		Mongar ditto	34
Tibetan in North Bengal	9	Khambo ditto	808
Sikkim-Bhotia ditto	43	Newar ditto	75
Bootansse-Bhotia ditto	2	Sanwar ditto	61
Sharpa-Bhotia ditto	5	Garo ditto	260

X X







## Chapter XX.

## CASTE.

## CLASSIFICATION OF CASTE ENTRIES.

547. THE preparation of the caste table was, next to that of occupations, the most difficult task in the whole course of the Census operations. It was not only that the number of castes in a huge Province like Bengal, containing several sub-provinces with entirely different caste-systems, is very great, but also that the more ignorant classes have very little idea as to what caste means and are prone to return either their occupation, or their sub-caste, or their clan, or else some title by which they are known to their fellow-villagers. The class from which the Census enumerators were necessarily drawn, moreover, is usually ignorant of all but the castes commonly met with locally, and the latter were therefore unable to correct the errors which the persons enumerated by them might commit. As a result of this the caste return for Bengal in 1891 was very incomplete, and out of about forty seven million Hindus and Animists, more than  $2\frac{1}{4}$  millions were shown in the caste table under names indicating title, occupation, locality, etc., and not under their true castes. The return of the functional groups of Muhammadans was even more incomplete. In the Dacca district, for instance, not a single Khulu was shown in the final tables. Similar difficulties had been experienced on previous occasions also, and it was partly with a view to clear up the numerous doubts and ambiguities with which the whole question of caste was surrounded that the enquiries were set on foot, under Mr. Risley's guidance, which culminated with the publication in 1891 of the two volumes entitled—"The Tribes and Castes of Bengal." This treatise embodies the results of the most systematic and complete enquiry that has yet been made into the caste system of any part of India. It gives a full account of the castes shown in the records of previous enumerations and an explanation of the meaning of numerous terms used to indicate sub-caste, section, title, etc. A flood of light has thus been thrown on a subject which was previously very obscure.

548. It was of course impossible to supply Census officers with copies of this book, nor would they have been able to spare the time to study it. For Census purposes something much shorter and more compendious was needed, and I therefore prepared a small caste index in two parts. In the first part was given a list of all the castes and tribes mentioned by Mr. Risley with very brief notes as to the locality where found, the religion professed, the occupation usually followed and, in the case of tribes, the language commonly spoken. The second part contained all the more important terms, other than the names of true castes, which were found in the returns of the Census of 1891, with short notes, taken mainly from Mr. Risley's book, as to the meaning of each term and the castes who generally used it. These lists were subjected to a careful local scrutiny and verification, and this led to a vast amount of correspondence with district officers. After revision in the light of these enquiries\* the Index was published as an Appendix to the Census Code and was freely circulated to all Census officers of the higher grades,† who were thus enabled to verify the entries in the caste column of the enumeration schedules and to advise the supervisors and enumerators whenever difficulties were met with.

\* The additions that were made were chiefly in respect of Orissa castes and functional groups of Muhammadans. Part A of the Index as corrected with reference to further enquiries after the Census will be found in Appendix VI.

† Brief as it was, it still ran to thirteen pages of print, and it was therefore not given to the enumerators or their immediate superiors, the supervisors.



549. This index was found of the greatest possible use, and a very large proportion of the incorrect entries made by the enumerators were eliminated before the Census was taken. But even so a great number remained. Some of these were capable of correction with reference to Mr. Risley's book. But there were many terms which could not be so corrected, either because they were common to more than one caste, or because they were not mentioned in that book. In each case the schedules were first referred to, and it was often found that the difficulty had arisen owing to a misreading of the original entry. Ahda Kuria for example was thus found to stand for Awadhia Kurmi. Where the reference to the schedules did not clear up the difficulty and the number of persons concerned was considerable, a list of some of them was sent to the District Magistrate for local enquiry, and the entries were classified in accordance with the information thus obtained. The time at our disposal was limited, and it was impossible to make these elaborate enquiries in every single case. When, therefore, the number of persons affected was small the classification was made, as best one could, on such information as was available, and with special reference to the birth-place, parent tongue and occupation of the person concerned. In each case the classification proposed was examined by me personally before it was finally passed.

These were not our only difficulties. Caste names are often spelt so similarly that it is almost impossible to distinguish between them. In Bhagalpur it was found impossible to separate Agarwáni and Agarwál,\* and in the Sonthal Parganas the carpenter caste Bárhi was often spelt the same way as Bárai, the betel-vine grower.† In East Bengal a sub-caste of Chandáls, who are carpenters and are known as Barai, was similarly liable to be confused with the betel-vine growing caste. Khatri and Khetauri were very hard to separate in Bihar; while in Eastern Bengal Khatri and Chatri were found to be used almost indiscriminately, and it was impossible to be certain which caste was meant. In Bihar, the Nuniyá caste of saltpetre workers was almost inextricably mixed up with Noniár, a synonym for the Baniyá caste Rauniár.‡ As far as possible these entries were separated with reference to the occupation, but it is impossible to say that there has been no confusion in these and similar cases. All that can be said is that we did the best we could. The ambiguity was almost greater in respect of the return for Chota Nagpur. Rajwár is a distinct caste and also a synonym for Bhuiyá. Kherwar is the name not only of a true caste, but also of a section of Santáls and of a sept of Mundas. Khaira is the name of a separate tribe and also a synonym for Kora. Kisán is a synonym for Nagesia and a title of Oraóns, and so on. Sometimes a word means one thing in one place and another thing in another. Mánjhi, for example, means a Santál in some districts and a Bágdi in others; elsewhere again it stands for any boatman, while in Nepal it is the name of what is there regarded as a true caste.§ Dulia usually stands for a palki-bearer, for choice a Bágdi; but in Malda it was found on reference to the Magistrate that 1,026 persons so returned were Tirhutia Tántis.|| It is impossible in this report to detail all our difficulties or to explain the classification made in each case. I have given in the remarks column of Table XIII as full details as space would allow of the main items included under each head, and have left on record for the use of the next Census Superintendent an alphabetical list of about 6,000 doubtful entries, with notes as to the number of persons returned under each and the manner in which they were classified. The entries in this list are far from including all cases of classification, as many were dealt with on

\* I had a number of slips sent to me for personal examination, but found it impossible in many cases to say which caste was meant. Judging from the occupations, however, most of the slips seemed to refer to Agarwál. There were 117 bankers and money-lenders, 91 piece-goods dealers, 6 other traders, 25 salesmen and shop servants, 15 cultivators and 11 persons of other occupations.

† The latter is supposed to be spelt with a soft and the former with a hard "r" but in practice the hard "r" is often used for both alike.

‡ Some times the addition of Beldár in the case of Nuniyás and of Baniyá in the case of Noniárs made it practicable to distinguish the two castes, but there were many slips where no clue could be obtained.

§ In Jalpaiguri, where there is large immigrant population, a careful examination of slips indicated that about two-thirds of the persons returned as Mánjhi belonged to the Nepal caste, that half the remainder were Santáls, and that the rest consisted of Beldárs, Musahars and Malláhs in about equal proportions. The slips were distributed accordingly.

|| The occupations recorded on the slips were weaving, dealing in country cloth and playing on musical instruments.



the occasion of my visits to the different Census offices, or in the course of correspondence, and in the general stress of work many of these orders have been lost sight of. At the same time it is hoped that the volume above referred to, with the notes in Table XIII, will suffice to afford a fairly full record of our procedure, and to show at the next Census how far any variations that may then be noticed are attributable to differences of classification.\*

As a result of these enquiries and of the classification, as far as possible, of all doubtful entries under the caste to which they appeared to belong, the number of entries in Table XIII of items that do not indicate true castes has been reduced to a minimum. In some cases, however, it was very difficult to say whether a particular name was that of a caste or a sub-caste. Where the probabilities seemed in favour of its being a true caste it was usually shown separately: in other cases I combined it with the caste to which it seemed to appertain, and noted the details of the figures so amalgamated in the column of remarks. The question as to what constitutes a separate caste is, however, a very difficult one, and as it was constantly cropping up in the course of the preparation of the caste-table it seems desirable to consider the matter in some detail.

## DEFINITION AND ORIGIN OF CASTE.

550. There is perhaps no subject of equal prominence regarding which there is so much uncertainty in the popular mind as that of caste. It is generally thought that a caste is a group having common origin, a common organisation, and a common occupation, and that its members eat and drink together and intermarry. It is thought that the institution is fixed and permanent, that it owes its origin to the Bráhmans, and that one of the main features of Buddhism was its opposition to the caste system. Not one of these propositions is generally applicable. I propose, therefore, to examine them briefly, with special reference to the actual state of affairs in Bengal.

551. And first as to origin. It is well known that the Bráhmans of Southern India are not pure Aryans,† and the same is the case with the Káma and Mástán Bráhmans of Orissa.‡ The last mentioned rank almost as low as Chásás, and some measurements recently made of their heads clearly proclaim a large admixture of Dravidian blood. The Gayáwáls also are of very doubtful origin.§ The Sákadvipi Bráhmans have recently been identified with the priesthood of the early Persian invaders of India.|| The Manipuri Bráhmans are well known to be the offspring of Bráhmans by Manipuri women. The so-called Barna or caste Bráhmans, who minister to the lower castes and frequently intermarry with them, are often merely members of the caste who have gradually assumed the designation of the priestly caste of the Hindus, and according to Mr. Nesfield the Ojhá or Tántrik Bráhmans are, to a large extent, descended from aboriginal priests.¶ That ingenious writer, indeed, goes even further, and gives reasons for supposing that descendants of Mális, fishing Gonds, Bhuiyás and Báris may all be found amongst persons whose claims to Bráhmanical rank are now undisputed.\*\*

The heterogeneous origin of the Rájputs is even more certain. In the times of native rule any family that enjoyed political power was allowed to rank as Rájput and, as stated by Mr. Nesfield, the caste is simply "a congeries of men, of any tribe whatever, who were able at various times to seize lands and keep them, and who by intermarriages and alliances with others of their own status,

\* The absence of any such record for 1891 makes it often very difficult to say what are the causes for the difference between the results of that and of the present Census in the case of certain castes. Thus Chásádhoba in Jessore shows a great increase compared with 1891. I conjecture that it is due to Haladhar, which I have treated as a synonym for this caste, having then been classed as Kaibartta; but the want of any notes on the classification then made makes it very difficult to say if this is the correct explanation.

† Madras Census Report, 1891, page 260.

‡ Puri District Census Report, 1891, page 1, and Cuttack District Census Report, page 10.

§ Statistical Account of Gaya, page 35.

|| Proceedings A. S. B. December 1901, page 75.

¶ Brief view of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, page 63. The Rájhansis who act as priests of the Limbus, call themselves Báman and will doubtless in time be recognised as Barna Bráhmans.

\*\* *Ib.* paragraphs 21, 33, 34, 48, etc.



built up by degrees a separate class or caste distinct from and above the rest of the community."\* In the Punjab any family of political importance could gain Rájput rank,† and in this Province there are numerous similar instances. "In Chota Nagpur," for example says Mr. Risley, "the methods by which many of the chief landholding families have transformed themselves into Rájputs may be traced beyond question at the present day."‡ The Khetauris, or aristocratic section of the Malé, claim to be Rájputs and so also do the Nágbansi Mundas, the Rájás of Pachet§ and other Bhumij zamindars of Manbhum and the Ghátwáls of Bhuiyá origin in Gaya. In the Orissa States all relatives of the Rájás, illegitimate as well as legitimate, are ranked as Rájputs.

Speaking of the Goálá caste Mr. Risley says that it "seems to have been recruited, not merely by the diffusion along the Ganges Valley of the semi-Aryan Goálás of the United Provinces, but also by the inclusion in the caste of pastoral tribes, who were not Aryans at all."|| Similarly the Lohárs "are a large and heterogeneous aggregate, comprising members of several different tribes and castes, who in different parts of the country took up the profession of working in iron."¶ Again "the structure of the large and heterogeneous aggregate known as the Tánti caste suggests, not that all Tántis derive their origin from a distinct tribe devoted to the weaving trade, but that separate weaving castes were formed in different parts of the country out of the materials which were at hand in each case."\*\* The structure of the Sunri caste affords "some ground for believing that it probably comprises several independent groups."†† The Khandáits of Orissa are descended from the old militia, and must originally have been recruited from men of a number of different castes.‡‡ According to Mr. Risley they are mostly Bhuiyás,§§ but the word Bhuiyá itself is a Sanskrit derivative, and we should hesitate before we "accept the conclusion that all tribes which bear the name at the present day are sprung from a common stock."||| The Chásá caste of Orissa has notoriously been derived from numerous sources, and the application of the term is so wide that at the Census even the aboriginal Kurmis and Savars of Angul endeavoured so to return themselves. The above remarks are applicable to many other castes also including Bárui, Teli, Bárhi etc.¶¶ The so called Mánjhi caste of Nepal consists of two tribes, Kuswár and Botia, who have been dubbed Mánjhi by the Gorkhas by reason of their occupation.

It is not intended to assert that in no case is a caste a homogeneous entity. Far from it. There may be, and probably are, castes which are derived almost in their entirety from the same parent stock. What it is desired to lay stress on is that a common origin is by no means a necessary condition of caste membership, and it is hoped that this has been made abundantly clear.

552. In theory each caste has a distinctive occupation, but it does not follow that this traditional occupation is practised by its members. This subject will be dealt with in greater detail in connection with the statistics of occupation by caste, and will be only briefly referred to here. The

OCCUPATION NOT NECESSARILY  
UNIFORM.

\* *Ib.* paragraph 38. The permanence of the position in the hierarchy of caste depended a great deal on two factors:—(1) The period for which the family or tribe was dominant, and (2) the extent to which they gave up non-Aryan practices before their political downfall. There are many race castes whose claims to Kshatriya rank are no longer admitted, because they never abandoned their 'impure' practices. These were condoned so long as they were powerful, but as soon as they were no longer of political importance these practices were held to be degrading.

† Punjab Census Report 1881, page 175.

‡ Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Volume II, page 185. In the United Provinces also many Rájput septs are closely connected with the aboriginal tribes, and girls of low caste are often taken by them as wives. (Crooke's Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces, Volume IV, page 219.)

§ Some Historical and Ethical Aspects of the Burdwan District, by Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., pages 68 and 9, and Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Volume I, page 127.

|| Tribes and Castes, Volume I, page 282. The mixed origin of the Gaur caste of Orissa is even more apparent.

¶ *Ib.* II, page 22. The Kol Lohárs of Chota Nagpur are obviously aborigines, and many of them have not even abandoned their old non-Aryan languages.

\*\* Tribes and Castes, I, 348.

†† *Ib.* II, 276.

‡‡ Cuttack Census Report 1891, page 8.

§§ Tribes and Castes I, 461.

|| *Ib.* Volume I, page 109.

¶¶ For Bárhi see Tribes and Castes Volume I, page 108, for Teli Volume II, page 806.



traditional profession of the Bráhmans is the priesthood, but in practice they follow all manner of pursuits. Many are clerks or cooks, while some are soldiers, lawyers, shop-keepers and even day-labourers, but they remain Bráhmans all the same. The Chamárs of Bihar are workers in skin, but in Orissa they are toddy-drawers.\* In Orissa and the south of Gaya the Dhobá is often a hewer and splitter of wood. In Bengal and Bihar the Dom is a scavenger or basket maker, but in the Orissa States he is a drummer or basket maker and has nothing to do with the removal of nightsoil: in Chittagong and Assam he is a fisherman, in Cashmere a cultivator and in Kumaon a stone mason. The Hári of Bengal is a scavenger, but in the Brahmaputra Valley he is a goldsmith. The Pods and Kaibarttas are each divided into fishing and cultivating sub-castes. The Tántis have taken largely to agriculture, but they are none the less Tántis.†

553. As regards endogamy and commensality there is scarcely a single caste in Bengal whose members as a whole will intermarry and eat together. Almost every caste is divided into a number of smaller groups who will only marry amongst themselves, and who will on no account give brides to or take them from other groups. Usually these groups will not eat together, and often they will not even take water from each other or smoke from the same *hukka*. The Bráhmans, for example, are divided into numerous groups amongst whom intermarriage is rigorously prohibited on pain of degradation, and who will not eat cooked rice together. Some of the groups are looked upon as degraded, and with these the others disdain to associate in any way whatever. These endogamous groups are generally known as sub-castes. Each sub-caste manages its own affairs quite independently of the others, and in the case of the lower castes each has its own separate *pancháyat*, or standing committee, by which all social questions are decided.

554. The idea that the limits of caste are absolutely rigid and permanent is equally devoid of foundation. In early times, as is well known, the intermarriage of Bráhmans with other castes was allowed, and the sage Vasishta married a woman, "of the lowest birth."‡ The only restriction enjoined was that a man's first wife should belong to his own caste, and this rule is still followed in Nepal. To the present day Rájputs are comparatively unfettered in their matrimonial arrangements, and will give their daughters to men of lower origin who have attained a high position, and can afford to pay for the privilege.§ The rule of endogamy is far stricter now than it was formerly, but we still see cases where much mixture is going on. East of the Brahmaputra the Káyasths and Baidyas intermarry||, and in Orissa a Chásá can become a Khandáit and a Khandáit a Karan, provided that he is sufficiently influential and wealthy. There is a well-known family in Cuttack who are now recognised as, and intermarry with, Karans who were Chásás less than a quarter of a century ago.¶ This is a case of exceptionally rapid promotion, but intermarriage between adjoining grades of these three castes, for instance, between Karans and Mahánáik Khandáits, is quite common.\*\* The Sudras of East Bengal, if well-to-do, can generally manage to obtain Káyasth brides and eventually to gain

\* Possibly the Chamár of Orissa is ethnically distinct altogether. Babu Jamini Mohan Das thinks that he has got his name from the fact that he wears a piece of leather round his waist to protect his body from the rope he uses to assist him in climbing date trees. At the same time, even in Bengal, there are Chamárs who are toddy drawers, though this is not here the traditional occupation of the caste.

† I am referring here to occasional changes of occupation, or to occupations followed by individual members of a caste. It will be seen further on that when a group takes *en masse* to a new occupation, and abandons altogether that of the parent caste, it gradually loses connection with it, and either becomes absorbed in the caste which ordinarily pursues the new avocation or obtains recognition as an entirely new caste. Whenever an occupation becomes permanent and hereditary it usually results in a change of the caste name.

‡ Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces, p. 98. See also Les Castes dans l'Inde by M. Sonart, page 139.

§ A prosperous Kumaon Dom can command a wife from the lower Rájput Khasiyas, and a successful Khasiya can buy a wife from a descendant of a family of pure plains pedigree. [Atkinson's Gazetteer of the Himalayan districts of the North-Western Provinces, Vol. XI, p. 441.]

|| Chittagong District Census Report, 1891, page 40.

¶ Similarly, in Orissa low class Bráhmans can raise themselves to the higher ranks. A Bráhman family of Jhingarpur who were formerly Pándás are now allowed to intermarry with Sámants Bráhmans.

\*\* Cuttack District Census Report, 1891, page 8.



recognition as good Káyasths.\* Báruis and even Maghs are also believed sometimes to become merged in the Káyasth caste. So also do well-to-do Karnis in Rangpur. In Buchanan Hamilton's time the Kalitás of Rangpur sometimes accepted Mech girls as their wives, and in his opinion the Bárendra Káyasths were originally Kalitás. Amongst the lower castes the practice of taking in outsiders is common. The Tántis admit women of other castes,† and the Muchis, Báruis, Bágdis, Korás, Dhobis and others will take in men of higher castes should they desire to obtain admittance.‡ The Chákmás also admit outsiders, and so do the Limbus and Meches:§ but here we are dealing with tribes rather than castes properly so-called. I am told that after the conquest of Nepal by the Gorkhas, the Khas wished the Sreshta, or warrior caste of the Newárs, to agree to intermarriage, i.e., to become fused with them into one caste. The proposal was rejected, but the fact that it should have been made shows that caste is not looked upon by the people themselves as an absolutely stereotyped institution. Under native rule the Rájá often interfered in caste matters and a case has been reported from Talcher, where a former Rájá compelled his Chásá subjects to admit some Domul and Magadha Gauras to their community. Away from home low castes often assume the designation of high ones, and in Darjeeling many of the lowest classes of Newárs assert that they belong to the Sreshta caste.

555. The attitude of Buddhism towards caste is not a matter of much importance, so far as questions arising in connection with the Census are concerned, but it may be mentioned that caste as an institution was not attacked by the Buddhists and that their antagonism was directed, not against the general system, but against the supremacy of the Bráhmans and the theory that one caste had a better prospect than another of success in the next life. In the Madhura Sutta, for instance, Buddha's disciple Kachchána discusses caste. He mentions the four castes of Manu, but places the Kshattriya above the Bráhman. In the Ambattha Sutta, a Bráhman is made to admit that the offspring of a union between a Bráhman and a Kshattriya is a Bráhman and cannot be a Kshattriya, and also that an out-casted Kshattriya would be welcomed in the ranks of the Bráhmans|| Buddha taught that caste need make no difference in success in life, nor in the attainment of bliss hereafter, nor in the liability of evil-doers to the punishment prescribed by law, nor in the respect due to those who lead a pious life. He never taught that there was no social distinction between one caste and another.

#### DEFINITION OF CASTE.

556. What then is caste? It was defined by Mr. Neasfield as—

"A class of the community which disowns connection with any other class, and can neither intermarry nor eat and drink with any but persons of their own community,"¶

and by Mr. Baines as—

"the perpetuation of *status* or function by heredity and endogamy."\*\*\*

The former definition, however, is applicable to the sub-caste almost as much as to the caste, while the latter is a description of the result of caste rather than a definition of what it is. The most recent as well as the most comprehensive definition with which I am acquainted is that given by Mr. Risley, in his draft Manual of Ethnography, where a caste is said to be—

"A collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, which usually denotes or is associated with a specific occupation; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; and professing to follow the same traditional calling. A caste is almost invariably endogamous, in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle. But within that circle there are usually a number of smaller circles, each of which is also endogamous. Thus it is not enough

\* Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, page 272.

† *Ib.*, Vol. II, page 298.

‡ *Ib.*, Vol. I, pages 40, 97, 335 and 608. Applicants for admission are usually persons who have been excommunicated by their original associates.

§ *Ib.*, Vol. II, pages 16, 11-87, 1-170.

|| Chalmers, J. R. A. S., 1894, page 341.

¶ Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, paragraph 61.

\*\*\* Census of India, 1891, page 182.



to say that a Bráhmaṇ at the present day cannot marry any woman who is not a Bráhmaṇ; his wife must not only be a Bráhmaṇ, she must also belong to the same endogamous division of the Bráhmaṇ caste."

It still remains to establish some criterion by which caste may be distinguished from sub-caste. The Sadgop, for instance, is a community that seems clearly descended from the Goálá. It is frequently looked upon as a sub-division of that caste, and a Sadgop can enter any other Goálá sub-caste by intermarriage. On the other hand they have abandoned the traditional occupation of the Goálás and have attained a higher status, so that Bráhmaṇs will take water from their hands. The relation between the Chásá Dhobá and the common Dhobá is very similar to that between the Sadgop and the ordinary Goálá. Baniyá is a term applied to a number of trading groups of very different status and with different traditions of origin. Some, like the Agarwál, are allowed twice-born rank, while others like the Kalwár, are unclean, and water cannot be taken from their hands. In Bengal Proper the term Banik applies to five groups, Gandha Banik, Kansa Banik, Sankha Banik, Tantra Banik and Subarna Banik of which the first four are clean, and the fifth is looked on as degraded, owing to the enmity of Ballála Sena.

The descendants of various aboriginal tribes scattered throughout Bengal, who were originally imported by indigo planters, are known collectively as Buná. But amongst themselves they maintain their original tribal distinctions. Malláh, in the same way, is a generic name of several groups who live by boating and fishing, but who do not admit any connection with each other. Káorá is sometimes said to be a sub-caste of Dom and sometimes a sub-caste of Hári; it is also held by many to constitute a distinct caste. Lot is often regarded as a sub-caste of Bágdi, but this is not admitted by the Lots themselves, and in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purán* they are given an independent origin. The Gonr and the Kándu both parch grain. Their rank is much the same, and in many ways they seem to be closely allied, but they do not themselves admit any connection. The Agradáni is by common consent a Bráhmaṇ, and yet not only will no pure Bráhmaṇ consort with him, but even the humbler clean castes would be defiled by drinking water brought by him. The Dálu, Hádi and Hájang of Mymensingh are clearly of Gáro origin, but they have become Hinduised, and no one would think of asserting that they are still Gáros. The Madhunápit is probably an offshoot from the Nápit, the Berná from the Chandál, the Pátñi from the Dom and the Paro from the Pod: but they all claim, and are generally accorded, the rank of independent castes. The Chási Kaibarttas vehemently deny all connection with the Jályás and claim to be a separate caste; yet the general opinion is that the two communities belong to one and the same caste. The Chanaur sub-caste of Kurmi are making equally strenuous efforts to establish their position as a separate independent caste, but hitherto without success.

557. What is the standard by which all these questions should be decided? It is clearly not the wishes of the people most concerned, or the Chási Kaibarttas would at once be separated from the Jályás, the Chanaurs from the main body of Kurmis and the cultivating Pods from those who live by fishing. Neither is it difference of status, or the Agradáni would no longer be classed as Bráhmaṇ. Nor is it a common name and occupation, or the words Baniyá and Malláh would be taken to stand for castes. Nor again does a common origin necessarily unite different groups into a common caste, or the Sadgop would be classed as a Goálá, the Dálu as a Gáro and the Chásá Dhobá as a Dhobá. No doubt all these factors affect the question: but in no case is their influence decisive, immediate and permanent. The real touchstone by which a decision is to be arrived at seems to be the general public opinion at the present time. Public opinion is no doubt liable to change, and when a sub-caste dissociates itself from the main body, either intentionally, as with the Chanaurs, or accidentally, by taking to a new occupation, as with the Bernás, it may gradually after a long series of years come to be looked on as a separate caste or, if the new occupation is that already practised by another caste, it may in time be treated as a sub-caste of that caste. There are numerous instances of this, but it will suffice to quote two, *viz.*, the Sukli Tánti and the Tánti Dhobá. This subject will be reverted to further on. It often happens



when different groups gradually converge, owing to similarity of occupation or general circumstances and social status, that in course of time they come to be regarded as forming branches of the same caste. The Let is now often held to be a Bágdi but, as noted above, he was formerly thought to be a quite distinct caste. Prior to the Gorkha conquest the Newárs, or old inhabitants of Nepal, were divided into numerous castes, but these have now been crumpled up: the distinctions between one caste and another are gradually being obliterated and, in course of time, the word Newár will be held to imply caste and not nationality as it once did.\* There is a transition stage when it is very difficult to predicate definitely regarding a particular group whether it is a caste or a sub-caste. If caste were to be defined in such a way as to distinguish it from sub-caste it seems to me that this might be done in some such terms as the following:—

"A caste is an endogamous group, or a collection of such groups, bearing a common name who, by reason of similarity of traditional occupation and reputed origin, are generally regarded, by those of their countrymen who are competent to give an opinion, as forming a single homogeneous community, the constituent parts of which are more nearly related to each other than they are to any other section of the society."

The decision must rest with enlightened public opinion, and not with public opinion generally, as it often happens that a Hindu knows or cares but little about any caste other than his own, and is quite content to class together under such general terms as Baniyá, Malláh or Buná numerous groups which have nothing in common beyond a general similarity of occupation or social status.

558. A recent writer has urged that endogamy is the true test of caste, and that we should consider as separate castes each of the endogamous groups which go to make up a caste in the common acceptation of the word.† He instances the word Baniyá as a case of a generic term which is used to include various groups which have no real connection, and each of which in reality constitutes a separate caste. So far as this particular term is concerned it may at once be conceded that it is a mere functional designation, and that the various groups included under it, such as Agarwál, Oswál, Kalwár, etc., are true independent castes. But the number of such general terms is very small, and the only others I can think of which are in general use in Bengal are Malláh, Bediya, Nat and Buná.‡ These terms, it is true, do not indicate true castes, but it would be doing violence to language to apply the principle to other terms, such as Káyasth or Báruí or Kámár, and to say that each of the minor groups which compose these communities are separate castes. The Uttar-Rárhí Káyasth may not marry a woman of the Dakshin-Rárhí sub-caste, but he would smile with incredulous astonishment if he were told that he did not belong to the same caste. The caste system is no doubt closely bound up with endogamy, but the two things are not identical.

559. This question is so important in connection with the caste system that it is desirable to consider in some detail the causes which have led to restrictions on marriage within the caste. In Appendix VII I have given for some of the main castes a list of sub-castes with notes as to their origin, and the effect of the distinctions which they involve in respect of marriage, commensality and social rank. The information has been compiled from reports received from district officers, but want of time has prevented the careful collation of the different reports and the institution of fresh enquiries to verify or ascertain the causes of discrepancies. It is thus impossible to guarantee the accuracy of the details, but the compilation is still sufficient for our present purpose. The general conclusion that may be drawn from the information collected

\* The Chandáls are split up into numerous functional groups and have traditions which correspond to what we know to be occurring with the Newárs. If, as seems probable, they with the Pods are the old inhabitants of the kingdom of Paundra Vardhana, there is no reason why these traditions should not be founded on fact.

† Monsieur Émile Senart in "Les Castes dans l'Inde."

‡ Malláh is an Arabic word meaning boatman, and was probably in the first instance used by the Muhammadans as a generic name for all the boating castes.



is that sub-castes arise from various causes of which the most common are:—

(1) *Residence in a different locality.*—Nearly every caste has territorial sub-castes such as Magahi, Jannpuriá, Kanaujiá, Tirhutia, etc., in Bihar, or Rárhí, Bárendra, Sikhariá, etc., in Bengal.\*

(2) *The adoption or abandonment of a degrading occupation.*—The Dága Goálás are degraded for branding cattle, the Nada Bágdís for selling fish and the Hátua Bhandáris for shaving men of low caste. The degradation of the Mástán Bráhmans of Orissa is usually attributed to the fact that they cultivate with their own hands the Kachu (*Arum Indicum*) and sometimes follow the plough.

(3) *Difference of occupation, even if neither is degrading.*—The Chaurásia Bárais cultivate the betel-vine while the Jaiswár and Semeriyá sell the leaves.

(4) *Variations in social practices.*—The Biáhut Kurmis forbid widow marriage, the Dudhwár Dhánuks do not eat the leavings of other castes, and the Bánsphor Doms will not touch dead bodies. The Náthan Báruis wear nose-rings, while the Kotá do not. The Ekádasi Jugis mourn for 11 days, while the Másya do so for 30.

(5) *Pollution.*—The Pirális are said to be degraded for smelling beef cooked by Muhammadans, and in East Bengal numerous castes contain groups of persons with whom the other members of the caste will not associate, because Maghs are said to have entered their ancestors' houses and so caused them to be degraded.

(6) *Split in governing body.*—The Dhobis of Hooghly are divided into a Bara and a Chota Somáj. One section obeys the jurisdiction of the elder, and the other that of the younger, branch of the family of the original headman.

(7) *Greater prosperity.*—When a section of a low caste acquires greater power, wealth and knowledge than the rest, it often tries to dissociate itself from them. This is the case with the Konr Gops of Nadia, Murshidabad and Birbhum. Some of the well-to-do Rájbansis of Rangpur have dubbed themselves Pákáhárs and seem on the way to form a separate sub-caste.

(8) *Difference of origin.*—The Bhuiyá Gauras of Orissa are a recent accretion from the ranks of the Bhuiyás and the Kol Lohárs of Chota Nagpur from those of the Kols. The Nanda Ghosh, sub-caste of Goálás, claim descent from the foster father of Krishna. The Chamár Tántis are weavers of the Chamár caste. It is a question whether some of these groups should not be regarded as sub-castes in the making, rather than as actual accretions. By the time groups of different origin have completely affiliated themselves the traces of their descent have usually been obliterated. This is the case with certain Bhumij zamindars of Chota Nagpur and Bankura, who now claim descent from a well-known clan of Rájputs. The fiction of a common origin cannot be established so long as the real difference is very apparent. Very often the only remaining trace of separate origin is to be found in the totemistic nature of exogamous groups, or in some survival of social or religious practice.†

Of all these causes of differentiation the only one that has always existed is the last. The nature of the others, and they account for the great majority of the existing sub-castes, suggests that they have split off from the parent caste rather than that they are separate entities as yet imperfectly assimilated. In the case of the Bráhmans, Baidyas and Káyasths of Bengal Proper we know that the present system of restrictions on marriage is to a great extent due to the "reforms" of Ballála Sena. The endogamous divisions of the Khatris are believed to have originated not so very long ago.

\* Most of these causes of caste differentiation have already been noted by Mr. Risley. Very often this split was due to impure practices indulged in, or supposed to be indulged in, by persons residing in particular localities. Thus the prolonged residence of persons of Bihar castes in Bengal generally results in their being placed under a ban as regards marriage. The Baidyas, east of the Brahmaputra, are not allowed to intermarry with their caste fellows west of that river. In their case the interdiction is justified by the fact that they do not confine their matrimonial alliances strictly to their own caste.

† The Barhis east of the Mahánandá in Purnea are regarded as belonging to the regular Barhi caste, but the other Barhis do not intermarry with them. They appear to be of aboriginal origin, and are fishermen as well as carpenters. It is possible, therefore, that they may be an offshoot of the Rájbansis or, it may be, of the Chandáls. In Dacca there is a sub-caste of Chandáls who are carpenters and call themselves Bárai.



560. The general rule is strict that there must be no intermarriage between different sub-castes, and that they must not eat cooked rice together.\* But it is relaxed away from home, or where the numbers of each sub-caste are small, or where for any other reason two groups find themselves drawn together. The Báruis of all sub-castes freely intermarry in Bankura, but not in Burdwan or Birbhum. In Puri the various sub-castes of Bhandári may not intermarry, but in Cuttack they are allowed to do so. The Magahia and Awadhia Dhobás intermarry in Bhagalpur, and the Magahia and Kanaujia sub-castes in Saran. All sub-castes of Dosádh intermarry in Monghyr. Some sub-castes thus gradually disappear. For instance, Mr. Risley tells us that the Saptasati Bráhmans are gradually being merged in the Rárhí sub-caste.†

Sometimes, and in some places, the tendency is to relax the restrictions on marriage, while at other times or in other places they become more stringent. The Bárendra and Rárhí Báruis do not now intermarry, but formerly they did so. Saraswat and Gaur Bráhmans intermarry in Bihar. In Burdwan the Dakshin-Rárhí and Bangaja Káyasths may intermarry, and in Nadia occasional marriages take place between the Dakshin-Rárhí and Bárendra sub-castes. The Uttarkul and Madhyakul Tántis intermarry in Midnapore and the Rárhí and Bárendra in Hooghly, where also the Ghana and Baraghari Telis intermarry. In Dacca two sub-castes of Teli used to intermarry only a few years ago, but the practice has now been given up. The Bardhamána and Goálábhuiyá sub-castes of Sutradhar, which were formerly strictly endogamous, have recently begun to exchange brides. The Baidyas are said to be considering the desirability of allowing members of different sub-castes to intermarry. There is a strong and growing feeling amongst the Káyasths of Bengal in the same direction. Amongst the Bhumijes, restrictions on marriage spring up and disappear according to the progress made along the path to Hinduism.‡ Sometimes the restriction is one-sided. One group, for some reason, thinks itself better than another and will not give it its girls in marriage, though it is still quite willing to take wives from it. This is the case with the cultivating Pods in the 24-Parganas, who will marry their sons but not their daughters to Pods of the fishing sub-caste, and in Saran, where the same relation exists between the Biahut and Kanaujia sub-castes of Teli.

561. The penalty for a breach of the rule prohibiting intermarriage between sub-castes is generally said to be expulsion from both communities, but there are many exceptions. Where one is admittedly superior to the other the offender finds a welcome in the lower of the two, and in many other cases the offence is easily expiated by the payment of a fine to the *panchayat* and the giving of a feast to the caste people. The Magahia Barhi may enter any other Barhi sub-caste, or the Sadgop any other sub-caste of Goálá.

So far as other social amenities are concerned it may be stated generally that the lower castes are far more strict than the higher ones. Amongst the higher castes, if certain degraded subdivisions be left out of account, there is usually no hesitation as to smoking from the same *hukka* or drinking water or eating *pakki* together, but amongst the lower castes these things are only allowed in special cases, or when away from home.§

The general conclusion indicated by an examination by the system of sub-castes seems to be that although, at any given time, a caste is seen to be split up into numerous separate groups that have no special connection with each other, the fact that they are all included in the same "caste," and the theory of a common origin which this term connotes, holds them together in some indefinable way. In certain circumstances different groups will coalesce, while in other circumstances fresh sub-castes will spring into existence, and in any case the restrictions on marriage in the case of the smaller unit are far less rigid than they are in the case of the larger one.

\* The rule against commensality is not quite so universal as that against intermarriage. The restrictions on intercourse increase as one goes from the top to the bottom of the caste system. The highest castes may drink and smoke together; those of middle rank will only drink, and the lowest will accept nothing from each other.

† Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Volume I, page 154.

‡ *Ib.*, Volume I, page 121.

§ Want of space prevents me from attempting an analysis of the various practices of sub-castes in respect of eating, drinking and smoking together. The materials for such an analysis are, however, available in Appendix VII.



562. Monsieur Senart's proposal to identify the endogamous group with the caste is closely connected with his theory as to the origin of caste. He holds it to be the natural development of the family and tribal organization of the Aryans\* which they brought with them to India, in the peculiar circumstances in which they were here placed, in the midst of a host of despised aborigines, amongst whom their original tribal groups were broken up and re-arranged, with whom there was a varying amount of miscegenation, and in whose presence their original scruples regarding purity were greatly intensified. The restrictions on marriage outside the village settlements, which were usually based on kinship, by degrees became more and more stringent. The example thus set by the Aryans was gradually imitated by the surrounding aborigines, while each community was led, by the varying scruples as to purity, to confine itself to particular occupations. In this way the present caste system gradually came into existence. The theory that the present system was evolved, by intermarriage and otherwise, from the old fourfold division of Manu into Bráhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras is swept aside, and it is pointed out that this line of cleavage is based on "class" or *Varna* and does not correspond to "caste" or *Jāti*.

It is not for me to criticise the views of so distinguished and erudite a writer as Monsieur Senart, but I may perhaps be permitted to indicate some of the circumstances as they exist in Bengal, which would seem to point to an opposite conclusion. In the first place it may be noted that the restrictions on marriage in the case of the higher castes are either more recent or less complicated than those of the lower castes. The Bábhans and Rájputs have no endogamous groups. They may marry freely throughout the caste, and in the case of the Rájputs, it is at the discretion of the individual to give his daughter to persons whose claim to twice-born rank is very slender, provided they are of suitable rank and position. The Maithil Bráhmans of Bihar have no sub-castes, and in Bengal Proper many of the elaborate restrictions on marriage which now exist were imposed on the caste by an outsider, the great Ballála Sena. The tendency to endogamy is strong amongst many oriental nations, such as the Jews and Arabs, and, though it does not elsewhere attain the rigidity it has acquired in India the actual practice is very much the same elsewhere. A recent writer† says of the Muhammadans of the North-Western Frontier that—

"According to their religious principles, every Muhammadan should marry from a family which is equal to his own in social position. He must not marry a woman superior to himself, as such inequalities place a man under the dominion of his wife. He may marry an inferior, but this is not considered desirable. In practice all Muhammadan tribes are very reserved in matrimonial matters. *Every one considers his own tribe to be superior and will not give away his daughter outside his own kith and kin.* These restrictions are, however, not observed by Pathans who give their girls to any one who will pay well for them."

We also find practical endogamy amongst the hill tribes. The Kukis of Hill Tippera prefer to marry within their own *dafá*, and usually do so, although there is no direct prohibition against marrying outside it. The Meches are divided into two sections, one of which will not readily admit outsiders though the other will do so.

563. The restriction on marriage generally originates in an idea that another community is less pure or inferior, and the first step is to refuse to give daughters in marriage. The objection to accepting girls of inferior rank is usually a much later development.‡ Sometimes this objection hardens into an absolute rule of endogamy. At other times it leads to a form of Kulinism. Many castes are divided into two classes, Kulins and Mauliks, and the latter pay the former for the privilege of forming matrimonial alliances with them.

\* By Aryans is here meant the invaders of India who brought with them the languages of which Sanskrit is the type.

† Short sketch of the Musalman races found in Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan by Sheikh Sadik Ali Sher Ali Ansari.

‡ The Kour Gop sub-caste of Sadgops will not give their daughters to the other sub-castes. Mundas take girls from Khariás but will not give them. There are exceptions, e.g., amongst the Telis, the girls can be given to men of lower sub-castes but men must marry in their own or a higher sub-caste. The Káyasths have a similar rule. The Kúmtáli Koch of Assam will give his daughter to a man of a lower sub-caste but will not take a woman of lower rank as his wife. In East Bengal Káyasths will sometimes give their daughters in marriage to wealthy members of the Háluá Dás or Báruí castes. But in these latter cases the daughter who is given is practically sold outright and she is thenceforth cut off from commensality with her own family.



The practice of limiting marriages to a certain circle has doubtless been greatly encouraged by the circumstance that amongst Hindus marriage arrangements are made by the parents, and not by the parties themselves, and the selection of a husband or wife thus depends on social considerations rather than the personal affinities of the parties.

564. The old precept of the Shástras was that a man should take his first wife from his own community but might afterwards marry a woman of a lower caste, and there seems to be nothing in the customs of the Aryans that should have led to a gradually increasing stringency of the rules regarding the choice of a wife. The difference between the practice of endogamy, as it now exists amongst the Hindus, and the corresponding restrictions on marriage elsewhere, is that the latter are voluntary, whereas, in the case of caste, they are obligatory, and any breach of the recognised practice results in very serious consequences to the offender. The restrictions are greater and more universal, and the penalties are more severe and certain, in the case of the lower castes.\* The reason seems to be that the latter are under a much more efficient system of caste administration. In the case of the higher castes there is no recognised organisation, but the lower castes, and especially the functional groups, have a very elaborate system. The primary object of the *Pancháyat*, or council of caste headmen, was to regulate matters connected with trade, but they gradually arrogated to themselves much greater power, and all social questions came within their purview. Their authority was absolute, and they had the power to punish disregard of it by the most severe measures, including temporary or permanent social ostracism.† The occupations practised by each functional group or guild tended more and more to become hereditary; outsiders were excluded with ever-increasing jealousy, and even social intercourse with other classes of the community was looked upon with constantly growing disfavour. The existence of the *Pancháyats*, not only fostered these prejudices, but invested them with an almost legal sanction, and the choice of a wife was regulated, not merely by a man's personal prejudices or predilections, but also by those of the caste to which

\* Not only is this so but caste is weakest in the Punjab where the Aryan element in the population is strongest. "In the Punjab," says Mr. Baines, "caste is weak, tribe and race are strong."

† The higher castes are of course subject to penalties for breach of rule, but as there is no standing committee to adjudicate on such matters, the punishment is less certain. It requires a very serious offence, or one often repeated, to move the caste people into meeting together to deal with it. The difference between the control of a *Pancháyat* and that exercised by public opinion in the higher castes is well illustrated by what happened in the case of the first marriage between a Bangaja and a Dakahin-Bárhí Káyasth. "Amongst their relations," it is reported, "there were many who cut off their intercourse with the offending parties and even now some have not become reconciled." The penalty is not only less severe but it is also less permanent.

The caste headmen of the functional groups have exercised their authority from very early times. Two thousand years ago, trades and crafts were already largely hereditary, but with the exception of certain aboriginal tribes, trade did not then constitute the social cleavage known as caste. The headmen not only regulated the affairs of the industry, but also disposed of certain social questions, including disputes between husband and wife. (Early Economic Conditions in Northern India, J. R. A. S. 1901.) The trade guilds are very strict in Orissa and a Gaura who carries a *pálki* loses caste if he draws a boat. A Gurá who sells *murki* may not sell *chira*. It should be noted that under native rule the Rájá exercised the position of Supreme Court of Appeal and at the present day this position is often held by zamindars of unusual authority or, in some cases, by the descendants of old ruling families.

This question of caste organisation is a very interesting one but considerations of time and space prevent us from dealing with it fully here. Usually the control rests with a *pancháyat* of the type described in paragraph 813. But in some cases, especially in Orissa, the system is somewhat different. The Gaura caste of Orissa for example has three officials known respectively as the Thánapati, Behárá and Mahanta. The Thánapati has a nominal jurisdiction over all members of a caste in a village, but the real power is now exercised by the Behárá, or head of a group of such units, and all caste questions are referred to him in the first instance. The Mahanta, usually a Gaura Baishnab, is the head of a group of Behárás, but his presence is requisitioned only in the case of important ceremonial observances. There is a Kurán-Baishnab at Nimal in the Outtaek district who is the Gosáin or Guru of all Gauras in Orissa and, as such, is the final arbiter of all questions which the subordinate caste officials fail to settle. The transgression of caste rules is punished by fines, varying according to the circumstances of the case and the means of the offender, which are imposed at caste meetings, presided over by the highest available caste official. These fines are supposed to belong to the community, and a portion of each fine is dedicated to the temple of Jagannáth. A fee is levied from each family of 6 pice and 18 pice in alternate years, all of which goes to the Gosáin, except the receipts for 4 houses in each circle, which go to the Behárá. Both the Behárá and the Mahanta receive a fee at ceremonial observances. These offices are all hereditary and are governed by the law of succession of property. A minor is represented during his minority by his nearest adult male relative.

The Bhándári caste is governed by a Behárá for each group of villages: all caste questions are referred to him. He is assisted by a Pádhán or messenger. The Teli caste has a Thána for each village and a Behárá for each group of villages. The Gurá has a Behárá for each group of villages and a Sardár Behárá over a certain number of Behárás. The Bárhí, Kámár, Dhobá, Gokhá, Kumbhár, Thorá, Málí, Chamár, Siyal, Tánti, Pán, Kandrá and Hári castes have only a Behárá, and the Jogis a Mahanta, who corresponds to the Behárá of the other castes. The Bauris have a Behárá, Adhikári and Mahanta, the Jyotish caste a Senápati and Mahápatra, and the Darji an Amin, Mantri and Behárá.



he belonged, as interpreted and enforced by the council of headmen.\* It is thus that the system of caste exclusiveness has become more and more rigid.

565. The general conclusions suggested by these considerations may be summed up as follows:—

The notions regarding purity of occupation and of food and mode of living were probably imported by the Aryans. This race was deeply influenced by pride of blood, and had strong prejudices against marriage with the dark and barbarous aborigines, but the latter had already objections of their own against giving their women in marriage outside their own community. The absolute rule of endogamy which is now a feature, not only of almost all castes, but also of many sub-castes, is the outcome of the combined prejudices of the two races, fostered and developed by the powerful organisations which dominated over all affairs, private as well as business, of the various trades and crafts. The rules prohibiting intermarriage and commensality between different groups first attained their present rigid form amongst the industrial classes; as occupations became more and more hereditary, and intercourse with other groups grew more and more restricted, the idea gradually gained ground that all who practised the same occupation sprang from a common stock, and this idea gave fresh force to the spirit of exclusiveness to which it owed its origin.† The example set by these functional communities gradually spread to the race groups and also to the higher castes, but the latter have never been affected to the same extent except in a few special cases where it is due to outside interference.

For a confirmation of this theory we may refer briefly to the social organisation of the Muhammadans of this Province. There are the four race castes or classes—Saiad, Moghal, Pathán and the true Shekh‡ which are collectively known as Ashráf or noble, corresponding to the Bráhmaṇ, Kshattriya and Vaisya, the twice-born castes, and the cultivating Shekhs and functional groups which are collectively known as Ajláf and correspond to the Sudras of Manu. Theoretically an Ashráf will never marry an Ajláf, but in practice he sometimes takes a second wife from their ranks. If he does so there is no penalty. Neither is there amongst the cultivating Shekhs. In the case of the functional groups, on the other hand, the rule prohibiting intermarriage is enforced as strictly as it is amongst the Hindus, the reason being that these groups are administered, like the Hindu functional castes, by pancháyats who, though primarily appointed to regulate questions connected with the craft, now exercise authority over all sorts of social matters as well. It may be said that the rule of endogamy is a survival from Hindu times, but this is not a sufficient explanation; if it were, it would apply with equal force to the Shekhs, most of whom are the descendants of Hindus, but it does not, and the only reason for the difference seems to lie in the fact that the Shekhs have not the same elaborate system of pancháyats.

566. We have hitherto been considering the origin of endogamy which is the most prominent characteristic of the system of social exclusiveness which we call 'caste.' The origin of the various castes actually in existence at the present time is a different question, which can only be briefly treated of here. The castes found in this Province may be divided into four categories, viz., (1) functional, (2) sectarian (3) race, and (4) mixed castes, i.e., castes derived from the union of persons of different classes. I refer here to actual cases of miscegenation, and not to the Barna Sankar, or mixed castes of Manu.

ORIGIN OF EXISTING CASTES—FUNCTIONAL GROUPS.

\*It must be remembered that although the wife must be chosen from the same community she must never be a resident of the same village. The Hindu always seeks his wife at a distance from his own home. This practice is supposed by Mr. Hewett to be a survival of the old matriarchal system of the aborigines, when each village looked to its neighbours for the fathers of its children (J. R. A. S. 1893, page 297) and in any case it seems to constitute a serious obstacle in the way of the theory that the endogamous group has developed from the family organisation of the early Aryan invaders.

†Speaking of village communities, Mr. J. D. Mayne says: In many cases they (the co-sharers) profess a common origin for which there is probably no foundation. In some cases it is quite certain that there can be no common descent, as they are of different castes or even of different religions. But it is well known that in India the mere fact of association produces a belief in a common origin, unless there are circumstances which render such identity plainly impossible (Hindu Law, page 197).

‡In this province Shekh is the designation usually claimed by new converts. I am here, referring to those who have a better claim to be regarded as descended from Arabs.



The typical caste owes its origin to function.\* A group of persons following the same occupation found it desirable in the interests of their profession to form themselves into guilds. These guilds gradually hardened into endogamous groups. Persons of different tribes who adopted the same occupation would each have their own guild, which would hold itself aloof from the other guilds of the same craft. Similarity of occupation, however, would gradually tend towards uniformity, not only in trade, but also in social matters, and the lower groups would doubtless gradually imitate the customs and observances of the higher ones, so that the ceremonial reasons for differentiation would gradually become less obvious. Then circumstances might arise, which would necessitate the united action of the different guilds, and they would thus gradually be bound together, so that in time the distinctions which still remained would be obliterated, and they would coalesce. At the present day, the distinctions based on sub-caste which exist in Bihar, are disregarded when the people concerned settle in Bengal, and members of different sub-castes will then eat together and intermarry. If distance thus binds them together, when the political system is the same and the means of communication are good, much more must it have operated in ancient times, when travelling was difficult and the country was divided into a number of separate, and often hostile, kingdoms. In this way, although the tribal origin of some of the functional sub-castes can still be traced from the names they bear,† we generally find at the present time that, if the occupation is really identical, the subdivision is territorial, and corresponds to the boundaries of the old Hindu political divisions, such as Tirhut, Magadha, Bhojpur, Kanauj, Rârh, Bârendra, etc. These divisions are no longer of any practical importance, and the distinctions which they involve are gradually being broken down. Caste, however, is a very conservative institution and the process is a slow one, except in cases where the circumstances are specially favourable. The tendency to amalgamation is most marked where the number in each group is small, as in the case above adverted to, of up-countrymen who settle permanently in Bengal. In some cases change of occupation or social customs has caused a split in a different direction, and here, not only does the tendency to fusion not exist, but the divergence gradually becomes more and more pronounced, until at last the sub-castes take rank as entirely separate castes.

567. Caste is said by Mr. Nesfield not to be fissiparous, but in Bengal it is so to a very high degree. We have already seen how the Sadgop has split off from the Goálá, the Chásádhoba from the Dhobá, the Dálu, Hádi and Hájang from the Gáro, the Pátini from the Dom, the Madhu Nápit from the Nápit, and the Mahili from the Santál, but these are only a few of many instances. The process is still going on, and the Kuri Sajjan is separating himself from the Mech, the Beruá, Kárá, Kandho and Káthuri from the Chandál, the Muchi from the Chamár, the Mátiá from the Muchi, the Bhuin-máli from the Hári, the Chanaur from the Kurmi, the Tili from the Teli, the Sáhá from the Sunri,‡ the Surajbansi from the Koch. In Dinajpur, where the invasion of Aryan castes is only small and recent, we find the Paliyas and Kaibarttas forming new functional groups.§ There is, for instance, a class of Paliyas, locally known as Goálá, who deal in milk, curds, etc., and the higher castes will take these articles from them. Some Kaibarttas of the same district prepare sweetmeats as a hereditary profession, and others work as goldsmiths.

\* Instances of functional castes recruited from various sources have already been given in paragraph 551 above. Want of space forbids the multiplication of examples, but the case of the Darzi caste of Orissa may be quoted as a recent instance of occupation crystallizing into caste. There are three sub-castes, Gajakaran, Sipti and Mátiá. Each is now endogamous, but the various titles such as Mahárâna, Mahápatra, Mahanti, Dás, etc. show that it consists of recruits from other castes who were ostracised for taking to the occupation of tailoring, and so were drawn together and gradually formed a new caste of their own.

† This branch of the subject has been ably elaborated by Mr. Nesfield in his *Brief View of the Caste System of the N. W. P. and Oudh*, paragraphs 179 *et seq.* As an instance amongst the castes of this Province of the way in which a tribe may be distributed amongst various castes, I may instance the Dhârhís, who form not only a separate tribe, but have also given sub-castes to the Musahar, Koíri, Dosádh, Chamár and Gonchi.

‡ The Sháhás contend that they are traders, whereas the Sunri is a distiller, and the Sau the servant class of the Sháhás, occupying in regard to them the same position that the Sudras or Golám Káyasths of Eastern Bengal do in regard to the Káyasths.

§ For similar instances of inchoate functional groups in Assam, *vide* Assam Census Report of 1891 page 289.



In the case of the functional castes cases often occur where the process of separation from the parent stock, and affiliation with the new group, are incomplete. As instances of this we may note the Sukli Tánti, the Tánti Dhoba, the Chamár Tánti and the Jaiswár Kurmi, who seems by origin to be a Dhánuk and is still often so-called in Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Some groups are affiliated to different castes in different places. The Chiriamár is treated as a sub-caste of Bediya in Bengal and of Bahelia in the United Provinces, while in Orissa he seems most nearly allied to the Hári caste.

568. Although far less numerous than the castes which owe their origin to community of occupation, there are many whose existence began as a religious sect. The Atiths and

#### SECTARIAN GROUPS.

Gosáins belong to this category, and so also probably do the Jugis and Saráks. The Baishnabs were originally a religious sect who admitted all comers, female as well as male, irrespective of the caste to which they previously belonged; outsiders are still admitted, but those from the higher castes form a separate community of their own and will not associate with persons of lower origin. The Baishnabs may now be regarded as a caste; but outsiders are still admitted, and the community has a bad name owing to the fact that most of its new members seek admittance either because they have been outcasted, or because they wish to form a matrimonial alliance not allowed by the rules of the castes to which they belong.\* A more select but much smaller community of somewhat similar origin is that of the Sádharán Bráhma Somáj.

569. According to Manu, the Brahma Vaivartta Purán, the Játimála and other old works of the Hindus, all the existing castes

#### MIXED CASTES.

are said to be descended from the original four, viz., Bráhma, Kshattriya, Vaishya and Sudra, by an elaborate and complicated series of intermarriages. It is the fashion to treat these theories with derision; but although they have clearly been pushed to an absurd length, there can be no doubt that some castes have originated in this way. In Nepal, even at the present day, the offspring of women of the Khas, Mangar and Gurung castes by Bráhma fathers rank as Khas, are recognised as twice-born, and wear the sacred thread in vindication of their claim to this high position.† In Orissa the children of maid servants, usually of the Chásá or Kbandáit castes, by their masters are known as Shágirdpeshá, which is locally recognised as a true caste. It has several endogamous groups, distinguished according to the caste of the male parent, the most numerous being that with a Káyasth ancestry. The total strength of the Shágirdpeshás exceeds 47,000, and their number is still being added to by fresh cases of miscogenation. The Sudra caste of Eastern Bengal doubtless originated in a similar way, and in Bihar there are several communities of bastards known as Dogla, Suratwála and Krishnapakshi which, though at present not fully detached from the parent stock, may eventually harden into castes of the same kind. The Rájbari Baruas of Chittagong are generally believed to be the offspring of Burmese fathers and Bengali mothers. It is not improbable that, in the past, similar mixtures from time to time occurred, and gave rise to new communities or, in other words, that some of the existing castes whose origin has now been lost sight of are descended from parents of different social groups. If so, the ancestry assigned to various castes in the Shástras may occasionally be correct, but the principle is applied with such universality that it is impossible to separate the few possibly true cases from the general mass of imagined ones. It is possible, however, that a careful examination of the old theories might occasionally furnish a useful hint as the basis for enquiry on other lines.

570. But perhaps the most numerous group in Bengal is that of the race castes, i.e., of tribes that have entered the Hindu system, losing, on the one hand, their distinctive language and non-Aryan forms of belief and the traditions of political life which

\* The saying "Ját háráile Baishnam" is proverbial.

† Mahámahopádhyaýa Hara Prasad Sastri tells me that he himself came across a case in Nepal of a Bráhma who had three wives of the Bráhma, Khas and Gurung castes and had children by each. Those by the first wife, who was of course the senior, ranked as Bráhmans, and those by the other two as Khas. For a further discussion of the origin of the Khas, see paragraph 395.



bound them together as a tribe, and acquiring, on the other, the ideas of purity and exclusiveness, and of subordination to the Bráhmans, which characterise the Hindu caste. It is not easy to say exactly where the dividing line lies between tribe and caste, and there are some groups, such as Báuri, Bhuiyá and Korá, where the transition from the one type to the other is incomplete, and which might, with almost equal propriety, be classed either as castes or as tribes. But leaving aside these, and the undoubted tribes, such as Santál, Oráon, Munda, Kandh and Gond, there is a large number of social groups which are now undoubtedly castes, but which were formerly tribes, as, for instance, Chandál, Pod, Chero, Bhar, Kaibartta, Koch and Bágdi. There are others where the tribal origin is now quite indistinct, but whose names suggest that they were formerly non-Aryan tribes. To this category belong the Kurmis, Gonrs, Turis, Kándus, Koiris, Doms, Dhárbis, etc.\* Others again, as Mr. Risley points out, have lost their original tribal name which has been replaced by a Sanskrit derivative, as in the case of the Musahars,† Rájbansis, Dhánuks, Chamárs and many more.

571. How far is caste an index of race? The question can only be

CASTE AND RACE.

answered by anthropometry, but a few general conclusions, suggested by the line of enquiry we have been following, may perhaps be indicated. Generally speaking there has been less mixture in recent times in the race castes than in those based on function or sect. Sections of race-groups who take to special crafts may split off and form new castes, or be added to existing ones following the same occupation; but there is usually no tendency to incorporate groups of outsiders such as exists in the case of the functional groups, where community of occupation has a strong integrating influence. On the other hand, in earlier times various tribes of different origins may have been lumped together under a single appellation, such as Bhuiyá, which may, as Mr. Risley points out, be a title conferred on, or assumed by, many different groups with no real ethnic affinity.‡ At the present day the term Kol is generally used by Hindus to indicate any aboriginal tribe of Chota Nagpur, and not merely the persons properly so called. Dhángar and Buná are similar generic terms, which have no real meaning, but which may, at a later period, when the traces of varying origin have disappeared, be looked on as the names of race castes. When one nationality is conquered by another its constituent parts are often crumpled up out of all recognition. The word Newár formerly meant merely an inhabitant of Nepal, just as Bengali means an inhabitant of Bengal. There were numerous separate castes in the valley of Kathmandu, as there now are in Bengal, but the Gorkha conquest has thrown them into confusion and the tendency is growing to treat Newár as the name of a race caste.§ The Báuri caste was, probably, recruited from various aboriginal sources, and possibly also the Bágdi, though it should be noted that Mr. Oldham considers the latter to be "the section of the Mál, who have accepted civilisation and life in the cultivated country as serfs and co-religionists of the Aryans." The Mongoloid Koches who formerly ruled in North Bengal appear to have mixed with a Dravidian tribe known as Rájbansi, and the latter term, though now generally regarded as the name of a race caste, really includes at least two distinct groups belonging to different ethnic families.|| How far the name is used by groups still distinct, and how far there has been a real chemical mixture, is a question which needs further enquiry.

572. In the functional castes the ingredients are much more composite. In

OCCUPATIONS TEND TO CORRESPOND TO RACE.

some cases a different origin can still be traced by the names of the sub-castes such as Bhuiyá Gaur or Kol Lohár: and here intermarriage is not yet allowed, but in others traces of the original racial elements have been crushed out of

\* Some old but well known races, such as the Bhars, have now well nigh disappeared. They cannot have died out, and their representatives have doubtless found admittance into other social groups. The Bhars, for instance, are supposed to be the main element in the caste now known as Pasi.

† Mr. Risley is of opinion that the Musahar is merely a Bhuiyá who fell under the domination of the Hindus—*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, page 111. Amongst their minor gods, says Mr. Risley, the Koiris still worship the aboriginal Bar Pahári or Marang Baru.

‡ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, page 108.

§ Mr. Earle informs me that the Limbus and Kirántis of Nepal also have a caste system, but that the Gorkhas will not recognise it and punish them if they attempt to air their views on the subject. For an account of the Newár castes, see paragraphs 886 to 894.

|| See paragraph 617. The Dhimals also are being absorbed in the Rájbansi caste. *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, page 226.



existence by a fresh shuffling of the units, according to the localities which they inhabited in ancient times, when difficulties of communication were great and the country was broken up into numerous separate kingdoms. It might be surmised that, in this confusion, caste can no longer in any way correspond to race, but this does not appear to be the case. The Aryans and other recent invaders brought the higher arts and crafts to India and doubtless monopolised them. The aborigines were nomadic hunters and cultivators, belonging to a very primitive type of civilisation, and we still see these occupations in the hands of their descendants. Hunting, snaring, fishing, leather-dressing, basket-making, bamboo work, toddy-drawing, tattooing, midwifery, playing on drums and other simple musical instruments—these are the means of livelihood, not only of many tribes still outside the Hindu caste system, but also of the Tiyars, Kewats, Bágdis, Doms, Hárís, Chamárs, Bediyas, Káorás and many other communities, all of low social rank. Some of the aborigines were reduced to servitude, and of these there are two branches—the unclean castes of scavengers and the like referred to above, and those who were employed on personal and domestic services and whom the necessities of the case rendered it desirable to treat as clean. Amongst these may be ranked the Kurmis, Kahárs and Dhánuks. It is not improbable that in the course of time, the constant employment of such castes in the houses of the better classes may have led to a certain infusion of Aryan blood. The higher occupations were doubtless a monopoly of the Aryans themselves and outsiders were only admitted where they were powerful, or the Aryans were few in number. Generally speaking, therefore, it may be said that the Aryan element is strongest in the highest castes and that it steadily decreases as one descends the ladder of respectability. There are, however, exceptions, and even the highest castes contain numerous foreign bodies, some of which have been absorbed, while others remain as separate and clearly identifiable entities. There are also cases where particular castes have been degraded, as probably happened to the Subarnabaniks, or promoted, as in the case of the Nepal Telis, who were made a pure caste by Jung Bahadur, and the Chási Kaibarttas, who were similarly favoured by Ballála Sena. Dominant non-Aryan tribes ranked high so long as they remained dominant, but when no longer in power, they quickly sank. The Dharuas were once powerful in Mayurbhanj, and were served by the washerman and barber, and even by good Bráhmans. Their power has gone and now, they are not only not attended by these castes, but their very touch defiles. The reason assigned is that they eat fowls, but this peccadillo was overlooked in the time of their prosperity. The Koch has sunk considerably since the days of his supremacy, and so has the Pod, whose claim to be considered a Brátya, or fallen, Kshattriya is doubtless due to a vague reminiscence of the time when his tribe ruled on the banks of the Karátóyá.

573. The Aryan strain, moreover, gradually becomes weaker as the distance

ARYAN ELEMENT DECREASES  
TOWARDS THE EAST.

from the Punjab increases. As the Aryan invasion spread, its character changed, and arms gave way to arts. Aryan priests, adventurers and merchants found their way to countries, which the Aryans had never conquered, and gradually gained a footing, either by converting the ruling families or supplanting them, or by establishing themselves as traders and the like. These early settlers were usually men, and they were fain to take to themselves women of the country. Their offspring were often recognised as belonging to the caste of the male parent. It is well known that the so-called Bráhmans of Manipur are descended from women of the country who were taken as wives by the early Bráhman settlers. The Kshattriyas, or Khas, of Nepal, are similarly descended from native women by Aryan fathers, and the same process doubtless went on elsewhere. When communications were less easy than they are now, up-countrymen who settled in Bengal frequently bought Bengali girls outright and installed them as their wives. At the present day, in Keonjhar, Goálás from other parts constantly take Bhuiyá women as their wives, and the offspring are frequently allowed to rank as Goálás.\* These practices no doubt account

\* Mr. MacMillan's "*The Bhuiyás*," page 24.



for the low estimation in which persons in the west hold their caste fellows who reside further east. Most castes in Bengal are considered impure by their up-country namesakes.

574. The statement that the proportion of Aryan blood gradually decreases from west to east is, of course, merely intended to indicate the general tendency. There are necessarily some exceptions, due to special migrations on a large scale to some particular locality. There are various traditions of pious Hindu kings having imported colonies of Bráhmans from a distance. The Lion kings of Orissa are said to have brought 10,000 Bráhmans from Oudh, and to this day, their reputed descendants, the Shásan Bráhmans, display a very different physical type from that of the earlier immigrants, who had mixed more freely with the people of the country. So also in Bengal Proper, many of the Bráhmans and Káyasths are the descendants, not of the original stock, who gradually filtered down from the north-west, mixing more and more with women of the country as they came, but from persons directly imported from Kanauj by Adi Sur, many of whom, with the aid of the rules laid down by Ballála Sena, appear to have preserved their purity of blood unsullied by any local admixture. When Bakhtyár Khilji overthrew the rule of the Sena kings, many persons of these castes fled to Eastern Bengal, where their descendants are still living. This explains why, at the present day, Bráhmans of that part of the country have a more Aryan type of feature than the Bráhmans of Bihar, who are descended for the most part from an earlier and more adulterated stock.\* In the same way many Kshattriyas are reputed to have sought refuge in Nepal at the time of the Muhammadan invasion.

But although there are thus exceptions, there seems to be no doubt of the general truth of the two principles that have been enunciated above, viz., that (1) in any given locality the strain of Aryan blood is strongest in the castes that follow the occupations reputed to be the highest, and diminishes amongst the lower castes, and (2) that the Aryan element in the population gradually becomes weaker towards the East and South.

The first of these propositions has already been proved by Mr. Risley's anthropometric operations, and has been expressed by him in the apophthegm that the social status of castes varies inversely with the width of the nose.† The latter also, it would seem, is fully borne out by the measurements which have been made up to this time.‡

## SOCIAL PRECEDENCE OF CASTES.

575. The ideas of social rank, as they now exist, seem clearly to have been introduced by the Aryans. Amongst the aboriginal tribes, each was independent of the other, and their simple minds were not troubled by ideas of precedence or of purity of occupation. The Aryans, however, had great pride of blood which, on their arrival in India,

\* The circumstance was remarked by Mr. O'Donnell, but explained by him on other and, as I conceive incorrect grounds. The comparatively fine noses of some of the Chamárs noticed by Mr. O'Donnell are also attributable to the fact that this caste has migrated from the west in comparatively recent times.

† The Dravidian nose is thick and broad and so also is that of the Mongolians, though to a less extent. That of the Aryan, on the other hand, is finely cut. It must be borne in mind that variations in physical type may sometimes be due to selection. The Tagores have an unusually refined type of face, owing it is said to the selection of good-looking girls as brides for their sons. Girls of a fair complexion are preferred by many castes. In a recent article on the Coorgs and Yeruvas Mr. T. H. Holland has subjected certain criticisms on Mr. Risley's theory to a careful analysis, and has shown that the arguments on which they are based are fallacious (J.A.S.B. 1901 page 69).

‡ The above discussion regarding the origin of caste has arisen from a suggestion of the Census Commissioner for India that a sketch should be given of caste as it exists at the present day, with an explanation of the rules regarding exogamy, endogamy and hypergamy in force, and a comparison of the actual facts with the standard theory of Indian caste as given in Manu and other Indian writers. It is, I am aware, very imperfect, but I have had very little time to devote to the elaboration of the argument or the marshalling of the facts. The whole of this Chapter except the notes on the Saráks and on the Nepalese castes was written within three weeks.

There is one point which I have omitted to dwell upon, but which must not be lost sight of, viz., the fact that different parts of the country developed their own caste system independently, and consequently that functional groups bearing the same name in different parts of India have not necessarily any racial connection with each other. The general principle that the Aryans and semi-Aryans would everywhere keep in their own hands, as far as possible, the occupations which they regarded as most pure, would hold good every where, but the other elements would vary. In Orissa for instance they would usually be in the main Dravidian, and in East Bengal, Mongoloid. From time to time the original groups would be fused or split up, in the manner already described, in sympathy with changes in the political divisions of the country.



was intensified by the contrast between their own fair skins and fine features and the black colour and coarse physiognomy of the earlier inhabitants of the country. The latter were greatly despised by them and the contempt in which they were held finds constant expression in their early literature. In course of time there was a gradual fusion of the two races and the mixed breed occupied an intermediate position between the pure-blooded Aryans and the unadulterated aborigines. The different classes of the community followed different occupations, the Aryans being priests, landholders and merchants, and the mixed race, cultivators and domestic servants, while the aborigines followed their own primitive occupations, such as fishing and basket weaving and such menial avocations as the Aryans imposed upon them. As each kind of occupation was thus confined to a special class, it gradually came to be looked on as an index of race, and a man's social position was gauged by his means of livelihood. At first each class of the community had a variety of occupations open to it, but by degrees the process of differentiation spread further and particular occupations were gradually restricted to particular groups. In early days a Kshattriya, like Visvámitra, might become a Bráhmán, but later on, a man was confined to the occupation and caste of his ancestors. As the Bráhmans and Kshattriyas thus gradually grew into different groups a long struggle for the mastery arose which is reflected in the legends that cluster round the name of Parasuráma, the great protagonist of the Bráhmans. The result, as we know, was that the priest triumphed over the warrior, and from that time to the present day the supremacy of the Bráhmans has become one of the cardinal doctrines of Hinduism, and is the main test by which we decide whether members of the non-Aryan tribes are to be classed as Hindus or Animists. With the glorification, I might almost say, the apotheosis of the Bráhmans, other considerations affecting social rank became more important, and the mode of living and ceremonial purity were more carefully looked to.

576. Under the Hindu régime the social precedence of different castes was settled by the monarch himself. We know that the relative position of the various Newár castes of Nepal was decided by the Newár kings and that, comparatively recently, after the Gorkha conquest, Jung Bahadur raised the Sawmis, or Telis of Nepal, to the rank of a clean caste, owing to his friendship with a wealthy Sawmi named Dhar Náráyan. Oldfield mentions a case of a Khatri in Nepal, who was subjected to a disgusting degradation by which his caste was destroyed, but who was subsequently forgiven and restored to caste by the king "*who is supreme in such matters.*"\* In Keonjhar, says Mr. Macmillan, the mass of the population follow the example of the Rájá, and the Bráhmans even take advice from the chief in regard to their usages and religious law.† There are numerous stories regarding the interference of Ballála Sena in caste matters, how he degraded the Subarnabaniks and Jugis‡ and made the Chási Kaibarttas a clean caste, and how he classified and settled the grades of several high castes including that of the Bráhmans themselves. In the same way the Maithil Bráhmans ascribe the introduction of the present system of settling their matrimonial affairs to the interference of a certain king. The authority of the Mahárájas of Nadia in caste matters was great and undisputed. It is probable that the king was, as a rule, guided in his decisions regarding caste matters by the advice of the Bráhmans, so long as they offered a sop to his own dignity by conceding to him and his tribe the rank of Kshattriyas.§

577. Since the temporal power has passed from the hands of the Hindus first to the Muhammadans and then to the British, there has been no authoritative pronouncement as regards the relative rank of the different castes, and in the absence of any one to curb, or allow, the pretensions of those that have

\* Sketches from Nepal, Volume I, page 400. Traces of the power formerly wielded by Hindu Kings may still be seen in the attempts of zamindars in some parts of the province to punish refractory ryots by forbidding the Nápit and Dhobá to serve them. In Orissa this is called "*Dhobá Bhandári dtak.*" In Bankura a Sarák who is found guilty of an offence requiring *prayaschitta* must go to the modern representative of the Pachát family and pay him a rupee before he may make atonement.

† 'The Bhuiyás,' paragraph 7.

‡ These castes seem to have been still Buddhists and may owe their degradation to this circumstance.

§ The concession usually lasted only so long as the tribe was dominant, *vide* paragraph 309 and footnote on page 171. See also paragraphs 616, 631, 693 etc.,



raised themselves above their old position, there is a great deal of uncertainty in some cases as to their relative position. The spread of western education has disseminated ideas of equality, and men are no longer prepared to admit the superiority of their neighbours merely because they belong to a caste which is supposed to stand on a higher level. The changes in the social and political conditions introduced by the British Administration have operated in the same direction. Appointments under Government are given regardless of caste. In the eye of the law all are equal, and the man of low caste is no longer compelled to stand aside when a man of higher rank passes, or to shout out, when walking abroad at night, to give warning of his approach or, as was sometimes the rule formerly, to paint on his forehead some emblem of his degrading occupation. All forms of employment are open to him, and his success in life depends more on his own efforts than on the trammels of the caste system. The Bráhmans have thus lost much of their former influence. The Shástras, which were once his monopoly, are no longer sealed books to the lower castes, and numerous Sháhás and Subarnabaniks are quite as competent as the Bráhmans themselves to search them for old rulings regarding caste questions. In towns a man of high caste has now-a-days no scruple in sitting on the same carpet with a Sháhá of good social position, or even in giving him the place of honour if he has the wealth to command it.

The nominal decision in caste matters rests with the colleges of pandits at Nabadvip and Benares, but it is doubtful if, in practice, it would be accepted by anyone who was adversely affected by it. Moreover, the pandits look to the old Shástras and take no account of changes that have taken place, owing to the great progress made in recent years by some castes, whose nominal position is a low one, but whose wealth, education and influence are such as to place them in practice on a much higher level than that assigned to them in the old religious books.\* They support the pretensions of a few castes to a higher rank than has hitherto been accorded to them, but they do so, not on the ground that their position has improved, but by the fiction that their true origin has hitherto been misunderstood and by identifying them with some ancient caste of greater respectability than their own. In this way the Chási Kaibarttas have obtained recognition from some of them as the representatives of the ancient Mahisya.†

578. The test laid down by the Census Commissioner for fixing the scale of social precedence is not the rank assigned by the pedantry of pandits, but "Hindu public opinion at the present day." It is very difficult to say precisely what constitutes Hindu public opinion. The Hindus as a body are strangely indifferent to the circumstances of castes that do not clash with their own. Those of good position know very well from whom they can take water and those whose touch defiles, but they neither know nor care much regarding their relative position. The lower castes are even more ignorant of the rank of the higher ones. Where the relative position of two castes is disputed, the persons interested invariably support the claims of their own community. No Káyasth would ever admit the superiority of the Baidyas, nor would any Baidya consent to place the Káyasths above his own fraternity. The only point perhaps on which all alike are agreed is that the Bráhmans stand at the top of the hierarchy of caste. There is no question as to the order in which the four traditional castes of Manu rank, viz., first the Bráhman, then the Kshattriya, then the Vaisya, and then the Sudra, but this admission does not carry us very far. The conflicting claims of various castes are generally based on their pretensions to take their rank in one or other of these divisions. The Káyasths claim to be Kshattriyas,

\* The great authorities on the subject of mixed castes are—(1) Manu (2) the Bráhma Vairartha Purán, (3) the Padma Purán, (4) the Játimála. The Játimála is a recent compilation and of no authority except in respect of the newer castes not mentioned in the other works. The Bráhma Vairartha Purán is alleged to have been written by Vyása, but its reference to numerous local castes of Bengal and its silence about some of the best known castes of Upper India clearly proclaim its author to have been a Bengali. Its main object is to prove that Krishna's consort, the milkmaid, Rádhá, is the real Adya Sakti or primordial energy of nature as opposed to the other Puráns where this position is assigned to Durgá.

† Mr. Risley quotes an interesting case of the same kind from Dr. Wise's papers. Kanta Babu, the banyan of Warren Hastings, was a Teli and did much to raise the position of his caste. He offered a large gift at Jagannáth but it was refused by the temple authorities on the ground of his humble caste. He appealed to the Pandits of Hooghly and Nadia who ruled in his favour on the ground that the Teli by using the balance *fafe* must necessarily belong to the Banik, a class Sudra caste.



the Chási Kaibarttas to be Vaisyas and so on. Then again, although the general order of these four classes is not disputed, there are numerous degraded sub-castes which occupy a lower status, such as the Achárji and Agradáni Bráhmans.

579. But although it is impossible to arrange castes in an order that will command universal acceptance, there are certain

STATUS OF PRIESTS.

well recognised tests of social position, by the consideration of which a fairly accurate scale of social precedence can be drawn up. The first great test is whether good Bráhmans will serve as priests, and if not, whether the caste is served by any Bráhmans at all. A Bráhman loses in social estimation if he acts as priest to any but those of twice-born rank, but he is not actually degraded for performing the priestly office for persons who are looked upon as clean Sudras. Consequently castes that enjoy the services of good Bráhmans may at once be separated from those whose Bráhmans are degraded. Similarly those who have degraded Bráhmans as their priests, rank higher than those who have no Bráhmans at all.

580. Another generally accepted criterion is whether the higher castes may use water brought by a man of any particular caste or not. The castes from whose hands water may be taken are known as *jalácharaniya* the others as *jalábyabaháriya*. In some places, such as the 24-Parganas and Nadia, a distinction is made between Ganges water and ordinary water, and the former can be taken from the hands of all but the lowest classes of the community. Similarly, water can be used for bathing when it could not be taken for drinking or cooking purposes. In respect of food, the general rule is that no one will take cooked food, (rice and *dal*) from any caste inferior in rank to his own, or even from members of his own caste who do not belong to the same endogamous group as that to which he himself belongs.\* Some go further and will not take such food from any one outside their own sub-caste except a Bráhman. Some will not even take it from Bráhmans. Amongst the orthodox castes it is considered an honour to take the leavings of a Bráhman, and these, when entertained by one, often insist on commencing their repast by eating a fragment from his plate.† With this exception, the eating of leavings indicates a very low social rank. Except in North and East Bengal, there is a distinction between ordinary cooked food, or *kachchi*, and food cooked with clarified butter (*ghi*), i.e., *pakki*. The latter may ordinarily be taken, not only from one's own or any higher caste, but also from the confectioner class, the Mayrás and Halwáis. A great deal depends on whether a Bráhman will accept hospitality from a caste or not. There are some castes in whose houses he will eat *pakki* food only, and others in whose houses *kachchi* also may be eaten.

381. The castes whose water may not be taken are farther subdivided according to the degree to which their touch or

PERSONAL UNCLEANNESS.

presence causes pollution. In some cases the mere touch of a low caste man defiles and the person touched must change his clothes and bathe. In others, his entry into a house defiles all the water therein, which must forthwith be thrown away. In others again, his touch defiles *hukka* water. Even wells are polluted if a low caste man draws water from them, but a great deal depends on the character of the vessel used and of the well from which water is drawn. A masonry well is not so easily defiled as one constructed with clay pipes, and if it exceeds three and-a-half cubits in width, so that a cow may turn round in it, it can be used even by the lowest castes without defilement. A metal vessel does not cause contamination so easily as an earthenware one. Certain low castes are looked upon as so unclean that they may not enter the courtyards of the great temples. These castes are compelled to live by themselves on the outskirts of the village.

\* A few low castes such as the Rájhansi will not eat rice cooked by people of their own sub-caste unless they are near relatives. A Kharía will not even eat food cooked by his own mother-in-law, and there is a proverb that there are as many *harids* (earthen pots) as there are Kharíás.

† Nay, further, an orthodox Hindu of the old school commences the day by a sip of water in which the big toe of a Bráhman has been dipped. Such water is called *Bipracharanámrit*.



582. Much depends on the ceremonial observances of a caste. Those who forbid widow marriage rank higher than those who permit the practice. The eating of beef, pork, fowls, and vermin, the drinking of wine and the smoking of tobacco all tend to lower a caste in comparison with others who abstain from these impure habits. The castes whose widows observe *jātyāchār* or asceticism, i.e. who refrain from meat and fish and take only one meal a day, enjoy a higher status than those whose widows live the same life as do married women. The order in which castes are placed in public banquets at which Bráhmans are present, is an excellent test of their real rank, while their customs at ceremonial observances, such as marriage, often throw light on their origin. The Khatri, for example, though now usually a merchant, always carries a sword on the occasion of his marriage, thereby indicating his Kshatriya ancestry.

583. The estimation in which various castes are held is reflected in the attitude of the Nápit and the Dhubá. The latter will not usually wash for the lowest castes. The former will not shave some castes, and there are others whom he will shave, but whose finger nails he will not pare, and others again whose finger nails he will pare, but not the nails of their toes.

584. It must not be supposed that these tests are of universal application, or that they carry the same weight everywhere. In Bengal Proper only the lowest castes allow widows to remarry, while, in Bihar and Orissa only the highest castes forbid them to do so. The Nápit and Dhubá of Bengal Proper refuse to serve many castes whom their upcountry congeners will work for without hesitation. In Central Bengal a distinction is made between water from the Ganges and from other sources, but not so in parts of Bihar. In Nepal all Gorkhas will eat *pakki* together and will drink water from the same goatskin. In Orissa all low castes take fowls and alcoholic drinks, and all high castes abstain from both. In Bengal Proper only the lowest castes eat fowls, but even the highest drink spirits.

Neither is the status of castes bearing the same name uniform throughout the Province. In Bengal Proper the Teli is a clean caste and water may be taken from his hands, but not so in Bihar. \* In Bengal Proper the Tánti's Bráhmaṇ is not degraded, but in Bihar the case is otherwise. The Bhuiyá holds a high position in the Orissa States, but in Bengal Proper, he is unclean. Even within the same sub-province, the practice is not always uniform and the Chási Kaibartta who can give water to the higher castes in Central and West Bengal is not allowed to do so in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. The distribution of castes moreover varies, and some that are well known in one part of the country are not found at all elsewhere.

585. For the above reasons it is impossible to frame a single caste precedence list for the whole of Bengal, and it is necessary to deal separately with each of the three large sub-provinces, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. A separate list must also be given for the castes who have their head-quarters in Nepal, and another for the tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where Bráhmaṇical influence is weak, and rank depends mainly on the local influence of the tribe and the strength of the traditions regarding its past political supremacy. The list for Bengal Proper was originally compiled by Mr. Risley, and that for Bihar was drawn up by me from information which Mr. Risley placed at my disposal. The original Orissa list was drafted by Babu Jawini Mohan Das, Deputy Superintendent of Census, Cuttack. These lists were circulated amongst the districts to which they relate, where they were carefully considered by committees of Native gentlemen appointed for the purpose, and the original arrangement has been carefully revised in the light of the criticisms received from them.

\* This question of personal uncleanness depends mainly on the convenience of the higher castes who, in the absence of their ordinary domestic servants, are perforce obliged to accept the services of castes not usually held to be clean. The Chamáin, whose very touch defiles at ordinary times, may hand food to her patient, when attending a confinement, and in Orissa, the Jogi, when a physician, may touch his patient without causing pollution, though an ordinary Jogi is held to be most unclean. In Bihar the Bári, though of non-Aryan origin, is held to be clean on account of the utility of his occupation.



586. The discussion of the relative rank of the different castes aroused an

PRINCIPLES FOLLOWED.

extraordinary amount of ill-feeling and jealousy between some of the castes whose position is disputed and in more than one instance the committees appointed to report on the subject professed their inability to come to a decision.\* In some cases it is very difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on the evidence available. Moreover, where the relative rank of the castes concerned is very nearly equal, there is nothing to be gained by attempting to adjudicate between them, while to do so would undoubtedly cause much mortification to the community whose claims were over-ruled; the decision would not be accepted as authoritative, and far from extinguishing, it would add fresh fuel to the fires of acrimonious argumentation. In such cases, therefore, I have thought it better simply to place the castes in question together, without making any assertion as to their individual position in the group in which they are classed.

*Caste Precedence in Bengal Proper.*

587. In Bengal Proper, as in all other parts of the province, and of India

GROUP I.—BRÁHMANS.

generally, the Bráhman stands without cavil on the top rung of the social ladder. There are three main classes of pure Bráhmans—Rárhí, Bárendra and Baidik, but there are others also, including the Kanauijá and Maithil Bráhmans, who are chiefly immigrants from Bihar and upcountry, the Utkal who come from Orissa, the Madhya Sreni who are found in Midnapore and the Kámrupi Bráhmans of North Bengal, who serve as priests to the Rájbandsis. Bráhmans who minister to the Káyasths and the castes of the Nabasákha group, suffer somewhat in public estimation,† especially the latter, and so do those who act as cooks, bakers, confectioners, hired worshippers of family idols and the like, but they do not lose caste. The Kámrupi Bráhmans, though not actually degraded, do not stand on the same level as the Bráhmans who officiate in the ceremonies of the Navasákhas.

Bráhmans who serve castes ranking below the Navasákhas are called Barna Bráhmans and are degraded. They will eat *kachchi* food in the houses of their respective *jajmáns*, i.e., of the persons whom they serve as priests. The higher castes will not take water from them and they rank below group IV. Their rank varies according to the castes whom they serve, but the Vyásokta Bráhmans who are the priests of the Chási Kaibarttas, rank lowest, as their own *jajmáns* even will not eat in their houses. The Agradáni who officiates at funeral ceremonies, the Achárji who casts horoscopes and the Bhát or family bard, whose claim to be considered a Bráhman is disputed, also occupy a degraded position but not so low a one as the Barna Bráhmans. The Bhát is *jaldécharaniya* and the Agradáni serves only the clean castes. The Achárji on the other hand works for all castes, while the various caste, or Barna, Bráhmans minister only to the particular caste of which they are the priests.

There is another degraded section called Piráli, who are said to owe their low position to having been forced to smell or, as some say, eat, the cooked food of a Muhammadan.‡

588. The Khattris and Rájputs or Chattris stand at the top of the second

GROUP II.—OTHER CASTES RANKING ABOVE CLEAN SUDRAS.

group, but neither of these are, strictly speaking, Bengal castes. The Khattris found in Bengal are mostly temporary immigrants, but one of the leading families of this caste in the whole of India, that of the Burdwan Ráj, has been domiciled in the Province for several generations. The Vuisyas also have no representatives amongst the indigenous castes of this province, but the rank is claimed by the Agarwáls and one or two other trading castes of Upper India.

\* This happened in Calcutta amongst other places. The Committee was a specially strong one and was presided over by a Native Judge of the High Court, but the animosity between some of the members was so pronounced that it broke up without arriving at any definite finding.

† The Baidik Bráhmans who serve as priests to Sudra castes are known as Dakshinátya, while those who do not belong to a separate class and are called Páschátya.

‡ Some of the persons thus degraded managed to gain a partial readmittance to their original caste, but others did not and became Musalmans. These still retain many Hindu practices. See paragraphs 307 and 876. They are numerous in the Satkhira subdivision of Khuina.



Then come the two great castes—Baidya and Káyasth—who, with the Bráhmans, have a practical monopoly of all the higher Government appointments held by natives of the country. None of the disputes that arose in connection with the question of caste precedence were so violent or so acrimonious as those regarding the conflicting claims of each of these two castes to rank above the other. As already stated, I have no intention to venture on an award which would carry no weight, or to fan into fresh flame the smouldering embers of the controversy, but shall content myself with giving in a subsequent paragraph the main arguments adduced by each party in support of its pretensions. The Madhyasreni Káyasths, it should be mentioned, are degraded and rank in Group III.

The Aguri, or Ugra Kshatriya, as he prefers to be called, occupies the lowest place in Group II, but it is not quite clear that he is entitled to such a high position and several of the district committees recommended his relegation to Group III.\* Some serve as domestic servants. The Jana sub-caste wear the thread in a haphazard sort of way, and without any *Upanayan*, or ceremony of initiation. In Midnapore the Karan is included in this group, while its degraded sub-caste Srishta Karan ranks with Group III. This caste, however, belongs more properly to Orissa than to Bengal.

589. Group III comprises all the castes commonly regarded as clean Sudras, whose water is taken by the higher castes, and who are served by good Bráhmans. The group of functional castes, formerly nine but now seventeen, known as the Nabasákhas, is the type of this group, but it includes also several other castes whose rank is about on a par with that of the Nabasákhas. They are arranged below in alphabetical order, those marked with a capital N being the nine castes who, according to the Parásara Sanhitá,† originally formed the Nabasákha group:—

Báruí (N).	Kuri.	Ráju.
Gandhabanik.	Madhu Nápit.	Sánkhári.
Kalitá.	Málákar (N).	Sudra.
Kámár (N).	Mayrá (Madak) (N).	Támli
Kánsári.	Nápit (N).	Tánti (N).
Káshta.	Sadgop (N).	Teli and Tili (N).
Kumhár (N).	Pátíál.	

The relative rank of the castes in this group varies in different parts of the country. Some say that the original Nabasákhas stand above the others, some that the Sudra or Golám Káyasth should either go to the top of this group or be placed at the bottom of Group II, while some again award the first place either to the Sadgop (who in Midnapore has been recommended for inclusion in Group II), or the Báruí, or the Tili as distinguished from Teli.‡ The real difference, however, is so slight that it is impossible to draw any hard-and-fast dividing line between these castes. Several committees distinguish between Tili and Teli, and say that the latter is the same as Kalu and should go to Group VIII. The word Tili, however, seems to be confined chiefly to Central and Western Bengal. In Dacca the high class Teli calls himself Taipál. The Aswini Tántis alone are said to be Acharaniya in Midnapore and the other sub-castes stand on a lower level. The Sadgops sometimes claim to be Vaisyas and to rank above the Káyasths, but their pretensions are far-fetched and fanciful. The Sudras or Golám Káyasths often call themselves Káyasths, and it is admitted that wealthy members of the caste can gradually obtain general recognition as such. The Pátíals also often claim to be Káyasths, and so do many Báruis and the Káshtas, who

\* Mr. W. B. Oldham says that the Aguris are by their own admission the product of unions between the Khatris of the Burdwan Ráj family and Sadgops (some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District, page 18). I doubt if any Aguris at the present day would admit such a descent.

† The Sloka runs thus:—

Gopa, Máli tatlá Táli, Tantri, Modaka, Báruji Kulála, Karmakárascha, Nápite Navasáyastá.

The Gop or Goálá, however, is no longer of Nabasákha rank and his place is taken by the Sadgop. The popular Bengali version is as follows:—

Tili, Máli, Tántuli Gopa, Nápit, Gocháli Kámár, Kumár, Pátáli Nabasákher Gáthuli.

Nabasákha is usually taken to mean the nine branches or arrows, but some say that it means the "new branches" as indicating recent recruits from Buddhism.

‡ In East Bengal the better class of Teli call themselves Taijál, which seems to correspond to Tili in Central and West Bengal. The persons returned as Teli probably include many who are really Kalu by caste.



are found only in Midnapore.\* The Ráju is another local caste of Midnapore. There are two sub-castes Báyan and Dáina. The latter allow widows to marry and rank lower in consequence. The Kalitá is really an Assam caste and is found only in the districts of North Bengal which march with that Province. The Khyán or Khen, which is also confined to North Bengal, is the caste to which the dynasty of Nilambar, who was overthrown by Husain Sháh at the close of the 15th century, is reputed to have belonged. The caste is served by the same Bráhmans as the Nabasákha group, and its water is drinkable by the higher castes, but its right to a position in this group is not quite assured. Some would give it a position intermediate between this and the next group and others would place it at the top of the latter.

590. The fourth group, though small, is well defined. It contains only

GROUP IV.—CLEAN CASTES WITH  
DEGRADED BRAHMAN.

two castes—the Chási Kaibartta and Goálá—who are *jalácharaniya* but whose Bráhman is degraded.

The Chási Kaibarttas claim to be Máhisyas and to rank in a much higher place. I shall discuss their pretensions in more detail further on, but may mention here that the dividing line between them and the Jáliyá Kaibarttas is still far from clear or universally recognised; their Bráhmans are more degraded than those of the Goálás, and the Chási Kaibarttas themselves will not eat in their houses. They serve as menial servants; their women do not usually observe *Játyáchar*, and in many districts, such as Dacca, Tippera, Birbhum, Midnapore and Noakhali, their water is not taken by the higher castes.† In only one district, the 24-Parganas, has their promotion to group III been recommended.

In respect of the Goálás it should be noted that in a few districts their Bráhmans are not degraded and they consequently take a higher rank. Some of the sub-castes, *e.g.*, the Dága Goálás who brand bullocks, are degraded and their water is not taken.

591. Group V contains a very heterogeneous collection of castes who have little or nothing in common with each other,

GROUP V.—CASTES LOWER THAN  
THE ABOVE WHOSE WATER IS NOT  
USUALLY TAKEN.

and whose juxtaposition is due to the fact that they all rank below the castes already enumerated, but are generally regarded as superior to the

degraded castes of Group V. The village barber will shave them but will not ordinarily pare their toe nails, nor assist at their marriage ceremonies. They are as follows:—

Baishtam.	Loháit-Kuri.	Sunri (Sháhá).
Bhuiyá.	Nat.	Sukarnabanik.
Jugi.	Nuri.	Surajbanai.
Kácharu.	Sarák.	Sutradhar.

Swarnakár.

In some places, where they are numerous, the Bhuiyás rank higher. In Keonjhar, for instance, they are regarded as a clean caste and water is taken from their hands. Baishtam‡ and Jugi occupy a very ambiguous position. The former group constitutes not really a caste but a collection of persons who profess to have rejected caste. Some of these come from high, and some from low, castes, but many of them retain their old social distinctions and a Baishtam of Káyasth descent would not ordinarily take water from the hands of one whose ancestors were Chandáls. Where their origin can be traced, those whose former caste was *ácharaniya* are still looked upon as clean, and their water is drunk. In other cases it is used only for purposes of ablution. The rank of the Jugis is very uncertain. They have no Bráhmans and they bury their dead, but if, as seems to be the case, they are the modern representatives of a religious sect, they can hardly be judged by the ordinary standards in these matters. Their water is not taken, and in many districts the barber and washerman refuse to work for them. Some say they are a low mixed caste,

\* Some well-to-do Káshas of Midnapore are reported to have gained general recognition as Káyasthas. The similarity of names (is it accidental?) is said to help them.

† It is occasionally taken in Dacca by personal friends of higher caste, but this is an exception to the general rule prevailing in the district.

‡ By Baishtam of course is meant the social group so called and not the Vaishnava sect. The Vaishnava Gosáins of Midnapore, for example, are not included.



formerly known as Jungi. This question will be further discussed in connection with their claims to a higher place than that here assigned to them. The Nuris, or lac bangle makers, have been placed in this group on the strength of a report from the Nabadvip Pandits.\* The Subarnabaniks owe their low position to the fact that they are *jalābyabahāriya*, but there seems good reason for supposing that their original rank was much higher than their present one. The story of their alleged degradation will be told further on. The Swarnakār and Sutrādhār are two functional groups whose status is lower than would be supposed from their occupation, which is as good as that of most castes in Group III. The former is said to have been degraded for stealing a Brāhman's gold, and the latter for refusing to supply Brāhmans with wood for a sacrifice. The Kācharus, who are lac bangle makers, claim a Kāyasth origin. They are served by the ordinary Nāpit and Dhobā. The Lohāit Kuris claim to be a cross between a Kaibaritta and a Mayrá or Kuri. There are two sub-castes, one of which fishes with a rod and the other parches grain. The Sarāks are *ācharaniya*, but they are looked on as degraded, the reason assigned being that they used a cow made of rice-paste (which they afterwards boiled) during some ceremonial observance.

The Bárendra sub-caste of Sunri, which calls itself Sháhá, is generally regarded as far superior to the ordinary Sunri. Many of its members are rich, influential and well educated, but it has not yet succeeded in detaching itself from the parent stock in the general estimation of the public. The Nāpit will shave them, but will not cut their nails.

592. I have combined in Group VI, a number of castes that, in the original draft, were distributed over four separate groups. The various committees differed so widely as to their relative position that it was found impossible to differentiate them in such a way as to reconcile the very divergent views that are held as to their relative rank. This group includes most of the great non-Aryan race castes of Bengal Proper. The arrangement as usual is alphabetical:—

Bágdī.	Hájang.	Naik.
Baiti (Chunári).	Jāliyá Kaibaritta.	Namasudra (Chandál).
Beruá.	Kalu.	Paliya.
Bhāskar.	Kán.	Pátui.
Cháin.	Karni.	Pod.
Chásá Dhobá.	Kapáli.	Puro.
Chásati.	Kawáli.	Rājbanśi and Koch.
Dāoyái.	Kotál.	Sukli.
Dhobá.	Málo (Jháló).	Tipérá.
Ganrár.	Mech.	Tiyar.
Ghorai.	Morangia.	

All of these castes are usually, but not always, served by the Bengali Dhobá, but only a few of them are shaved by the regular Nāpit. The Namasudra and others have their own caste barbers. In Bágdī I include the sub-castes or, it may be, allied castes, Let and Bholla. The Beruás seem to be an offshoot from the Namasudras. They do not intermarry, but they have the same priests. The Paliyas, who are generally regarded as a sub-caste of Rājbanśi, have a sub-caste called Sádhu Paliya, who supply milk and curds to the higher castes and rank accordingly in Group IV. The Pods are divided into the higher class, who live by cultivation and call themselves Padma Rāj or Brátya Kshattriya, and the fishing Pods. The former claim a higher position which is not usually conceded to them. In Burdwan their touch defiles and they rank very low in consequence. The Namasudras are generally held to pollute by their touch, and rank below most of the other castes of this group. The Rājbanśis in North Bengal are looked upon as comprising two distinct classes, the better of which are to some extent *ācharaniya* and are served by Brāhmans who are not degraded; they call themselves Bhanga Kshattriya and it is said by some that they should be placed between Groups III and IV, but opinion as to their rank is divided. The other class of Rājbanśis, including

\* I am indebted to the Mahārājá Bāhádur of Krishnagar for the information regarding the position of this caste.



the Desis, can be traced to a Koch origin and are generally admitted to belong to the group under consideration. There is a sub-caste of Sukli in Midnapore, called Chási Sukli or Solánki, which is served by good Utkal Bráhmans and is said to rank with the castes in Group IV.

The Tiyars may be of the same origin as the better class of Rájbands of Rangpur, but further south they are held in lower esteem, and are neither *decharaniya* nor served by good Bráhmans.

593. The castes in Group VII are served neither by Bráhman nor by Dhobá nor by Nápit. They comprise—

Báuri.	Hári and Bhuinmáli.	Lodhá.
Chamár.	Káora.	Mál.
Dom.	Konai.	Muchi.
Gáro.	Korá.	Siyalgir.

The Doms and Háris who are scavengers rank below the others.

#### *Caste Precedence in Bihar.*

594. The Bráhmans as usual occupy the first place. Most of them belong to the main division known as Páñch Gaura, which includes Maithil, Kányakubja or Kanaujiá, Sáraswati, Gaur and Utkal. Of these, the Maithil and Kányakubja sub-castes are the most numerous. All of them are looked upon as pure Bráhmans. The Sákadvipi Bráhmans, though regarded as foreigners by origin, are held in almost equal esteem, especially in South Bihar, where they officiate as priests at the worship of the Sun God. The Gayáwáls, or priests of the Gaya places of pilgrimage, are locally held in the highest regard, but elsewhere they stand on a somewhat lower level. The Gangáputras, who receive gifts made by people on the banks of sacred rivers, take a lower place, and a still lower one is held by the Mahá Bráhmans (Kantáhá or Mahápátra), corresponding to the Agradánis of Bengal, who officiate at the *Srádh* ceremony and eat at the burning-ghát.\* Another somewhat degraded class are the Jaishis, who serve as priests of the lower castes, and the Dhámis, who assist at the ceremonies on the Rámsila and Pretsila hills at Gaya. The Bháts wear the thread and claim to be Bráhmans, but this is not always admitted: in point of status they stand at the bottom of Group II. The Kathaks rank even lower, as they sometimes take service with dancing girls.

595. In Group II are included the other castes that are generally admitted to rank as twice-born, or on a par with twice-born castes. They are arranged alphabetically as follows:—

GROUP II.—OTHER CASTES OF TWICE-BORN RANK.

Agarwál.	Káyasth.	Rájput.
Bábhán.	Khatri.	

The Khattris are often regarded as Vaisyas, but, as will be seen presently, they have succeeded in establishing their claim to be of Kshattriya descent. The relative rank of Bábhans and Rájputs varies in different districts, but Bábhans are usually considered superior to Rájputs. Their claim to be treated as Bráhmans will be discussed further on. The Káyasths say that they are Kshattriyas, who have abandoned the sword for the pen, and some wear the sacred thread, but not all. They are generally held to rank below the Khatri, Rájput and Bábhán castes. As a rule they will eat only rice cooked by Bráhmans, but the Amásth and Karan sub-castes will take also rice cooked by Bábhans.

596. Group III comprises castes from whom water may be taken and who have good Bráhmans as their priests. They correspond to the Nabasákha group in the scheme for Bengal Proper. The relative rank of the different castes varies from district

\* The word Mahá Bráhman is of course used ironically. There are many similar instances of this ironical origin of names. The Bráhman cook is often sarcastically called Maháráj or Pujári, the unclean sweeper Mehtar, or prince, Jamádár, of headman, and Halálkhor, or eater of lawful food. The cook in European households is addressed by the other servants as Khalifa, or Chief, and so on.



to district, and it is impossible to fix a generally applicable scale of precedence; but, with a few local exceptions, the castes in sub-group (a) may be said to enjoy a higher degree of consideration than those in sub-group (b)—

*Sub-group (a).*

Adarki.	Gangautá.	Támbuli.
Agrahari.	Gareri.	Kasaundhan.
Ahir (Goálá).	Gonr.	Keiri.
Atith and Jogi.	Gurer.	Kurmi.
Bais.	Halwái.	Máhuri.
Bárai.	Kahár.	Márkande.
Barnawár.	Káendu.	Muriári.
Chero.	Kasarwáni.	Rájbhār.
Debhar or Deohar.	Kaserá.	Rástogi.
Dhánuk.	Kherwár.	Rauniár.
	Sinduriá.	

*Sub-group (b).*

Agarwáni.	Hajjám.	Nágar.
Amát.	Kumhár.	Sonár.
Barhi.	Laheri.	Tháru.
Bári.	Lohár.	Thatherá.
Dhimar.	Máli.	

In some places the Dhánuk, Kahár and Kurmi (other than Awadhia) take a lower place, because they are domestic servants and eat the leavings of the higher castes. The Awadhia Kurmis and Biáhut Hajjáms, whose widows do not remarry, rank higher than other sub-castes. In some places water is not taken from the Barhi, Gareri, Gangautá and Laheri castes, and they rank lower in consequence. Elsewhere, again, the Barhi, Thatherá, Lohár, Kumhár and Laheri are regarded as holding a better position than that here assigned to them on the ground that they do not take employment as household servants. The rank of the Atith and Jogi sometimes varies according to the caste of origin. In some places the Barhi, Chero, Gareri, Dhánuk, Kahár, Kumhár, Kurmi and Laheri castes, or some of their sub-castes, suffer in public estimation because they eat fowls.

597. In Group IV are included a number of castes from whose hands water is not usually taken, and whose Bráhmans are degraded, but who are not regarded as altogether impure and are allowed to enter the courtyards of the great temples:—

GROUP IV.—INFERIOR SUDRAS.

Beldár.	Káth Baniyá.	Sunri.
Bhar.	Kalwár.	Suráhiyá.
Bind.	Kewat.	Teli.
Oháin.	Malláh.	Tiyar.
Gandharb.	Nuniá.	Turaha.
Gonrhi.	Saráogi.	

All of these eat fowls except the Kalwár, Káth, Saráogi, Sunri and Teli. In some places the Turahas rank in the next lower group. In a few districts water is taken from all the castes of this group except Kalwár, Sunri and Teli.

598. Next come the castes, other than scavengers and filth-eaters, who are considered so unclean that they may not enter the courtyards of the great temples. They are usually served by the barber, but he keeps a special razor and pair of scissors for them:—

GROUP V.—UNCLEAN CASTES.

Bántor.	Dhárhi.	Khatwo.
Bediya.	Dhobá.	Kurariár.
Bhaskar.	Dosádh.	Musahar.
Bhuiyá.	Gangái.	Naiya.
Chamár.	Kádar.	Nat.
Chapotá.	Kallár.	Pási.
Chápuál.	Khatik.	Rajwár.
	Tátwa.	



Most of these castes eat fowls. The Dosádhs, Dhárhís, Bahelías, Dhobás and Kádars also eat pork, and the Chamárs and Naiyas pork and beef.

GROUP VI.—SCAVENGERS AND  
FILTH-EATERS.

599 The sixth group comprises the sweeper castes and filth-eaters, viz.—

Aghori.		Dom.		Kanjar.
Bhángi.		Halál Khor.		Kánri.

Those Doms who are basket-makers rank higher than those who are scavengers, and may be considered on a level with the castes in Group V. The Bhángi is really the sweeper caste of Hindustan and is not numerous in Bihar, unless, as is sometimes the case, the term is held to include Halálkhor.

#### *Caste Precedence in Orissa.*

600. The Orissa Division, though so small, has a complete caste system of its own, differing in many respects from that of

GROUP I.—BRÁHMANS.

Bengal, far more than that of the latter differs from the caste system of Bihar. The conditions throughout are remarkably uniform, and the undermentioned arrangement of castes has received, in almost all respects, the unanimous approval of the caste committees who reported on the subject. It has thus been possible to differentiate the various social grades to a greater extent than was found feasible in the larger sub-provinces.

The Bráhmans, as usual, head the list. The best, or Shásan, Bráhmans act as priests only to the castes in Group II. Those in Groups III to VI are ministered to by Pándá or Deuliá Bráhmans,\* who rank lower than Shásan Bráhmans, but from whose hands all other castes will take water. From their ranks are supplied the local Agradánis, or Marhiás as they are called in Orissa. The latter are not held to be degraded and are freely employed as cooks.†

The Mástán Bráhmans, who serve as cooks in the temple of Jagganáth, are degraded. The reason usually assigned is that they handle the plough and smoke tobacco, but the real reason is probably that they are not of pure Bráhmanical origin. There is a tradition, common in similar cases throughout India, that they are the descendants of Sudras who, in a war between two Rájás, were disguised as Bráhmans and given the sacred thread, and were subsequently allowed to retain it. Their ancestors may have been Buddhist priests or the representatives of the earlier Bráhman settlers who mixed more freely with the people of the country than those who came later. The titles of the Mástán Bráhmans also seem to indicate that they are not of the same stock as the subsequent immigrants.

GROUP II.—CASTES OF TWICE-  
BORN RANK.

601. The next group is very similar to the corresponding groups elsewhere with the addition of several local castes. It includes—

1. Khatri.		4. Khandáit.		6. Daitá.
2. Rájput.		5. Vaisya, Gandha,		7. Baru.
3. Karan.		or Putali Baniyá.		

The Khatri is generally placed above the Rájputs, but intermarriages sometimes take place.‡ The Karans and Khandáits claim Kshatriya descent. They rank on about the same level. The Khandáits here referred to are the true, or Maháláik, Khandáits who forbid widow-marriage. Chásás sometimes claim the title, but they allow their widows to marry and their pretensions are not generally admitted. The Vaisyas are placed below the Karans and Khandáits, as the occupation followed is less pure.

602. The castes in the third group practise widow-remarriage, but they abstain from spirits. The higher castes will take water and *pakki* from their hands. They are

GROUP III.—CLEAN SUDRAS.

\* Deul means a temple.

† The Bráhman cook of Orissa is commonly called Pujári.

‡ In Puri some of the persons calling themselves Khatri or Rájput are the descendants either of the illegitimate offspring of Mahratta officers or of their standard bearers and camp followers, who were recruited from amongst the low castes of the country. The former rank above Karan and the latter below Baru. There are, however, several high-class Khatri families in the district, including that of the Rájá of Puri, who is a lineal descendant of the last Hindu King of Orissa and, as trustee of the great temple of Jagganáth, is commonly known as the Thákur Rájá. Elsewhere Khatri is looked on as better than Rájput, and the more respectable chiefs claim to be of this caste; the Rájputs are said to rank somewhat lower, as their legitimacy is suspected.



divided into two sub-groups with reference to the degree of purity of the traditional caste occupation—

*Sub-group (a).*

- |           |  |           |
|-----------|--|-----------|
| 1. Chásá. |  | 3. Ráju.  |
| 2. Máli.  |  | 4. Sulha. |

*Sub-group (b).*

- |            |  |               |
|------------|--|---------------|
| 5. Guriá.  |  | 9. Gaura.     |
| 6. Barhi.  |  | 10. Pátrá.    |
| 7. Kundrá. |  | 11. Darji.    |
| 8. Kámár.  |  | 12. Bhandári. |

The Mális are closely allied to the Chásás or Orh Chásás. They are employed in the worship of Mahádeb and Thákuráni or Grámdevtí. The Ráju and Sudha rank about on a par. In sub-group (b) the Guriá, or confectioner, holds the highest place, as its occupation is better than that of the other castes. The Barhi, Kundrá and Kámár are of nearly equal rank. The Gaura or Goálá is degraded because he is a *pálki*-bearer as well as a keeper of cows. He will take boiled rice from the Barhi, but not from the Pátrá caste. The position assigned to the Darji is that of the indigenous group of tailors; there is a sub-caste of Bengali origin, found chiefly in the towns, whose water is not taken by the higher castes, and whose proper position is in Group IV. The Bhandári is placed at the bottom of Group III, as he will take boiled rice from all the other castes contained in it, except the Bengali Darji.

603. The castes in Group IV are served by the same Bráhmans as those in Group III and their touch does not defile, but they are not *jalácharaniga*, and they may draw water only from masonry wells in metal vessels—

GROUP IV.—UNCLEAN SUDRAS.

- |                |  |             |  |                  |
|----------------|--|-------------|--|------------------|
| 1. Chitrakár.  |  | 6. Thátári. |  | 11. Golá.        |
| 2. Khitibansi. |  | 7. Kharurá. |  | 12. Dográ.       |
| 3. Sonári.     |  | 8. Káchrá.  |  | 13. Kantábudiyá. |
| 4. Sankhári.   |  | 9. Tánti.   |  | 14. Tulábhiná.   |
| 5. Kánsári.    |  | 10. Thoríá. |  |                  |

The Káchrás trade in brass and bell-metal, but their name seems to indicate that they formerly dealt in glass. The Madras Baliyás, who sell glass bangles, are also called Káchrá, but there is no connection between the two castes. The degraded position of the Tulábhiná is ascribed to their using an instrument in which there is hide.

GROUP V.—CASTES WHOSE TOUCH DEFILES.

604. The main difference between Groups IV and V is that the touch of the latter defiles cloth:—

- |            |  |               |  |                    |
|------------|--|---------------|--|--------------------|
| 1. Teli.   |  | 5. Kewat.     |  | 9. Bhát.           |
| 2. Kumbár. |  | 6. Kaibartta. |  | 10. Jyotish.       |
| 3. Rárhí.  |  | 7. Kartiá.    |  | 11. Jogi.          |
| 4. Niári.  |  | 8. Khodál.    |  | 12. Sundi (Sunri). |

The low position of the Telis is attributed to their employment of bullocks for pressing oil, and that of the Kumbárs to the fact that they sell earth. The Rárhí, Niári, Kewat and Kaibartta are supposed to spring from a common parentage, but the two former have given up fishing and taken to purchasing grain and carrying loads. The barber will pare the nails of their fingers only; hence they are known as *dasanakhi*. The Bhát and Jyotish may have descended from Bráhmans. The rank of the Jyotish is the lower, as persons of this caste serve the Chamárs as priests. The Jogis are beggars and physicians. They will accept alms from all castes down to Jyotish. The Sundi is the lowest caste served by Pándá Bráhmans and by the ordinary barber.\*

605. The sixth group comprises castes who eat fowls and drink spirits, but who abstain from beef. There are three well-defined sub-groups: the first are served by the Dhobá and have the Jyotish as their priest; the second are not served by the Dhobá and have no priest of any kind; and the third, though

\* In Puri it is said that the Teli, Kumbár, Jogi and Jyotish should rank in the next higher group, as their touch does not defile cloth and they may draw water from masonry wells. Further enquiry, however, shows that although this is sometimes the case in towns, the group in which they are shown above is that to which they really belong.



comparable to the second in other respects, rank lower mainly on account of the freedom of their women.

*Sub-group (a).*

- |           |  |            |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 1. Siyal. |  | 2. Chamár. |
|-----------|--|------------|

*Sub-group (b).*

- |           |  |               |  |            |
|-----------|--|---------------|--|------------|
| 1. Dhobá. |  | 4. Ghusturiá. |  | 7. Khatíá. |
| 2. Báuri. |  | 5. Gokhá.     |  | 8. Sanái.  |
| 3. Taulá. |  | 6. Girigiriá. |  | 9. Naliá.  |

*Sub-group (c).*

- |                |  |          |  |            |
|----------------|--|----------|--|------------|
| 1. Ahir Gaura. |  | 2. Kelá. |  | 3. Kandrá. |
|----------------|--|----------|--|------------|

The women of the Ahir Gaura caste dance in public. They profess not to eat fowls or drink spirits, but are said to do so secretly. The women of the Kelá caste, which is identified with the infamous Byádha of the Shástras, beg openly. The Kandrá women are not ill-behaved, but the men are professional thieves, and they eat pork. Like the Pán they often serve as village chaukidárs.

GROUP VII.—BEEF EATERS  
AND SCAVENGERS.

606. The last group consists of the very lowest castes and includes—

- |             |  |          |
|-------------|--|----------|
| 1. Mahuriá. |  | 3. Pán.  |
| 2. Dom.     |  | 4. Hári. |

All eat beef. The Hári ranks lowest as he removes night-soil. The Dom of Orissa does not do this, but his position is still very degraded. In the Tributary States the Pán ranks higher. He is there largely employed as a weaver and calls himself Pátra Pán or Buná Pán.\*

I have omitted several mixed groups from the above list. The Shágird-peshás labour under the stigma of illegitimacy and although their water is taken as a matter of convenience they cannot, on that account, be ranked amongst the clean castes. The Chattarkháis are also omitted, as they now live outside Hindu society, but at the same time they retain their original caste distinctions. Chokars, or the children of prostitutes, are also left out of account. They are outcastes.

*Caste Precedence in Nepal.*

607. The order of social precedence amongst the Nepalese castes and tribes, as given below, was prepared by Mr. Earle when he was Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. It does not refer to the Newárs, who are a nationality rather than a caste, and have their own caste system and caste precedence list as described in paragraphs 887 to 894 of this chapter.

PRECEDENCE LIST FOR NEPALESE  
CASTES AND TRIBES.

Group I.—*High Castes.*

- |                      |  |             |
|----------------------|--|-------------|
| 1. Bráhmaṇ or Bahun. |  | 3. Thakuri. |
| 2. Sannyási.         |  | 4. Khas.    |

Bráhmans will not eat rice cooked by any other caste. They will take water from all castes except those in Group III. Sannyásis will eat *kachchi* prepared by any one ranking in this group, but not by others. The Thakuris will take cooked rice only from Bráhmans or from members of their own caste. The Khas will take it from a Bráhmaṇ or Thakuri, but not from a Sannyási.

Group II.—*Intermediate Castes and Tribes.*

- |             |  |             |  |             |
|-------------|--|-------------|--|-------------|
| 5. Gurung.  |  | 10. Yákbá.  |  | 15. Thami.  |
| 6. Mangar.  |  | 11. Mánjhi. |  | 16. Háyu.   |
| 7. Senuwár. |  | 12. Murmi.  |  | 17. Khawás. |
| 8. Jimdár.  |  | 13. Sherpa. |  | 18. Gharti. |
| 9. Limbu.   |  | 14. Tháru.  |  | 19. Kamára. |

\* Buná means 'weaving.' There is no connection between this word and the homonym by which the coolies brought from Chota Nagpur to Central Bengal by the indigo planters are collectively known. The latter word is probably derived from *ban*, 'jungle.'



Group III.—*Low Castes.*

20. Kámi.	22. Damái.
21. Sárki.	23. Bádhí.
24. Gáin.	

The last five are not served by Bráhmans, but appoint priests from amongst themselves. They have no dealings of any sort with the castes in Groups I and II, and are obliged to leave the road on the approach of any one belonging to any of these castes. They are not allowed to enter the courtyards of temples. The Kámis and Sárkis eat rice only when cooked by members of their own community.

*Tribal Precedence in Chota Nagpur.*

608. As regards the non-Aryan tribes it is very difficult to fix any general scale of social precedence. The position of each tribe varies from place to place according to its local strength and the traditions of former rule. The Bhuiyás rank highest in Keonjhar, the Mundas in the south-east of Ranchi, the Kharwárs and Cheros in Palamau, the Hos in Singhbhum, the Kandhs in the Khondmals and so on. In these circumstances no useful purpose would be served by a lengthy discussion of the subject, but if further information is desired, it will be found in Appendix VIII which contains two interesting reports, prepared respectively by Mr. Streatfeild, Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, and Babu Jamini Mohan Das, Deputy Superintendent of Census, Cuttack.

*Disputed points of Social Precedence.*

609. I have already mentioned that numerous claims were advanced by various castes to a higher rank than that generally or universally accorded to them. One of the best and most interesting memorials in connection with this subject was received from Rájá Ban Bihári Kapur advocating the claim of the Khattris to rank as Kshattriyas, but it is unnecessary to discuss the point in this report. The headquarters of the caste lies beyond the borders of this province, and the claim has already been admitted by the Census Commissioner for India.

The Baidik Bráhmans submitted a memorial urging their right to rank as the highest class of Bráhmans in Bengal Proper on the ground that they are the descendants of the original settlers. They say that the alleged descent of the Rárhí from the Kanaujiá Bráhmans is a myth and point out the following points of difference, *viz.* (1) the Rárhí Bráhmans have different titles and *gotras* from those of Kanauj, (2) they allow polygamy, which the Kanaujiá Bráhmans do not, (3) the wife must be younger than the husband, but there is no such rule amongst the Kanaujiás, (4) there is no tradition outside Bengal of the original settlement from Kanauj which was not a seat of learning in ancient times, (5) the Kanaujiá Bráhmans are mostly Tántriks while those of Rárh are not, (6) the Rárhí Bráhmans say they are descended from the Hindustani wives of the original immigrants, and the Bárendras from their Bengali wives; the latter deny this, but probably the original emigrants, if the story of their advent is true, came unaccompanied by any wives at all.

Except in special cases of degradation or admitted pre-eminence, it would be an interminable task to endeavour to arrange sub-castes in the order of social precedence. In all cases it is usual to find each sub-caste claiming to rank higher than the others, and if any difference actually exists, it is usually purely local, and due to local causes, such as numerical superiority and the like. Both the Bráhmanical sub-castes referred to above are pure and it seems, therefore, unnecessary to attempt to adjudicate as to their relative rank.

The Achárji Bráhmans protested against being considered degraded and urged that the Bráhmans who minister to them do not suffer in general estimation as do those who minister to Sudras, and that they perform all the six duties enjoined on Bráhmans in the Shástras. There is, however, no doubt that the Hindus as a body regard Achárji Bráhmans as standing on a lower level than



those whom I have placed above them in the precedence list for Bengal Proper.

610. The Bābhans filed several representations, asserting that they are Brāhmanas who have given up the priesthood and taken to landholding. It is said that they are addressed as Sarma on ceremonial occasions, that the Rājputs and other castes offer them *prandm* (adoration) as they do to Brāhmanas and receive *āsirbād* (benediction) from them, that their manners and customs are those of Brāhmanas, and that some subcastes of Kāyasths will take *kachchi* food prepared by them. Certain references are made to various Greek and Chinese writers, who said that many Brāhmanas had given up asceticism and the taking of alms, and lived by cultivating the land and acquiring territorial possessions. The best opinion at the present time is perhaps in favour of the Brāhmanical origin of the Bābhans,\* but it would be incorrect to say that they are, therefore, Brāhmanas still. In the eyes of the general Hindu public they constitute a separate caste, which is generally, but not always, regarded as slightly superior to that of the Rājputs.

611. The Baidyas claimed to be placed next to the Brāhmanas on the ground that they are identical with the Ambasthas of the Shāstras and so are descended from Dhanvantari, the son of a Brāhman father and a Vaisya mother, at a time when marriages with women of lower caste were legal,† and it was held that the offspring occupied a position intermediate between that of the parents, but inclining rather that of the father on account of the superiority of the seed over the soil. Some Baidyas, it is said, act as spiritual guides to Brāhmanas, who are not thereby lowered in general estimation. The Sākadvipi Brāhmanas of Bihar, who also practise medicine, are alleged to regard the Baidyas as their equals. They claim to rank above the Rājputs of Bihar as the latter engage in manual labour and plough with their own hands, and merely shuffle on the *janeu* or sacred thread at marriage, whereas the Baidyas follow no degrading occupation and observe the full ceremony of investiture or *upanayan*; they also perform the complete marriage ceremony, including perambulation of the sacred fire, which is neglected by the Rājputs; and they alone, of the non-Brāhmanical castes, have the right to study the Veda, from which circumstance the modern name of the caste is derived. They claim precedence over the Kāyasths on the following additional grounds:—

- (1) the Kāyasths are Sudras and have been held to be so by a High Court ruling to which a Kāyasth Judge subscribed.
- (2) The Kāyasths mourn for 30 days like the Sudras, whereas the Baidyas mourn for 15 days only.
- (3) When the Sanskrit College was first opened the only castes admitted were Brāhmanas and Baidyas.
- (4) The Kāyasths were originally the servants of the Brāhmanas and Baidyas,‡ and when poor they are still found taking employment as domestic servants, whereas the Baidyas will never do so.
- (5) On ceremonial occasions, when different castes are collected, flower wreaths and sandal wood paste are offered first to Brāhmanas, then to Baidyas and after them to Kāyasths.

\* Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Sastri points out that Bābhan is merely the Pāli form of Brāhman and that the word is often found in Asoka's Edicts. He conjectures that those now known as Bābhans remained Buddhists, after the Brāhmanas around them had reverted to Hinduism, and so the Pāli name continued to be applied to them. The Pandit explains the synonym Bhuinhār or Bhumihraka as referring to their having seized the lands attached to the old Buddhist monasteries. The family titles of the Bābhans also favour their claim. The Māstān Brāhmanas of Orissa have many more non-Brāhmanical titles than have the Bābhans, e.g., Sāhu, Senapati, Soyāi, Jena, Padhān, Māhānti.

† Such marriages between a man of a higher and a woman of a lower caste were formerly allowed, and were known as *Anulom*. Marriages between a woman of a higher and a man of a lower caste were called *Pratilom*, and were forbidden.

‡ A leading Baidya tells me that there is a proverb in support of this allegation, viz.:—

Jata Brāhman tata Kāet  
Jata Baidya tata Kāet  
Jata Kāet tata Kāet.



612. The most vigorous of all the agitations that arose in connection with the caste question was that of the Chási Kaibarttas.\* They urge that they are entirely distinct

from the Jáliyá Kaibarttas and that their proper appellation is Máhisya,† an ancient caste of much respectability which is said to be descended from a Kshattriya father and a Vaisya mother. The Chási Kaibarttas claim to be Máhisyas on the ground that they have the same origin, and quote *slokas* from the *Padma Purán* and the *Brahma Vaivartta Purán* in support of this claim. They have also succeeded in obtaining *vyavasthás* from some eminent pandits acquiescing in the desired identification. The *sloka* from the *Padma Purán*, however, is said not to be found in the ordinary editions and the quotation from the *Brahma Vaivartta Purán* is incomplete; the next *sloka* goes on to say; “but by their connection with the Tivars in the Kali Yuga they became fishermen and were fallen.”‡ This passage, therefore, even if it supports the alleged origin of the Kaibarttas as a whole, disposes at the same time of the claim of the Chási sub-caste to be distinct from the Jáliyá, and also to rank higher than they do on the strength of their alleged descent, even if it be genuine. It is argued, however, by the opponents of the Máhisya movement that the whole passage is spurious, and does not occur in many trustworthy editions, such as that in the Sanskrit library at Benares. It is asserted also that the protection of grain was the occupation of the Máhisyas and not agriculture. The word Kaibartta again is usually derived from *ka*, water and *vartta* engaged, and the common patronymic is Dás, a Sudra title.

There seems to be no room for doubt as to the common origin of the two sections of Kaibarttas, and in remote tracts, such as the Tributary States of Orissa, inter-marriage is still permitted between them. In Dacca, some people were entered at the Census as Chási Kaibartta by caste and fishermen by occupation. At the same time, in the greater part of Bengal Proper, the process of differentiation has proceeded so far that they now constitute practically separate communities. Water is not taken from the Chási Kaibarttas in all districts, but in some it is.§ In the Tribes and Castes of Bengal Mr. Risley says regarding them:

“It seems likely as time goes on that this sub-caste will rise in social estimation, and will altogether sink the Kaibartta, so that eventually it is possible that they may succeed in securing a place with the Navasákha.”

This was written only ten years ago; and at that time, not only had the Máhisya theory not been developed, but the word is not even mentioned in Mr. Risley's book. Even now the claim is confined to Central and Western Bengal, and the lower sections of the community are still but imperfectly acquainted with their new name and the improvement in their status which it is intended to connote.|| In Eastern Bengal Dás, Hália Dás and Kaibartta Dás, are the names by which the Chási Kaibartta prefers to be known. In Sylhet, when able to afford it, he takes Káyasth girls in marriage and describes himself as a Káyasth or Sudra. In some parts, chiefly in Eastern Bengal, the fishing section are also sinking the Kaibartta and call themselves Jáliyá or Jáliyá Dás. In Noakhali a small section of the Chási sub-caste, there known as Hália Dás, tried unsuccessfully to get themselves returned as Deba Dás.¶

\* This agitation was pursued with great energy, and in the 24-Parganas, Nadia, Midnapore and other districts, influential committees were formed to draw up petitions, to inform the lower classes of their community of their newly discovered status, and to urge them to return themselves as Máhisya at the census. They were allowed to do so, as Máhisya is a name assumed by no other modern caste and there was thus no risk of confusion. The so-called Máhisyas were all classed as Chási Kaibartta in the course of tabulation.

† The Máhisya has been identified with the Mahesri of Upper India.

‡ Tiyar is still the name of a Kaibartta sub-caste in Orissa.

§ I am told that in Nadia the higher castes arranged not to take water from them as a sign of their disapproval of the agitation.

|| In Mymensingh many withdrew their claim to the new title on its being stated that the word meant ‘pertaining to a Mahish’ (buffalo). In Nadia on the other hand the new idea gained such ground that many Chási Kaibarttas in domestic service under other castes threw up their work saying it was beneath their dignity. Finding, however, that no other means of livelihood were available they were soon fain to return and beg their employers' forgiveness.

¶ The Kaibarttas, says Dr. Grierson, seem to have been a non-Aryan race and to have entered Bengal from Orissa. They conquered by force of arms and the defeat, by them, of the Rájá of Maina is the subject of a local poem. They founded several great families of which that of the Rájá of Tamluk still survives. The history of their arrival accounts for the peculiar dialect of Bengali spoken by them. Probably owing originally to some non-Aryan language, they arrived in Midnapore speaking a corrupt patois of Oriyá, and on this, as a basis, they have built the dialect of Bengali which they speak in their present home.



613. The Jogis strongly objected to the ordinary spelling of their caste name (Jugi) which is popularly derived from Jungi, a low mixed caste, whose traditional origin is from a Sudra father and a Chandál mother.\* They say that they are the descendants of Bráhmaṇa ascetics or Yogis who were degraded on account of a quarrel with the Bráhmaṇa priest of Ballála Sena. They point to the fact that they call themselves Náth, address their wives as 'Debi' and wear the thread; but the thread was assumed very recently and they may equally well have adopted the titles they now use in recent times. There seems reason to believe that they are descended from a religious community, but this does not in the least confirm their claim to Bráhmaṇical origin. The Jogis and other religious sects of Upper India freely admit members of all castes,† and there is no reason for supposing the case to have been different with the ancestors of the caste under consideration. They were possibly Buddhists. If so, their degraded position might easily be due to their having remained in that faith after the general population had reverted to Hinduism. They call their priests, who belong to their own community, Mahátma or Pandit, both of which terms were formerly in use amongst the Buddhists. They bury their dead in a sitting posture, with the legs crossed as in the conventional attitude of Buddha, and the face turned to the north-east. Their occupation of weaving is one which was often resorted to by decayed religious communities.‡ All the persons known to outsiders as Jugi are not allowed to call themselves Náth. Some mourn for 30 days like Sudras and some for only 10 days like Brahmans. It may be, therefore, that there were originally two different communities, the one derived from Jogis and the other from Jungis. In Nepal there is still a distinction between Jogi and Jugi. The former term is synonymous with Sannyási, while Jugi is the name of the dancing and musician caste of Newars.

However this may be, it is admitted that the Jogis or Jugis of Bengal Proper are looked upon as degraded, and if one of them happens to enter the room of a Hindu of good caste the cooked food and drinking water must be immediately thrown away.§ There is, therefore, no real dispute as to the position accorded to the caste by Hindu public opinion at the present day.

614. The Káyasths claim to be Kshatriyas who took to clerical work, whereas according to them, the Baidyas, as a mixed or Barna Sankar caste, hold a much lower position. They also deny that the Baidyas are identical with the Ambasthas of the Shástras, and urge that if they were a genuine survival, they would not be confined to Bengal Proper, but would also be found in the great strongholds of Hinduism. Lastly, they say, that it is only within the last hundred years that the Baidyas have abandoned their old Sudra ritual and assumed the thread, with the aid of Rájá Ráj Ballabh who bribed the Bráhmaṇs into acquiescence. They say that in all other parts of India the Káyasths wear the thread, and there are numerous *Vyavasthás*, or opinions of Pandits, admitting their Kshatriya origin. They occupied a high position under Hindu kings, and in the *Akbarnáma* it is stated that the zamindars of Bengal were mostly Káyasths. Much stress cannot be laid on the period of mourning, for while, on the one hand, the Pándavas mourned for 30 days after the battle of Kuru Kshetra, on the other, many low castes, such as the Koch and Chandál, mourn for a much shorter period. In the *Vallálacharita* by Ananda Bhatta written in 1510 it is stated that the "Taílíka, Gandhika and Vaidya are clean Sudras. Of all the Sat Sudras the Káyastha is declared to be the best."

As already stated, it seems to be undesirable to endeavour to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding the relative rank of these two castes.

\* According to the *Brahma Vaivarta Purán* the Jungis are descended from a Vesyadhári or false hermit by a Gangáputra girl.

† In the Punjab in 1891 more than 38,000 Jogis returned themselves as Muhammedans by religion.

‡ The Saráks are weavers and the Jogis of Bihar spin thread. In the Punjab Census Report for 1891 Mr MacLagan points out the connection which exists between religion and weaving in that Province. There are he says some Musalman tribes who, in many parts of that province, perform indifferently the functions of the weaver and the Mullah. Kabir was a Joláhá by caste and so also was Dudhu Miyán, the great reformer of East Bengal. These cases, however, are not strictly analogous, as they refer to weavers who have taken to religion and not to religious bodies who have become weavers.

§ In Orissa the Jogis are named in a list of eleven outcaste tribes who are not allowed to enter the temple of Jagannáth. For a further reference to the Jugis, see paragraph 787.



615. The Awadhiá Kurmis urged that they should be ranked as Kshatriyas. Some pretend that the word Kurmi is a corruption of Kshattriya while others derive it from their progenitor, Karna, a Kshattriya of the Lunar race. They say that their ancestors concealed their origin and took to agriculture, in order to escape from the persecution of the Buddhist King Asoka. Bráhmans take water from them; they perform their *Srádha* on the 12th day and *kachchi* food prepared by them is taken by Kahárs, Bháts, and other castes who would not take such food from Sudras. They will not engage in domestic service, and when wealthy, they are invited to attend at ceremonies of the higher castes and exchange presents with them. Amongst rulers of Kurmi origin are mentioned Sivaji, the Bhonslas of Nagpur and the Scindias of Gwalior. All connection is denied between the Awadhiá sub-caste and the other classes who go by the name of Kurmi. There is no doubt that the Awadhiá Kurmis rank higher than the rest, but they are not recognised by Hindu public opinion as forming a separate caste.

616. The higher class Pods who live by cultivation and call themselves Padma Ráj urge that they are of Kshattriya origin and have no connection with the fishing Pods. They have, however, quite failed to establish any racial difference between themselves and the Pods who live by fishing, and the connection is clearly indicated by the fact that they are still willing to accept the daughters of the fishing Pods as their wives, though they will no longer give their own daughters in marriage to members of that section of the caste. They are often known as Paundra or Pundarik which seems to connect them with the ancient kingdom of Paundra Vardhana\* and their claim to Kshattriya rank probably arises from a faint remembrance of the days when they were the ruling tribe in that part of the country. There is a sub-caste of Chandál known as Pod, and there seems reason to believe that the two castes are offshoots of the same parent stock.† There is a tradition that the original Pod was a half-brother of the original Chandál. Whatever their ancestry may be, there is no doubt as to the position which the Pods occupy in Hindu public opinion at the present day, and this is the position which has been assigned to them in the precedence list.

617. The Rájbansis of North Bengal wished to be styled Bhanga or Brátya Kshattriyas and to be classed amongst the twice-born castes. They tell various stories of their origin, the favourite one being the well-worn legend that their ancestors were the descendants of Kshattriyas who discarded their sacred threads when fleeing from the wrath of Parasuráma.‡ Another story is that they are descended from Rájá Bháskara Varman, who was related to many Kshattriya families, and so must himself have been of the same caste. These legends may at once be rejected, and even if they had some substratum of truth, which does not appear to be the case, they would not affect the estimation in which the caste is held at the present day. At the same time, the enquiries which I have caused to be made seem to show that there is a good foundation for the assertion of the Rájbansis of Rangpur that they have no connection with the Koches, and that the two communities spring from entirely different sources. Though in some places there has been considerable racial intermixture, the Rájbansis appear to be a Dravidian tribe allied, it may be, to the Tiyars, who often call themselves Rájbansi in the districts south of Rangpur, as far as Nadia and Jessore, and they probably owned the name long before the Mongoloid Koch kings rose to power.§ When the latter attorned to Hinduism they assumed the caste name of the most numerous Hinduised community in their neighbourhood and, owing to the loose organisation of the original Rájbansis, there was a considerable intermingling

\* The Pundras are mentioned in the Mahábhárata as one of the five chief races of Eastern India (Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Volume II, page 176).

† Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Volume II, page 189.

‡ This king was ruling in Kámarupa when Hsien Tsiang visited the country about 640 A.D.

§ I am told that fishing was the traditional occupation of the Rájbansis of Rangpur and that they have gradually taken to cultivation, owing to the silting up of the large rivers, such as the Karátóyá, which once flowed through the district. We see the same process of transition amongst the people who call themselves Rájbansi in Nadia. They were originally fishermen, and most of their villages are on the banks of rivers, but they are gradually giving up fishing for cultivation. With the change of occupation comes a claim to occupy a higher social status. As regards the assumption of the name Rájbansi by the Tiyars, it may be noted that there are still traditions of former Tiyar Rájás in various parts of Bengal.



of the two races while the Koch kings ruled, especially towards the north and north-east where they were most numerous. In Jalpaiguri and Kuch Bihar, and in Goalpara in Assam, the persons now known as Rājbañsi are either pure Koches who, though dark, have a distinctly Mongoloid physiognomy, or else a mixed breed, in which the Koch element usually preponderates. Further away, the Koches did not so readily abandon their old religion and their tribal name, and the original Rājbañsis were less willing to mix with them. In Rangpur we find Rājbañsis and Koches inhabiting the same villages but remaining as perfectly distinct communities with very different physical characteristics. The religion also is different. The Koch worships Siva and eats pork, while the Rājbañsi is usually a Vaishnava and eschews unclean food. The Kāmrupi Brāhman serves Rājbañsi and Koch alike, but the Maithil Brāhman, who sometimes minister to the Rājbañsis, will have nothing to say to the Koches, and the Nápit, though he shaves them, does so with some reluctance. The Koches sometimes serve as *pálki*-bearers but the Rājbañsis never do so. The tendency of the Koch to merge in the Rājbañsi seems to have received a check, and the true Rājbañsis now refuse to ally themselves to the Koches, even when the proposals are otherwise of a very advantageous nature. Thus a clerk of the Rangpur Registration office, who was a Rājbañsi, refused to give his daughter to a scion of the ruling family of Kuch Bihar, and a Rājbañsi family of Nilphamari was outcasted for contracting a matrimonial alliance with another branch of the old royal family. A Koch who rises in the world does not, in Rangpur, find it easy to become a Rājbañsi.\*

618. The Sadgops claim to be Vaisyas, but their pretensions are unsupported by any solid argument† and they are still commonly regarded as a purified sub-caste of Goálá who have obtained a higher position than the rest by adopting agriculture as their occupation. The other Goálá sub-castes will all admit a Sadgop into their ranks, should he wish to join them. This subject will be further discussed in connection with their local distribution (paragraph 658).

619. The Sháhás submitted a memorial stating that they are Kshattriyas by origin and Vaisyas by profession and quoted several passages in the Shástras in support of their contention. They say they were degraded not for any fault of their own, but because the vice of drunkenness had spread amongst the people and, being unable to cope with it, the Brāhman declared the dealers in spirit to be degraded. They now follow the occupations assigned to Vaisyas and should, therefore, they say, be classed in Group II. There is no doubt that the Sháhás are an enlightened and progressive community and that they include in their ranks many zamindars and rich traders. But the criterion on which the precedence list is based, is Hindu public opinion, and there can be no doubt that, judged by this standard, their position is still a humble one. The fact of their having been degraded is not disputed, and the Hindu would never think of revising a decision arrived at many centuries ago.‡

\* Unfortunately, in the course of tabulation, I treated Koch and Rājbañsi as synonymous terms, and did not compile separate figures for each. A separate return would have been of little use in Jalpaiguri and Kuch Bihar, where the Koches freely call themselves Rājbañsi, but it would have afforded some idea of the relative strength of the two communities in other districts.

† They deny that Gop means Goálá and assert that as, in a few cases, Vaisyas are said to be Gopála, therefore Gopála is synonymous with Vaisya. The Sadgops were often called Chási in old Bengali literature and so must be Vaisyas, as cultivation was one of the main occupations of the Vaisyas. Goálá and Gop are of course both derived from Gopála and ordinary Goálás are often called Gop. Chási or Chásá again is the appellation of many other castes, such as Chásá Dhobá, Chási Kaibartta, and the great cultivating caste of Orissa, who have never yet dreamed of a Vaisya ancestry. It would be easy by a similar line of argument to prove that any class of persons belongs to any desired caste. A few cases are quoted where particular Sadgops were honoured as Vaisyas, but these alone are not sufficient.

‡ The degradation may be a fiction, i.e., the rank of the Sunris may always have been low. But this is immaterial. The result is the same so far as their present status is concerned. It is interesting to note some of the methods by which a class gradually works upon public opinion. In Tippera it is said that at one of the Munsiff's Courts the Sháhás pay the pleaders as much as Rs. 60 to have themselves entered under the title of 'Ráy' in the documents they file in Court. At Brahmanberia a Sháhá who had spent a sum of money on some public purpose applied to be entered as 'Ráy' in the Municipal books in recognition of his liberality. Similarly the Jugis endeavour to have themselves described in their documents as Deb Náth. In Malda and some of the neighbouring districts the Sháhás seem to be more successful in shaking off the trammels of their humble origin. The persons there known as Gaur Banik are alleged to be of Sháhá origin and at the present census they have gone a step further and in many cases have succeeded in getting themselves returned as Agarwálas.



620. The Subarnabaniks submitted petitions protesting against their proposed classification and urging that they should be treated as Vaisyas. They are a wealthy and well educated community and there seems to be little doubt but that they occupied a position of great respect until degraded by Ballála Sena on account of their sympathy with the Páls who, like themselves, were Buddhists. If, therefore, the origin of a caste, or its status in the eyes of a foreigner, were to decide its rank, there would be little doubt as to the right of the Subarnabaniks to a place in Group II. The touchstone, however, is Hindu public opinion at the present day, and according to this standard, there is no doubt that the caste ranks below the Nabasákhas. Their Bráhmans are degraded and their water is not taken.\*

621. The claims of other castes, whose pretensions are vaguer and less circumstantial, may be more summarily dealt with. The Gandhabaniks claim to be Vaisyas, and in some respects they seem superior to the Nabasákhas, but it is in this group that they are placed by Hindu public opinion in Bengal Proper. In Orissa they are generally regarded as Vaisyas and have been entered accordingly in Group II. The Chásádhobás also pretend to be Vaisyas and called themselves Haladhar.† The Paliyás desire recognition as Brátya Kshattriyas, the Chási Suklis as Solánki Rájputs, the Patiáls, the Sudras of East Bengal, the Báruis of Mymensingh, the Shágirdpeshás of Orissa, and the Khyáns of Rangpur as Káyasths, the Tiyars as Rájbanis‡ and the Kalus of Manbhum as Telis. The Sutradhars, while admitting their degradation, claim to rank with the Nabasákhas on the ground of their common origin. A section of the Chandáls, who were fain to be returned as Namasudras in 1891, now pretend that the Nama and the Sudra are two distinct classes, and that they should be known as Sudra to distinguish them from the degraded Namas, with whom they deny all connection. The only one of these claims that deserves discussion is that of the Sudras to be considered Káyasths. These Sudras, as is well known, are the servant class of the Káyasths. Their origin is uncertain, but they are probably descended from various clean castes who were reduced to a position of servitude.§ The dividing line, at the present day, between them and the Káyasths is not very rigid, but it undoubtedly exists, and although rich Sudras may, occasionally, be recognised as Káyasths, it by no means follows that the whole community should be so classed.

It is a curious circumstance that, with scarcely an exception, these claims to higher caste, or to new and more pretentious names, are confined to Bengal Proper. The reason seems to be that the various tribes of this part of the Province have come under the influence of the caste system in comparatively recent times, and that their relative rank has never been stereotyped by Hindu kings under the influence of their Bráhman advisers.|| The differentiation of the people according to function, which was so complete in Upper India, never proceeded far enough in Bengal to obliterate the earlier racial distinctions, and the castes of Bengal are, to a great extent, race castes with traditions, more or less obscure, of former rule; in the days of their supremacy they were probably allowed the rank of Kshattriya, but they have been deposed from it since the loss of their political power. The bulk of the claims that have been discussed are those of race castes to be considered Kshattriyas, or of certain functional groups to be considered Káyasths. The pretensions of the latter seem to be a reminiscence of the time when the number of Aryan settlers in Bengal was very small and those who came found it easy to obtain recognition as Káyasths, just as at the present day, all classes of Newárs, when they leave Nepal, profess to belong to the Sreshta caste.

\* Their water appears to be taken by the Bráhman Goswámis of Kharda, Bagnapara, Nadia and Faridabad, but this is not the general practice.

† In Rajshahi some of them gave Háliá Rái as their caste name.

‡ This is said to be the name given them in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purán*.

§ In Chittagong there are said to be two classes of Sudras, viz., Pushpánjuli or Phullájáliá, who are descended from maid-servants by their Káyasth masters, and Hángutiá who are the offspring of widows.

|| Many of the earlier rulers were non-Aryan, and the Buddhist kings, even when Aryan, troubled themselves very little about caste. They left the people alone, and did not try to force upon them the caste system which had developed itself in other parts of India. The Sena kings were Hindus, and one of them, Ballála Sena, did a great deal in this respect in some parts of Bengal, but his successors were overthrown by the Muhammadans before the influence of his 'reforms' had had any great or permanent effect on persons who were not already Hindus.



## DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN CASTES AND VARIATIONS SINCE 1872.

622. The number of castes is so great that it is impossible to discuss in detail their distribution, and the variations in their strength, as compared with previous censuses. Ordinarily the main castes only will be dealt with, and others will be referred to only in a few cases of special interest. A tabular statement of the variations since 1872 in the strength of the more important castes will be found in Subsidiary Table No. II at the end of this Chapter. I have given below a series of maps showing the distribution of the main castes, and a word or two is perhaps necessary regarding the system on which they have been prepared. The strength of the caste to which the map refers is represented in each district by a rectangle, of which the base indicates the total population of the district, while the height shows the proportion which the strength of the caste in question bears to the total population; thus the area of the rectangle shows the actual strength of the caste.\* This method of graphic representation is that recommended by M. Jacques Bertillon. Its superiority to the ordinary method of tinting or shading a map lies in the fact that it affords an index to the absolute as well as the relative strength of a caste. In the case of the Kaibarttas, for example, a map prepared on the ordinary system would merely show that the proportion borne by the caste to the total population is about the same in Midnapore as it is in Howrah and would not bring out the fact that the actual number of Kaibarttas is about four times as great in the former as in the latter district.

623. The Ahirs or Goálás with a strength of nearly four millions are by far the largest caste in the Province. They are found mainly in Bihar, and their number rapidly decreases towards the east. There are numerous persons returned under this head through-



Orissa, who come into the jungles of this district to graze buffaloes." The strength of the caste is slightly less now than it was ten years previously, the reason apparently being that it is found mainly in Bihar where there has been a decline in the general population. The number of Goálás is still greater by nearly 21 per cent. than it was in 1872.

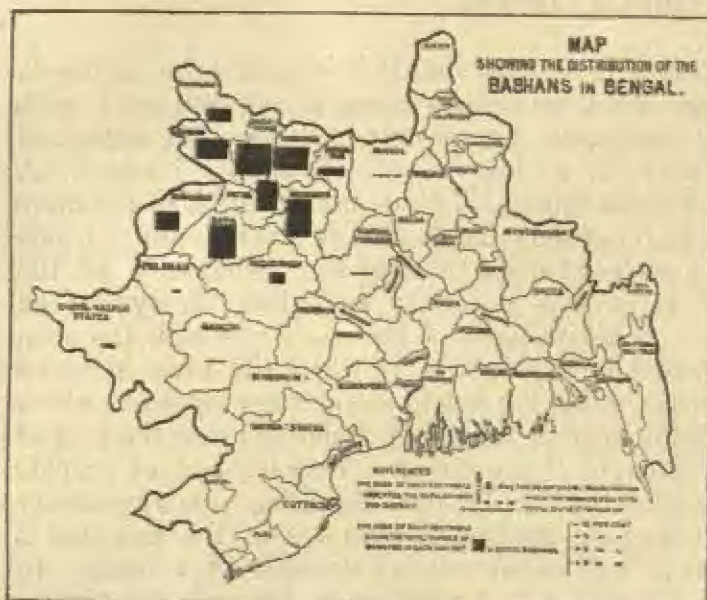
624. The Bábhans, though they number 1,144,162, are practically confined to the Patna Division. A few have overflowed into Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh, but elsewhere

\* Let C=strength of caste, and P=Population of the district. The height represents the proportion which the caste bears to the population of the district, i.e.,  $\frac{C}{P}$ , and the base represents P. The area of each

$$\text{rectangle} = \text{height} \times \text{base} = \frac{Q}{P} \times P = Q.$$



the number is inconsiderable. There is a decrease of nearly 6½ per cent.,



compared with 1891, owing mainly to the figures for Monghyr and the Chota Nagpur States. In the latter there seems to have been some confusion in 1891 between Bhuiyá and Bábhan, Bhuinhár being a synonym for both castes. In Monghyr the number at the last census was 35 per cent. in excess of that returned in 1881, and 46 per cent. more than in 1872. The number now returned in that district, although 48,000 less than in 1891, exceeds the figure for 1872 by more than 17 per cent.

625. The distribution of the Bágdis, who number more than a million, is also very local. They are found in any considerable number only in the Burdwan Division, and in two or three of the adjoining districts of the Presidency. This caste gave its



name to, or received it from, the old division of Ballála Sena's kingdom, known as Bágri or South Bengal. Mr. Oldham is of opinion that they are "the section of the Mál who accepted life and civilisation in the cultivated country as serfs and co-religionists of the Aryans." The present census shows an increase in the number of Bágdis of 28 per cent. over that returned in 1891. The difference is most noticeable in the figures for Burdwan,

Bankura, Hooghly and Midnapore. In the absence of any record as to the classification adopted in 1891, it is difficult to account for the variation, but it may be conjectured that it is due mainly to the inclusion under the head Bágdi at the present census of the figures for Mánjhi in Bankura, Danda Mánjhi in Midnapore, Duliá in Hooghly, and Let in Birbhum, some of which items may have been added to other castes at the last census.

626. The Baishnabs who aggregate nearly half a million show only a nominal increase over the number returned in 1891. This caste grows, not only by natural processes, but also by fresh accessions from outside, and a larger increase might well have been anticipated. It is probable that some of the sectarian groups now shown separately were added to it at the previous census, and that in Orissa, where Vaishnavism is a matter of sect rather than caste, many persons returned as Baishnabs in 1891 have been shown, on the present occasion, under their proper castes. In some parts there are indications of a decline owing to the gradual



contraction of private charity, the misappropriation of public charitable funds and the want of any fresh religious stimulus.

627. Baniyá is a vague functional term which includes many different castes.

#### BANIYÁ.

The figures show a steady decrease, which is satisfactory, as it shows that at each succeeding census the caste column is filled in more accurately than at the preceding one. Probably most of the persons returned as Baniyá belong to low castes such as Sháhá and Kalwár.\*

628. The distribution of the Báuris is much the same as that of the Bágdis, except that comparatively few of them are found in Midnapore, and that they are numerous also in Cuttack and Puri.

#### BÁURI.



Their presence in these two districts, coupled with their almost complete absence from Balasore, is a curious phenomenon for which I have no explanation to offer. A former Magistrate of Cuttack was of opinion that the persons known by this name in the south of Orissa are ethnically distinct from those of West Bengal. The Orissa Báuris weave a kind of coarse cloth. The caste has grown by nearly 8 per cent. since

the last census. The variations from district to district are generally slight, but there is a great decrease in Purnea, and about 1,400 are shown in the returns for Mymensingh and Chittagong, where there were previously only a few score.

629. There is an increase of 32 per cent. in the number of Bhuiyás, who aggregate about two-thirds of a million. This is

#### BHUIYÁ.

due, partly to a more careful differentiation of the figures for Bábhan and Bhuiyá in the Chota Nagpur States, and partly to the elimination of Buná from the returns for Bengal Proper. But the difference



occurs mainly in the figures for the Sonthal Parganas where the Bhuiyás are now returned at 119,059, compared with only 26,351 in 1891. The number of Ghátwáls or Ghatwárs in the same district now stands at only 8,135, compared with 101,285 at the last census. Most of the Ghátwáls are Bhuiyás, and if the two be taken together, their number in this district is almost the same now as it was ten years ago. As noted elsewhere the

word Bhuiyá is a Sanskrit derivative and it does not follow that there is any

\* This supposition is confirmed by the comparative illiteracy of the persons thus returned (*ante* paragraph 491). In Malda and the neighbourhood there are several communities, alleged to be of Sháhá origin, who have used the word Banik as a convenient halting place between their original and a much higher caste.



necessary connection between the people known by that name in different parts of the country. Mr. Oldham identifies the Bhuíyás of the Sonthal Parganas with the Mál,\* whom in many respects they closely resemble, and the accompanying map shows that the Bhuíyás are found chiefly to the north and west of the country occupied by the Bágdis. Mr. Bompas looks on the Bhuíyás of Manbhum as quite distinct from those of Bonai.

630. Next to the Goálás, the Bráhmans are the most numerous caste in Bengal, and they are by far the most widely distributed. Numbering not much short of three millions, they are found in every district in the Province, and it is only in the out-



lying tracts, in the extreme north-east and south-east, that their number is inappreciable. They are most numerous in Bihar, West Bengal and priest-ridden Orissa. Their number is smaller in East Bengal, though their condition, as a class, is probably better there than in any other part of the Province. North Bengal which was ruled prior to the advent of the Muhammadans by a succession of non-Aryan chiefs, has very few Bráhmans, and the great bulk of its inhabitants are

either race castes of non-Aryan origin or Musalman converts from such castes. The Bráhmans are increasing very slowly. The gain during the last two decades has amounted to only 1.70 and 2.67 per cent., respectively.

631. The Chamárs and Muchis form practically one caste, and they number more than 1,600,000. Their home is in Bihar and the United Provinces, but they are steadily migrating to



Bengal where there is no indigenous caste of skinners, tanners, hide-dealers and cobblers. The number of Chamárs in East Bengal is still small, but it is rapidly growing. In the Province, as a whole, there has been an increase of nearly 9 per cent. since 1891. Though undoubtedly descended from them, the Muchis now claim to be distinct from the Chamárs, but a comparison of the sex proportions of the two groups shows that, while Chámar females out-

number the males, amongst the Muchis the latter are in excess. The reason seems to be that many of the Bihar Chamárs are called Muchi in Bengal, and as males are in marked excess amongst those who come to Bengal, the sex proportions are disturbed in consequence.

\* In another place he identifies the Mál with the Malli of the Greek geographers.



632. The Chásá is the great cultivating caste of Orissa where it comprises about one-seventh of the entire population. It is known to be recruited mainly from various aboriginal tribes, and the process of accretion seems to be still going on. The caste showed an increase of nearly 26 per cent. in 1891, and it has again grown in about the same proportion. There are, however, other reasons for the increase. Many Chásá profess to be Khandáits, or hide their identity under the term Sudra, and this tendency is more successfully restrained at each new census. The Magistrate of Cuttack reports that, in the course of checking the schedules, many entries of Khandáit were changed to Chásá. The real



growth is, therefore, less than the figures would indicate.

633. The Khandáits are now slightly less numerous than the Chásás, and their apparent increase since 1891 is only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Both Chásás and Khandáits are practically confined to Orissa. The distribution of the two castes is shown in the maps in the margin. The main difference is that the proportion of Chásás to Khandáits in Puri is almost exactly the reverse of that in Balasore. The proportion of the former decreases from south to north and that of the latter from north to south. This difference in the distribution is



possibly, to a great extent, a matter of nomenclature, and the claims of Chásás to be returned as Khandáit, may have been more leniently dealt with in Balasore than in the southern part of Orissa.

There is some difference of opinion as to the origin of the word Khandáit. The general view is that it means swordsman (from *Khandá*, a sword), but it is a significant fact that one of the caste *Santaks*, or devices endorsed on documents, is a *Kánda* or arrow.\* Another explanation which has been put forward, and with much plausibility, is that Orissa was formerly divided into *Khandas*, or groups of villages corresponding to the *pargana* of Muhammadan times, and that there was over each a headman called *Khandapati*, which was subsequently corrupted to Khandáit.†

\* The other is a *Katári* or dagger.

† The word *Khand* is still used in Lower Assam to indicate the group of villages under the supervision of a *Mandal* or *Patwári*. For further observations regarding the Khandáits reference may be made to the recent Orissa Settlement Report by Mr. S. L. Maddox, I.C.S., paragraph 333.



634. The Dhánuks are a Bihar caste with nearly 600,000 representatives. They are most numerous in Darbhanga, Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and very few are found outside these three districts and the tracts immediately adjoining them. They have increased by 3 per cent. during the last decade, compared with 6·3 per cent. in the previous ten years. In Bhagalpur and Monghyr, Dhánuks are said to be also known as Jaiswar Kurmis and and this may have some times led to confusion.



has been a corresponding increment in the number of persons returned as Chásádhobá.

635. The Dosádhs, with a total strength of nearly 1,200,000, are found in all Bihar districts, but are most numerous in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. A few have overflowed in to the northern districts of Chota Nagpur and a few are scattered about Bengal Proper, where the large proportion of males shows that they are mainly temporary visitors employed on earthwork and in the mills.



They have decreased in number by about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. since the last census. The loss is shared by all districts in which they are numerous, but is greatest in Champaran. Many of them are landless labourers, and they probably suffered in the famine more than the cultivating classes.

636. The Gaura, or Goálá caste of Orissa, with about 430,000 representatives has remained stationary during the decade, the reason probably being that on this occasion persons returned by the name of some aboriginal tribe, *e.g.*, Bhuiyá, with the addition of the word Gaura, were classed under the real tribe and not as Gaura.

637. As will be explained in the next section the Gangáí and Gangautá are really separate castes, but Gangáí was classed with Gangautá at the last census. This explains the falling-off under Gangautá on the present occasion. The figures for the two castes taken together show a slight increase.



638. The same explanation applies to the decrease under the head Gonrhi.

#### GONR AND GONRHI.

It is due entirely to the separation of the figures for Gonr which were included in it at the last census and were added to Kándu in 1881. The Gonrhis are fishermen, while the Gons are grain-parchers and are generally regarded as allied to the Kándus, from whom, however, in spite of the identity of occupation they are really quite distinct. The two castes (Gonr and Gonrhi) are very hard to distinguish in the vernacular, but special attention was paid to the point at the time when the caste table was being prepared, and the entries on the slips were carefully examined. The occupation found on the great majority of the slips treated as Gour was grain-parching.\*

639. The Háris show an increase of nearly 6 per cent., but the real growth

#### HÁRI.

is greater, as several castes have now been shown separately which were added to Hári in 1891, *e.g.*, Hádi in Mymensingh and Halálkhor in Saran and other Bihar districts.

640. The great increase under Ho is also due to changes of classification.

#### HO.

The persons returned as Kolha in the Orissa and Chota Nagpur States and Singhbhum were on this occasion added to Ho, of which the term is a synonym, whereas in 1891 they were shown separately as Kol.

340. The Kaibartta is the great race caste of Midnapore. It is also well

#### KAIBARTTA AND KEWAT.

represented in the districts east and north of this centre as far as Mymensingh and Purnea. The total strength is nearly two and-a-half millions, and the increase during



the decade is rather more than 11 per cent. During the previous ten years, there had been a decline of 10 per cent., and the number of Kaibarttas at the present time is not quite 3,000 more than that returned in 1881. Possibly some items, which have now been shown under other heads, may then have been classed with Kaibartta. In Malda, for instance, about 26,000 persons returned as Haladhar Chásati have now been classed as Chásati.

There was no such entry in the Census Tables of 1891, and it is presumed that persons in question must then have been classed as Kaibartta.

The Kewats of Orissa and Bihar (about 372,000 in number), who correspond to the Kaibarttas of Bengal Proper, show a slight increase of 3.68 per cent. The gain would have been greater, but for the separate entry of certain communities in Orissa, which were previously treated as Kewat sub-castes.

642. Karan is the writer caste of Orissa. Its total strength is now about 189,000 compared with 130,000 in 1891. The great

#### KARAN.

increase is due to the figures for Midnapore, where almost all the Karans, who are numerous in that district, were classed as Káyasths at the last census. The Midnapore caste return shows an increase of about 49,000 Karans and a falling-off to the extent of 41,000 in the number

\* The Gonr is described by Crooke in the "Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," Vol. II, page 430. Fishing is there mentioned as one of the caste occupations, but as noted above, in Bihar the Gonr is almost invariably a grain-parcher. There is often, however, a connection between the two occupations, as in the caste of the Kewats of Orissa. Possibly further enquiry may show that Gonr and Gonrhi are only different forms of the same word, and that the two groups spring from the same source.







3,712, as compared with Mr. Oldham's estimate of 50,000. Many must still have been classed as Rájput or Khatri.

The distinction between Khatri and Khetri or Chettri meaning Rájput is equally difficult to draw, especially in East Bengal where a man will write Khatri and pronounce it Chettri. Mr. Howard, the Deputy Superintendent at Dacca, after giving the matter most careful attention and examining many slips himself, was forced to admit that he could not distinguish the two castes, and classed all such entries as Rájput which, in that part of the country, is undoubtedly the caste of the great majority. In other parts of the Province the distinction has been attempted, but it is impossible to repose much confidence in the details for each caste taken separately. At the last Census Khatri were shown separately in the Provincial Caste Summary, but were omitted from the district details, where the figures appear to have been amalgamated with those for Rájput.

646. As explained elsewhere the Kurmis of Bihar are an entirely separate caste from the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur. The latter

KOIRI; KURMI.

are found mainly in Manbhum and are more pronouncedly Dravidian than the homonymous caste of Bihar. They have a dialect

of their own, known as Kurmáli, a mixture of Bengali and Bihári, with here and there a few aboriginal words. The two communities should in theory be distinguished by the "r", which is soft in the one case and hard in the other, but in practice the rule is not observed, and both words are usually spelt exactly alike. They have, therefore, perforce been shown under the same head. Their combined strength is nearly 1,400,000, and





648. The present census shows no decrease in the number of Lepchas, but the enumeration of Sikkim in 1891 was incomplete, and our figures, therefore, cannot throw light on the question whether, as is often alleged, this small but interesting community is gradually dying out or not. I have made enquiries into the matter and find that, although the general idea is that their number is decreasing, there is not much evidence that this is really so. The Lepchas are undoubtedly less numerous in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling than they were some years ago, but this is due mainly to migration. The Bhotias have, to a great extent, ousted them from employment under Europeans, and the extension of tea cultivation has made it necessary for those who live by cultivation to move elsewhere, either towards Kalimpong or across the Sikkim border. In former times Lepchas were often forcibly enslaved by the Bhotias, and many were carried away to Tibet and Bhotan. The descendants of these slaves would gradually come to be looked on as Bhotias. Although this cause of decrease has ceased, there is still a small but constant drain, owing to the intermarriage of Lepcha women with Bhotias and Nepal Paháriás. There is no tribal organisation amongst the Lepchas, and so there is nothing to check these marriages, the off spring of which are usually considered to belong to the male parent's tribe. Many Lepchas have gone to the Terai at different times, and these have gradually died out, but those who remain in the hills are very healthy, and although, so far as the statistics of marriage by caste go, they usually have fewer children than the people of the plains,\* there seems no good reason to suppose that at the present time they are declining in number.

649. The increase under Mál is due mainly to the figures for Mymensingh, where 25,190 have been returned, compared with only 5,955 in 1891. In 1872 and 1881 the number in that district was 20,166 and 21,920, respectively. Máló shows a great increase, chiefly in Pabna, Jessore, Dacca, Mymensingh and Tippera, where it is due to a great extent, to the classification under this head of persons returned as Jáliyá. It is very difficult to distinguish between Mál, Máló and Malláh. The last is an Arabic term meaning boatman, and it has not as yet quite gained the status of a caste. Many persons of the Kewat, Gonorhi, Bind and other boating castes are loosely known as Malláh in Bihar, in much the same way as in Bengal they are sometimes called Jáliyá. The use of the word at the census was discouraged as much as possible.

650. In Rangpur Mayrá includes 25,000 persons returned as Kuri,† but it is doubtful how many of these belong to the true confectioner caste. The occupation shown on the slips for these persons was usually, 'cultivator,' or 'field labourer,' and seldom the characteristic employment of the Mayrás. There is a local caste known as Mech Kuri who are cultivators, live like the Meches in scattered hamlets, and closely resemble that tribe in dress, appearance and social customs. Possibly many of the persons returned as Kuri belonged to this community. In Kuch Bihar there are some people called Kuri Sajjan who are said to be half Mech half Koch and may possibly be the same as the Mech Kuri of Rangpur. Further south, on the bank of the Meghna, there is a small community known as Loháit-Kuri. They claim to be descended from a Kaibartta boy who was bought by a man of the confectioner caste during a season of famine. The tradition, however, like many others, has probably arisen from the similarity of name, and the probability seems to be that the Loháit-Kuris, like the Mech Kuris and Kuri Sajjans are an offshoot from some non-Aryan tribe. They are fishermen by occupation and angle with a rod from a boat drifting with the current. Kuri may either be an old tribal name like Mech or Paliya, or it may be a corruption of the word 'coolie,' which was applied to these people in the same way as in Central Bengal Buná is used, with reference to tribes from the Chota Nagpur Plateau.

\* The small size of the families of Lepchas has already been discussed in the Chapter on age (see page 218, footnote to paragraph 402).

† The word Kuri, when applied to confectioners, seems allied to Guria (from Gur), the name of the Orissa confectioner caste. It is possible that Kuri, though commonly held to be a sub-caste of Mayrá is in reality the name of an entirely distinct group, which by reason of similarity of occupation has gradually come to be regarded as a branch of the main Bengal caste of confectioners.



651. The Mundas, who are practically the same tribe as the Hos and Bhumijes, under another name, and are closely allied to the Santáls, are almost confined to Ranchi. Some

MUNDA.

are found in the Chota Nagpur States, Singhbhum and Hazaribagh, and some



in Jalpaiguri and the Darjeeling Terai, whither they have gone to work on the tea gardens. Many also have been recruited for Assam, and the number in that Province represents more than a sixth of the total strength of the caste, which is rather less than half a million, unless the 56,000 Native Christians of Munda origin be taken into account, in which case it slightly exceeds this figure. The Mundas in Bengal have increased by only

5½ per cent., but there has been much emigration since 1891. In Assam and Bengal taken together, the increase exceeds 11 per cent.

652. I have already adverted to the connection between Bhuiyá and Ghatwár, and Mr. Risley has given good grounds for supposing that the Musahar also is a Bhuiyá.\*

MUSAHAR.

The whole of Bihar was apparently once peopled by Dravidian tribes, some of



whom retreated before the Aryan invasion into the hilly fastnesses of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, while others remained behind and fell into a condition of degradation and servitude. A comparison of the accompanying map with that already given for the Bhuiyás will show that the distribution of the two communities fits in very well with this theory. The Bhuiyás occupy the country to the south of that where the Musahars are found, and the two castes are

met with together only along the common border line—in Gaya, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and the Sonthal Parganas. The Musahars are more numerous by 7½ per cent. than they were in 1891.

653. The Namasudras or Chandáls are the great race caste of East Bengal. Their main habitat is in the swamps of Backergunge and Faridpur, where they live an almost

NAMASUDRA AND POD.

\* "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," Vol. II, page 113. There have been other theories also regarding the origin of the Musahars, but all point to non-Aryan affinities. Mr. Nagrath was inclined to affiliate them with the Thárus, and Mr. Nesfield with the Cheros and Savars who play a prominent part in the legendary history of the Ganges valley. Musahar, like Bhuiyá, is a Sanskrit derivative, which Mr. Risley takes to mean rat-catcher, and it does not follow that all the persons bearing the name at the present time in different parts of the country have sprung from the same non-Aryan tribe.



amphibious life, but they are also found in large numbers in the surrounding districts, especially in



them, and this is confirmed by the tradition that the



districts, especially in Khulna, Jessore, Dacca, Mymensingh and Tippera. Further west their number rapidly diminishes, and their place is taken by another race caste, the Pod, whose limits are still more circumscribed, and who, though they number nearly half a million, are practically confined to the 24 Parganas and the adjacent part of the Khulna district. The relative position of the two castes would in itself suggest a possible connection between

original Pod was a half-brother of the original Chandál. The head-measurements taken by Mr. Risley show a close resemblance in the shape of the skull, but the Pod has a broader nose than the Chandál, which may be explained by a certain racial admixture with their platyrrhine neighbours, the Bágdis. The social position and customs of the two castes are also very similar, and we have already seen that the average size of their families is about the same. The Nama-

sudras aggregate about

1,861,000, and the Pods nearly half a million; but the full strength of the two castes is concealed by the fact that large numbers have been converted to Muhammadanism and now call themselves Shekh. There are ten and-a-half millions of Muhammadans in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, and it has been shown that the great majority of these are the descendants of converts from the ranks of these two castes. There must also be many converts of the same origin in the southern districts of the Presidency Division. It would probably be safe to say that at least nine millions of the Muhammadans of Bengal Proper belong to this stock. Tradition connects it with the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Paundra Vardhana, the capital of which was on the bank of the Karátóyá, and it has been noticed elsewhere that the Pods still preserve some recollection of their old religion and worship Buddha under the name of Dharmarāj or Dharma Thákur. The ethnic characteristics of this race are in the main Mongoloid. It probably entered North Bengal by way of the Brahmaputra valley and ruled there until it was pushed southwards by a second invasion of the Koch and other Mongoloid tribes from the same direction. The Namasudras have increased by 5, and the Pods by 11 per cent, during the last decade.



654. The Oráons like the Mundas are a very local caste. Their home is in the Ranchi district, and very few are found elsewhere. There are colonies in Jalpaiguri and the

ORÁON.

Darjeeling Terai, whither they have gone for work on the tea gardens. Their



total number in this Province is nearly 600,000 in addition to about 60,000, Christian converts of Oráon origin. There are also about 20,000 members of this tribe in Assam. In Ranchi the Oráon is usually described as Animistic by religion, but in other parts of Bengal he was generally returned at the census as a Hindu. The probable history of the Oráons prior to their settlement in the Ranchi district, and their apparent connection with the Malé of the Rajmahal

Hills have been discussed in the Chapter on Language, paragraph 526.

655. I have referred in paragraph 617 to the mixed origin of the Ráj-bansis. Some are descended from Mongoloid Koches, while others, probably the main body, are of Dravidian stock.

RÁJBANSI.



However that may be, their distribution is extraordinarily local, and while they bulk very largely in the population of a few districts in North Bengal, very few are found elsewhere. In Kuch Bihar 60 per cent. of the inhabitants are Ráj-bansis, in Jalpaiguri 41, in Dinajpur 32, and in Rangpur 23 per cent. This is in addition to a large number of converts to Muhammadanism. The total number of Ráj-bansis slightly exceeds two millions, and they

have increased by 4 per cent. since 1891.

656. The Tiyars, though more numerous by 38 per cent. than in 1891, are still considerably below the number returned at the two previous enumerations. There are

TIYAR.

remarkable differences in the figures for several districts of Northern and Eastern Bengal, where they are attributable to variations in the system of classifying such terms as Ráj-bansi and Jáliyá, especially the former. The figures for Tiyar at the present census should be read with the note in Table XIII, regarding the distribution of some of the figures returned under the head Ráj-bansi. In that note it has been assumed the Ráj-bansis of North Bengal are distinct from the Tiyars who use that appellation. They are not now fishermen as the Tiyars are, but it is probable, as noted elsewhere, that many of them, if not the majority, are closely allied to them by origin.



657. I have referred already to the difficulty of distinguishing between Chattri, used as a synonym for Rájput, and Khatri and to the probability that the figures for Rájput include many who are really Khetauris. The total strength of these two castes is, however, very small, compared with that of the Rájputs, and it is probable that



the confusion which may have taken place has not greatly affected the figures for the latter. On the one hand, they include some who should be classed as Khetauris, while on the other, some who are really Rájputs have been classed as Khatri. The accompanying map shows how very much the Rájputs are confined to Bihar. They are most numerous in Shahabad and Saran, and gradually decline towards the east. Those returned under

this head in the Chota Nagpur Plateau are mainly the descendants of ruling families amongst the aboriginal tribes, who now pretend to be Kshattriyas.

As compared with 1891 the number of persons shown as Rájputs shows a decrease of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., most of which occurs in the figures for one district, Shahabad, where there was an extraordinary increase at the last census. The present number agrees very closely with that reported in 1881, and the population of the district is the same, within a few thousands, as it was then. The remainder of the decrease is

Census of	Number of Rájputs in Shahabad.
1878	188,603
1881	207,195
1891	240,963
1901	220,597

accounted for by Rangpur, where nearly 18,000 Rájputs were returned at the last census. There are very few real Rájputs in that district, and the persons so entered were probably Rájbansis who described their caste as Bhanga Kshattriya. At the present census Bhanga Kshattriya has been classed as Rájbansi.

658. The Sadgops number nearly 600,000 and are found almost wholly in West Bengal. They



have increased very slightly during the last decade. Their claim to be of a different origin from the ordinary Goálá has already been discussed. Their location in a tract of country, inhabited mainly by non-Aryan tribes, militates strongly against their assertion that they are an off-shoot of the ancient Vaisyas. As will be seen by a reference to the maps showing the distribution of Bráhmans, Bábhans and Rájputs, the Aryan element in the population, such

as it is, is strongest in Bihar, where there are no Sadgops at all. The Aryan

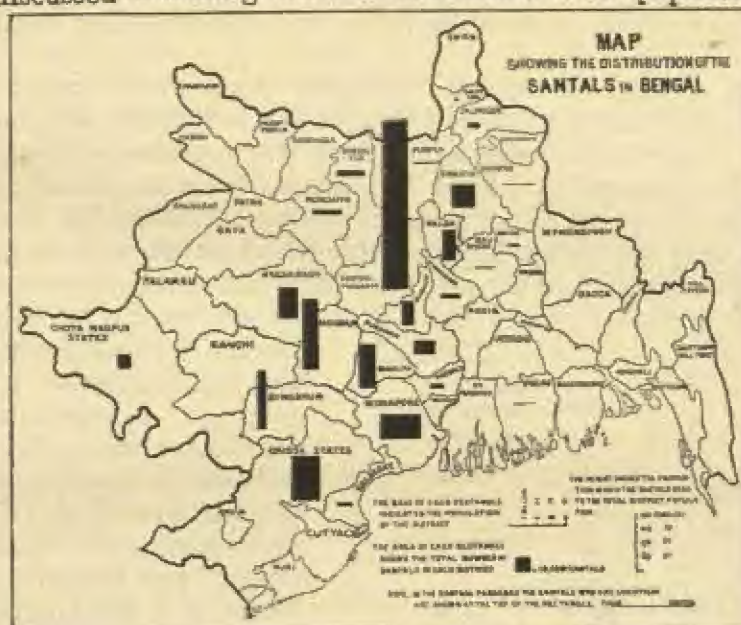


invasion followed the course of the Ganges, and as one recedes from that great highway the strain of Aryan blood diminishes. At the same time a close observer considers that the Sadgops, though they must have been Goálás originally, have often a more Aryan type of face than the other castes around them, and he concludes that this is due to a certain admixture of Bráhma blood.\* We have seen in North Bengal how the higher castes take water from persons who would be considered unclean elsewhere, and probably in West Bengal the Goálás were similarly selected as the servants of the higher castes, and so not only gained a higher social status, but also received a certain infusion of Aryan blood. Another reason for their higher status is that they were formerly the dominant caste in Gopbhum, or the country between the Adjai and the Damodar rivers.

659. The last of the great race castes, or rather tribes, to be mentioned is the Santál which aggregates more than 1,800,000.

SANTÁL.

The migrations of this tribe have already been discussed in dealing with the movements of the population,† and it is unnecessary



to revert to the subject here. It will be seen from the map that the Sonthal Parganas is still the great home of the tribe, while in the Orissa States, Midnapore, Singhbhum and Hazaribagh, where they lived before the great exodus in the early part of the last century, the proportion which they bear to the population is not now very much greater than that in Dinajpur and Malda, whither they are now working their

way. The figures for Santál include the Kherwárs or Santál Puritans, who must not be confused with the Kharwárs of Chota Nagpur. It is supposed that the Santáls as a tribe were called Kherwárs before they settled in the Sáont country in the Midnapore district, but the persons now distinctively known by that name are the descendants of the section of the tribe who became followers of Bhagirath, a Santál who endeavoured to start a movement to turn the Sáhíbs and zamindars out of the country, and who was tried for sedition in 1871 and imprisoned at Bhagalpur, where he died. The growth of the Santál population since 1891 amounts to  $24\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This phenomenal increase is due mainly to the figures for the Orissa States, Dinajpur and the Sonthal Parganas. In Dinajpur there has been an extraordinary amount of immigration from the Sonthal Parganas, and the apparent growth in the latter district is largely accounted for by the fact that in 1891 more than 110,000 persons were returned as Pahárá. In its strict sense this means Malé, but the word is also used of any aboriginal tribe, and it doubtless included a large number of Santáls.

660. Sonár shows a decrease, and Subarnabanik a considerable increase as

SONAR AND SUBARNABANIK.

compared with the last census. This is owing to the figures for Orissa, where most of the people treated as Sonár in 1891 have now been classed as Subarnabanik. This was due to a mistake on my part when passing the caste tables for the Orissa districts. The Sonár is there called Sonári Baniyá and I inadvertently classed the persons so returned under the head Subarnabanik.

\* Mr. Oldham in "Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District," pages 17, 26 and xxi.

† *Ante* page 139.



There is an apparent increase of 18 per cent. under Tánti and Tátwa, but in 1891 the figures for several districts showed an extraordinary diminution as compared with the earlier censuses. This was especially the case in Monghyr and Purnea where the greater part of the present increment has occurred. As compared with 1881 the growth of the Tántis is rather less than 3 per cent. This is about what might be expected in the case of a functional caste whose traditional occupation is gradually becoming less profitable. Recent accretions such as Sukli Tánti and Chamár Tánti would

YEAR OF CENSUS.	NUMBER OF TÁNTIS IN—	
	Monghyr.	Bhagalpur.
1872 ... ..	86,308	66,683
1881 ... ..	85,467	64,675
1891 ... ..	33,131	12,853
1901 ... ..	86,023	80,302

gradually drop the Tánti and revert to their old name, and in course of time they would be followed by others, originally Tántis, who, like the Tánti Dhubás, would begin by taking to a new occupation and adding its distinctive name to that of their own caste, and would then gradually drop the Tánti altogether.

662. The Teli with a total of nearly 1,400,000 is one of the largest functional groups in Bengal, but it includes several communities who have very little resemblance to each other. The true Teli caste is mostly confined to Bihar, and the people called Teli in other parts of the province are either not oil-pressers or, like the Kol Lohárs of Chota Nagpur, they are descendants of aboriginal tribes who have taken to the characteristic occupation of a recognised caste and gradually come to be called after it. The present Teli in Bengal Proper is not usually an oil-presser but a trader.



He has succeeded in gaining recognition as a clean caste, and he eschews the hereditary name in favour of Tili in Central and West Bengal, and Taipál in Dacca and the neighbouring districts. In the former tract the actual oil-pressing caste is the Kalu whose affinities are markedly Dravidian. The hollow rectangles on the map in the margin show the distribution of the latter caste, but the figures are not very

reliable, because the Kalu prefers to call himself Teli, just as the true Teli endeavours to divest himself of that designation. In Midnapore and Orissa, the word Teli is already applied to the local class of oil-pressers, whose origin is doubtless more nearly akin to that of the Kalu than to that of the Bengal Teli caste. During the last decade the Telis have added  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to their number.

### BRIEF ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES.

663. The necessity of completing this report at an early date prevents me from entering at any length into the interesting field of ethnography, even if this had not been rendered unnecessary by Mr. Risley's exhaustive treatise on the Tribes and Castes of Bengal. But the present census has brought to light a number of new castes, chiefly in Orissa and the outlying parts of the province, and it is necessary to explain briefly what are the main characteristics of these castes. Sometimes again, I have treated as separate castes, groups which have hitherto been



regarded as sub-castes, and here, too, it seems necessary to give reasons for the procedure followed. It should be understood that the following notes are directed mainly to the above objects, and are not intended to contain a complete account of the castes mentioned, or to repeat information already available elsewhere.

664. Adarki or Adbaniyá is usually recognized as belonging to the group of Bániyá castes, but the number of Adarki shopkeepers is small, and cultivation is the usual means of livelihood. The traditional occupation is the growing of ginger (*adrak*) which gives its name to the caste. At the present time all kinds of crops are grown, except onions, which they are not allowed even to touch. Most Adarkis are petty cultivators, but some of the poorer ones are field labourers. They believe that they came originally from Oudh, but the name by which they are now known is not to be found in the list of Oudh castes. They have no exogamous or endogamous subdivisions. They follow the ordinary social practices of high caste Hindus, perform the usual *Srádh* ceremonies, and are governed by the Hindu law of inheritance. Srotriya Bráhmans act as their priests. Polygamy is allowed only when a woman is proved to be sterile, but even then her consent is said to be necessary. In such a case a man may marry his wife's sister. He may also do so if his first wife dies. Divorce and widow-marriage are forbidden,\* and child-marriage is in vogue. By sect some are Saiva or Śakta and some are Vaishnava. The majority pay special adoration to Sokhá and Sambhunáth. Those who are Vaishnavas or who worship Sokhá and Sambhunáth abstain from taking animal food and drink, but others eat the flesh of he-goats and of fowls. They will eat, drink or smoke with no other caste, high or low.

665. I have shown the Ahir Gaura of Orissa as a separate caste, as there is nothing but the name to connect this group with the great pastoral caste of Orissa. They seem in reality more allied to the Kelá or some other gipsy caste, and may possibly be connected with the Aherias of the United Provinces, who have been declared to be a criminal tribe, under Act XXVII of 1871. They do not tend cattle and rarely have any cultivation. They perform and dance in public, and their women take the most prominent part.

666. The Bághuti is a small community living in the Jajpur Subdivision of Cuttack and the adjoining parts of Balasore and the Orissa States. They appear to have been classed as Bágdí in 1891, but there seems to be no connection with that caste beyond a slight resemblance in name. The Bághutis have no traditions as to their origin. They rank somewhat higher than the Báuris.

667. The Bandáwats are found chiefly in the Chorparan thana of Hazaribagh. They wear the thread and claim to be Rájputs. They abstain from widow marriage, are served by good Bráhmans, and their water is taken by the higher castes. They have a bad reputation as highwaymen.

668. The Banjárá or Labáná is found in small numbers in some of the more remote parts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. He is an itinerant trader, who carries his goods on pack-bullocks. He is clearly the same as the Banjári or Lambádi of Madras. The Banjáras of the United Provinces have been fully described by Mr. Crooke.

669. Banjogi is the name of a small tribe of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Its linguistic affinities lie with the Kukis. It is considered by Captain Lewin to be an offshoot from some Kuki tribe.†

670. Banpar is treated by Mr. Risley as a sub-caste of Malláhs and Gourehis, but the general opinion in Bihar seems to be that it is a separate fishing caste. I have, therefore, thought it better to give it a place in Table XIII.

\* This is the statement made by two headmen of the caste to Mr. O'Malley, Joint-Magistrate, Gaya, but it requires to be verified. In the Tribes and Castes of Bengal it is said that widow-marriage is allowed.

† Hill Tracts of Chittagong, page 66.



671. The term Barna Sankar properly refers to the various castes which, according to Manu and other Hindu writers, are descended from intermarriages between the four original castes. But at the present day it is more specially applied to bastards or the offspring of persons of different castes. I have included several items under this head, viz:—

(1) Chattrisa, the name given to a small community of outcastes and bastards in Murshidabad.

(2) Chhokar, the designation of the children of prostitutes in Orissa.

(3) Jaraj, the usual appellation of bastards in Backergunge.

(4) Khauchra, a similar term in use in Shahabad.

(5) Dogla, (6) Krishnapakshi, and (7) Suratwála. These three terms are now used in Bihar as synonyms for Barna Sankar, but each has also a more precise meaning of its own. In this narrower sense Barna Sankar is applied to the offspring of Bráhmans, Bháts, Bábhans and Rájputs by women of lower caste. In Gaya and Patna the term Suratwála usually connotes the offspring of Gayáwál Bráhmans by mistresses belonging to the twice-born castes. They wear the thread and call themselves Bráhmans, but they cannot obtain general recognition as such,\* and are fain to get their wives from a similar mixed community descended from the Sákadvipi Bráhmans of Rajgir. In Shahabad the term has a wider meaning and is applied to the offspring of Bráhmans by any woman of lower caste. Krishnapakshi means the dark half of the lunar month, the period supposed to be favourable to illicit intercourse, and the word is usually employed to indicate the descendants of Káyasths by their maid-servants of the Dhánuk, Kurmi and Kahár castes. Dogla (from *do*, two and *ghalla* grain) is a harsher term than the others, and is applied generally to all bastards, especially to those of low caste. These bastards as a rule form distinct communities, but they retain the name of their father's caste and will not intermarry with half-breeds of other castes. Occasionally, when one of them becomes rich, he succeeds in obtaining as his wife the daughter of a poor man of the caste to which his father belonged, and so gradually escapes from the stigma of illegitimacy. Their status is generally low, but Bráhmans will take water from the hands of those whose progenitors on both sides were *jálácharaniya*. Usually these persons were returned as Dogla Kurmi or Krishnapakshi Káyasth, etc., i.e., the father's caste was added to the special designation, and in such cases they were treated as belonging to the caste named.† The persons shown in the caste Table as Dogla, Krishnapakshi, etc., are only those whose caste of origin was not mentioned.

672. Behára is the name usually given to Muhammadan *pálki*-bearers, and when used by Hindus it generally indicates profession and not caste. In North Bengal, however, it appears to be the name of a genuine caste. The people thus designated are cultivators and *pálki*-bearers, forbid widow-marriage and employ Patit Bráhmans as their priests. In Rangpur it is said that they are an offshoot of the great Koch tribe, whose ancestors were employed on forced labour by their Muhammadan conquerors. They are often known as Koch Beháras. It is possible that they may be the same as Dáoyái for which the word is said to be a synonym in Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur. In Midnapore the persons returned as Behára are said by the Magistrate to be really Háris by caste.

673. The Bhakats or Bhoktás of Midnapore are a small community of rather less than 3,000 persons. They profess to be descended from seven upcountry mendicants, who settled in the district twenty-five generations ago. This tradition, however, is at variance with the fact that they are divided into four exogamous septs of a purely totemistic pattern, viz., Shándilya (from *sál* fish), Chandráishi (from Chandkurá), Bámriahi (from the *bán* fish), and Káshyapa (from *kachchhap*, a turtle.) The

\* Mr. Oldham, Magistrate of Gaya, informs me of a case in which a rich Bábhán Suratwála tried in vain to be accepted as a pure Bábhán.

† Thus Rájput includes 637 persons returned as Dogla Rájput. Similar classification was made in respect of Dogla Rautia (112), Dogla Baniyá (122), Dogla Káyasth (102), Dogla Bráhmán (98), Dogla Chik (73), etc. Krishnapakshi Káyasth (606) was added to Káyasth and Krishnapakshi Kurmi (101) to Kurmi. These are only illustrations: a fuller list of such items will be found in the manuscript index of caste classification referred to in paragraph 549.



persons of each sept show great reverence for the object after which it is called and abstain from killing or eating or even naming it. It would thus appear that they are an offshoot from some Dravidian tribe, but it is not easy to trace any special affinities. They do not appear to be the same as the Bhakat Oráons of Ranchi, nor have they any marked points of resemblance to the Kharwárs and Bhuíyás, who use the word Bhakat or Bhogta as a title. They profess the Hindu religion, and are very strict in their observances. They are served by degraded Bráhmans. Their favourite object of worship is Rám. Amongst the minor deities Manasá and Sitalá take the first place. Offerings of he-goats and sweetmeats are made to both of them by the males of the caste. Women and children take no part in the worship. Bráhmans do not assist in the worship of Sitalá. Girls are married either before or after puberty. In the former case a second ceremony (*garbhádhan*) is subsequently performed. The bridegroom puts on a sacred thread in the course of the marriage ceremony and wears it for nine days, when the priest again removes it. Widow-marriage is not allowed nor divorce. They burn their dead, and perform the *śrádh*\* on the 13th day. By occupation they are cultivators and day-labourers.

674. Bháskar is recognised by Mr. Risley as a separate caste, but the total number of persons so returned is very small. In North Bengal they are painters and not makers of idols of wood and stone, which appears to be their usual occupation elsewhere.

675. The Bhogtás are often said to be a sub-caste of Kharwár, but Mr. Streetfeild, after careful enquiry, informs me that in Ranchi at least they are a separate caste, and deny all connection with the Kharwárs. They are grain-parchers by traditional occupation, but at the present day they are usually labourers and cultivators. In Palamau the persons known as Bhogtá are perhaps Kharwárs.

676. Bholla, is the designation of a small community living in Panchthupi and Barwan of Murshidabad and the Labpur and Mayureshwar thanas of Birbhum, apparently a recent offshoot from the Bágdi caste. I have treated it as a sub-caste of the latter, but it is not at all certain that this procedure is correct, and local opinion favours the view that it is a separate and independent caste. The names applied to these non-Aryan communities are, however, very vague in their meaning and uncertain in their application. According to one report the general appellation of several of them is Mánjhi, which includes four subdivisions, Bágdi, Let, Mál, and Bholla. Another account connects the Bholla with the Kusmetiá sub-caste of Bágdi. However that may be, there is no doubt that the two communities are very closely allied. They eat *pakki* and drink together, smoke from the same *hukka*, and are served by the same class of degraded Bráhmans, who also work for the Mál and Let. They do not intermarry, and the Bhollas claim superiority over the Bágdis on the ground that they do not, like the latter, catch and sell fish, or carry the *pálki*, and that divorce is subject to greater restrictions. It appears, however, that fishing is still the occupation of the poorer members of the community. The others are mostly non-occupancy raiyats and day-labourers. Many of them are dacoits, thieves and clubmen, or *láthiáls*; a few work as carpenters and potters, and a few are village watchmen. According to one account there are three subdivisions, Elanchi, Phingaráshi and Kásyapa, but this requires to be verified. Girls are married before they attain puberty, and boys before they are sixteen. A degraded Bráhman performs the ceremony. Polygamy is allowed in theory, but in practice it is rare. Widows may marry again, and generally do so if the first husband leaves them childless; there is no restriction on their choice of a second consort. The marriage ceremony of a widow is conducted by one of her relations. The offspring of such marriages rank below those of virgin wives. Divorce is permitted if infidelity is suspected. If a man marries a divorcée, he is out-casted. The dead are burnt, buried or thrown into a river. The *śrádh* ceremony is performed after 10 days. Fish is eaten, and also goats and fowls. The leavings of Bráhmans are taken, but not those of other castes.

\* *Śrádh* is the Hindi, and *Sraddha* the Bengali, spelling. For the sake of uniformity I have used the former for all castes, whether in Bihar or in Bengal Proper.



677. The following notes on the Bhotias of the Jalpaiguri Duars are based on a report from Mr. Warde-Jones, Subdivisional Officer of Alipur, where a considerable number of them are settled. They have much deteriorated in physique and are darker in complexion than the Bhotias of the hills. There is now no intermarriage between them and the plains people, but it is probable that there was a considerable intermixture of blood in the past when the Bhotias ruled in the Duars.

BHOTIA.

There are, says Mr. Jones, ten castes:—

*Shuji*, the highest, from which the Lámás are chiefly recruited. The Dharma Rájá belongs to this caste.

*Sham*.—Soldiers, cultivators, weavers, &c. Many also become Lámás.

*Khochi*.—Headmen of villages: are vested with petty magisterial powers and some executive authority. They transmit the orders of Government and collect the revenue. Some are traders and cultivators, and some become Lámás.

*Shemo*.—Follow all respectable professions. Some become Lámás, but these rank below the Lámás of higher castes.

*Jan*.—A similar caste but of lower rank.

*Narkhojog*.—Rank below Jan. They cannot become Lámás.

*Tabagomti*.—Menial servants.

*Gan*.—Iron-smelters and blacksmiths.

*Goldám*.—Coolies and cultivators.

*Jamkhep*.—Potters.

The first five castes, who are considered superior, can eat together, but they will not eat with the lower castes. As a rule, the castes are endogamous, but intermarriage is permitted between *Shuji* and *Sham*, *Khochi* and *Shemo*, *Narkhojoga* and *Tabagomti*, *Gan* and *Jamkhep*.

The Bhotias eat most animals, except mules, horses, elephants, tigers, cats, and dogs. A sort of black pudding is considered a great delicacy. Some tribes in Bhotan eat pythons; they light a fire over the hole in which the reptile seeks shelter and, when it is dead, dig it out and eat it forthwith. There are no special ceremonies at birth, but an astrologer is called in to give the child a name. Marriage before a Lámá is considered specially binding, but as a rule the union is effected by a mere agreement to marry followed by cohabitation. Divorce is easy. Polygamy exists, but not, says Mr. Jones, polyandry.\* It has been said that during a man's absence from home, his younger brother may cohabit with his wife, but this is denied. Dead bodies are usually cremated and the ashes cast into the nearest stream, but persons who have died of epidemic disease are buried, and prayer-flags are erected over their graves. Bhotias believe in the presence of the spirits of the dead. They are of two kinds. One is visible and anthropomorphic with a black skin; the other is invisible, but so fatal that if its shadow falls on a man he is sure to die. When sickness or trouble comes, an exorcist or diviner is consulted, in order to ascertain the devil requiring to be worshipped, and the place where the offering should be made. A fowl or a pig is killed there and offered to the devil, after which it is taken home and eaten. In the case of bad dreams a Lámá is sometimes called in instead of an exorcist, and he offers prayers to remove any evil threatened.

The nominal religion of the Bhotias is Buddhism, but in Jalpaiguri the enumerators occasionally returned them as Hindus.

678. *Binjhiá* and *Birjiá* are sometimes said to be identical, but the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi reports that this is an error. The former is an agricultural and land-holding caste, speaking *Oriyá* in the south of the district and *Nágpuria Hindi* elsewhere. They are Hindus and claim to come from the *Vindhya* range; hence their name. The *Birjiás*, on the other hand, are a non-Hindu aboriginal tribe and live by *jhumung*. They are said to be identical with the *Agariá* sub-caste of *Pán*. The two words are so similar that it is impossible to give reliable figures for each separately, so I have shown them jointly as *Binjhiá* in the body of Table XIII, but have given separate figures for *Birjiá*, for what they are worth, in the column of remarks.

BIRJIÁ.

\* There is no doubt that polyandry still exists in the hills, but it is quite natural that it should be dying out, under the influence of their neighbours' example, amongst the Bhotias settled in the plains.



679. The Bunás are the descendants of various aboriginal tribes and low castes of West Bengal and Chota Nagpur who were

BUNÁ.

imported to Bengal Proper in the days when indigo was widely cultivated there. They are known to outsiders by this general appellation, and will usually give it as their caste name to any outsider who may question them on the point, but they still preserve among themselves their original distinctions; and although they may eventually coalesce into a new caste, there is no sign of their doing so at present. Special efforts were made at the present census to eliminate the word Buná and obtain the correct caste entry, and with very fair success. In Nadia, for instance,

Bágdi ...	2,745	Mundá ...	67
Bhuiyá ...	307	Bhumij ...	53
Oráon ...	230	Santál ...	51
Kurmi ...	149	Dosádh ...	42
Kapáli ...	145	Dom ...	31
Lohár ...	144	Rajwár ...	26
Sunri ...	126	Nápit ...	20
Turi ...	89	Hári ...	7
Bári ...	82	Tiyar ...	4
Muchi ...	64		

where 16,997 persons were returned as Buná in 1891, only 1,943 were so shown on the present occasion. There were also 4,372 persons, as noted in the margin, who were returned by their proper caste or tribal name with the addition of the word Buná. The figures are interesting, as they show the classes of people who were mainly imported by the indigo planters. The persons shown as Buná without any distinctive affix were distributed proportionally amongst these castes and tribes.

680. Chápátí or Chápat is a small caste found only in the Talsihatta thana of Malda. I have classed it with the Chapotá caste of Purnea, but the identification is not complete.

CHÁPÁTÍ AND CHAPOTÁ.

Both have similar occupations and both rank low, and the names of course are very similar. But so far as my limited enquiries go, there are in other respects no marked points of resemblance between the two communities. The Chápátis believe fishing to have been their traditional occupation. At the present time some fish and some live by cultivation, and a few are landless labourers. They have no traditions regarding their origin. Polygamy is allowed. The price of a virgin-wife is Rs. 31. If a widow marries again, the bridegroom pays her father Rs. 9 and her father-in-law Rs. 16. Divorce is allowed only for adultery with a man of another caste. The priests are degraded Bráhmans. Formerly dead bodies were thrown into a river, but it is now the custom to cremate them. The *srádh* is performed, in the case of married men, on the 13th day after death, while, for those who die unmarried, it is performed on the 4th day. There is no propitiation of ancestors in general. The Chápátis drink spirits and eat pork. Their water is taken by their priests but not by high caste Hindus. They rank low, and eat, drink and smoke with Háris, Doms and Mehtars.

The Chapotás are usually cultivators, but some live by fishing. They have degraded Bráhmans, allow widow marriage and worship the ordinary Hindu gods. Amongst the major deities, Káli and Náráyan, are most revered, while amongst the minor ones Bishahari is the favourite. The offerings consist of goats and pigeons. Tuesday is the favourite day for the worship of this godling. They bury their dead, placing the corpse on its right side, with the head to the north. The usual *srádh* is performed for the propitiation of ancestors in general. They eat the flesh of crocodiles. They profess to be descended from a man who sprang from some betel-leaf which Siva spat out after chewing it.

681. Cháupál or Chápuál is the name of a small caste of weavers found only in the Kishanganj subdivision of Purnea, whither they are supposed to have migrated from Nadia

CHÁPUÁL.

in a famine year. They are quite independent of any other caste, and there is now no trace of their caste of origin. They have Maithil Bráhmans as their priests. They worship Siva and the other Hindu gods, but pay special homage to Bishahari, the god of serpents. They perform the *srádh* on the 12th day after death. Infant and widow-marriage are practised; divorce is not allowed.

682. The Cherwas of the Chota Nagpur States are now reported to be a separate tribe, but, following Mr Risley's classification, I treated them as sub-tribe of Kaur. The

CHERWA.

total number of persons returned as Cherwa was 7,618.



683. Chik, Baráik or Chik-Baráik is sometimes regarded as a sub-caste of Pán (or Pánr), but the people so-called claim to form an entirely distinct caste, and Mr. Streatfeild, who took great trouble over all caste questions connected with the census, informs me that he is convinced of the justice of this claim.

684. In Bengal and Bihar Chitrakár indicates occupation only,\* but in Orissa it is the name of a separate caste, which is found mainly in Cuttack and Puri. The traditional occupation is painting. The Chitrakárs are served by good Bráhmans, but their water is not taken by the higher castes. Their widows are allowed to re-marry.

685. The Dagrás are found chiefly in the Bhadrak and Dhamnagar thanas of Balasore. The term means "a messenger," and it is said that the Dagrás were postal runners, either during Muhammadan rule or under the Maráthás, when they acquired considerable jágirs, known as Aráji Dagrái, which are still in existence. Most of them are cultivators, but in Bhadrak some are hereditary holders of proprietary tenures, the grant of which dates from Maráthá rule, when one of the caste rose to be the local governor of Bhadrak. According to some they were brought from Nagpur by the Maráthás; others allege that they are connected with the Dogras of Upper India. They bear the same titles as Chásás, and it may therefore be surmised that they are a functional off-shoot from this caste.

There is very little in their social customs or religion to distinguish them from their neighbours. They have no sub-castes nor *gotras*. Some girls are married before, and some after, attaining puberty, but in the former case, cohabitation is not allowed until the bride attains puberty. The marriage ceremony is performed by a Bráhman priest who recites some *mantras* and joins the hands of the bride and bridegroom; this is called *hasta granthi*. Polygamy is allowed. A widow may marry either her late husband's younger brother or some other blood relation of his, provided always that he is younger than the deceased. The marriage ceremony in this case is a simple one. The parties put on new clothes and pledge their troth before a sacred fire. The bridegroom then presents the bride with some ornaments; this is the binding part of the ceremony. Divorce is not recognised.

The Dagrás belong to the Vaishnava sect of Hindus and adore Rádhá, Krishna, and Chaitanya. They also worship the minor village gods or Grám Devatá to whom they offer sweets, curds, milk, and fruit. They are served by good Bráhmans. They burn their dead and bury the ashes carefully. They perform the *sapinda* ceremony yearly during the fortnight ending with the Mahálaya; they also propitiate their ancestors on the day of the *Diwáli* or *Shyámá pújá*, or on the day of the new moon. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, and deer, and also fish, both scaly and scaleless. They will eat with no other caste whatever its rank may be.

686. Daitá is the name of a microscopic caste found only in Puri. On the occasion of the *Srán Játrá* and *Rath Játrá* festivals, the Bráhman priests, who ordinarily perform the worship of the idols in the temple of Jagannáth, stand aside, and the Daitás take their place. From time to time the old idols are replaced by new ones,† and the work in connection therewith is also done by the Daitás and not by the regular Sebaks. They hold several rent-free villages granted them in former times as a reward for their services in the temple. Some act as *Pándás*, or guides to the pilgrims, and find the employment a very profitable one. They are believed to be of Savar origin, but their position has been raised by the nature of their employment, and they are now regarded as equal in point of

\* It is a question whether Chitrakár has not hardened into a caste in parts of Bengal. This word, Patná and Patuni are synonymous terms meaning 'a painter,' but some of the people thus returned in Maida followed a variety of occupations other than painting; some were cultivators, and others, goldsmiths, zamindars' peons, chankidars, &c.

† This is done when two *ashadhars* fall in the same year. The ceremony is called *Nud Kalabar* or "new body." This monopoly of some of the priestly functions at Jagannáth can only be due to their having formerly been the sole priests and to the later advent of the Bráhmans. If the Bráhmans had been the first in the field, they would never have relinquished part of their duties to aboriginal rivals.



rank to the Karans, whose customs they ape, and with whom they occasionally intermarry. Karans who form matrimonial alliances with them are, however, looked down upon by their caste fellows. They have only one *gotra*, that of the *Nāga* or snake. They are served by good Bráhmans. They forbid widow marriage, and the only point in which their customs differ from those of other high caste Hindus is that they do not burn, but bury, adults of either sex who die while still unmarried. In such cases the corpse is laid on its back with the head to the north.

687. The Dandamájhis are found mainly in Midnapore. I have treated them in Table XIII as a sub-caste of Bágdi, but it is not by any means certain that they belong to this

DANDAMÁJHI.

caste, and they themselves strenuously deny it.\* They are also known as Danda Chhattra Mánjhi. There are five exogamous subdivisions (called *gotras*), viz., Káshyap or Káchhim (the tortoise), Sálmachh (a fish), Depáik (a kind of bird), Chándkura máchh (a fish) and Pát (a fibrous plant). These are totemistic. The persons of each section or *gotra* show their respect for the animal or plant after which they are named by saluting it, and by abstaining from killing, cutting, eating or in any way making use of it. According to one account there are three sub-castes, Dandamánjhi, Lohár Mánjhi and Kesaikulia Mánjhi, while according to another, the only restriction on marriage is based on locality, persons living in certain parganas refusing to intermarry with persons living in certain other parganas. The caste traces its origin to a Mánjhi, who held the earthen pots (*danda*) containing the resin used for Siva's *Charak puja*. Infant marriage is practised. The ordinary form of ceremony current amongst Hindus is observed at marriage. The re-marriage of widows is forbidden. By sect the Dandamájhis are Sákta. They employ degraded Bráhmans and burn their dead, and there is little to distinguish them from their Hindu neighbours. They believe their original occupation to have been fishing, a means of livelihood which is still largely followed; some are also cultivators and day-labourers. Many of their women are employed as maid servants, even by high caste Hindus, but they are not allowed to touch water used for drinking or cooking purposes. They eat all sorts of fish, and also the flesh of such animals as are lawful for Hindus.

688. The Dálus are a small caste in the north of Mymensingh under the Garo Hills. They appear to be a Hinduised section of the Gáros, and in the Linguistic Survey of India

DÁLU.

the word is given as a name of a dialect of the language spoken in the Garo Hills. There are two sectarian sub-castes, Adhikári and Vaishnava, who consider themselves superior to the ordinary Dálus and will not give them their daughters in marriage; they have, however, no objection to taking girls from them as their wives. An Adhikári is a Vaishnava who has obtained a certificate from the Gurus of Uthali in Dacca that he and his ancestors for several generations have been strict Vaishnavas. They admit outsiders of higher caste, who are required to give a feast on entering the community. Infant marriage is in vogue. The marriage ceremony is performed by an Adhikári Dálu and the binding portion of the proceedings is the pouring of water by the bridegroom over the bride's head and his own. Polygamy and divorce are permitted. Widows may marry again (*niká*), but not with any blood relation of the former husband. The Dálus burn their dead, except when death results from epidemic disease, when the body is buried. The usual *śrádh* ceremony is performed, the Adhikári presiding. Their women weave cloths for their own wear; the men are cultivators. They worship the ordinary Hindu gods, with the aid of their Adhikáris, and follow the usual Hindu rules of inheritance. This, however, seems to be a new development. In a vernacular book written about 20 years ago,† it is stated that at that time property amongst the Dálus descended, as it still does amongst the Kháris and Gáros, through the female and not through the male. They eat the leavings of superior castes. The Adhikáris do not eat meat, but the ordinary Dálu will

\* It is some times said that Mánjhi is the main caste and that there are four sub-castes, Lohár, Danda, Kesaikulia and Kheriá. The caste names of these non-Aryan communities are both uncertain and fluctuating.

† "Sherpur Bibaran, An account of the Sherpur pargana," by the late Babu Hara Chandra Chaudhuri.



eat the flesh of almost all animals, whether cloven-footed or not, except that of cows, monkeys and vermin. They will eat *kachhi* (not *pakki*) and will drink and smoke with the Hádi caste, to which caste they seem to be very closely allied.

689. Darya Dás was a Vaishnava mendicant of the Koiri caste who became the founder of a new sect, which obtained many adherents in Bihar and the adjacent parts of the United Provinces, especially amongst the Kurmi and Koiri castes. The word indicates sect not caste, but the persons who used it at the census were probably mendicants of the Order who had abandoned caste distinctions.

690. Darji, like several other terms which merely denote occupation in other parts of the Province, is the name of a true caste in Orissa. The occupation of course is sewing.

There are two sub-castes, Káyasth and Sudra. The former consists of immigrants from Bengal who have taken to sewing and have gradually crystallized into a separate endogamous group. They are found chiefly in towns. So far as one can judge from their titles (Maháráná, Mahápátrá, Mahanti, Dás, etc.,) the Sudra Darjis appear to have been recruited from various Orissa castes who were excommunicated for following this occupation. They rank higher than the Káyasth Darjis, and their water is taken by the higher castes, while that of the latter is not. In Cuttack the Sudras are further subdivided into three groups, Gaja Karan, Sipti and Mátiá, none of which will intermarry.

691. The Deohars or Debhars are by tradition inoculators, but at the present day they are largely employed as vaccinators. They are found mainly in Darbhanga, where they are said to form a separate caste. It is supposed that they may be an off-shoot from the Goálás, but the two communities are now quite distinct.

692. Under Dhámin two very different groups are included. The members of one, properly called Dhámi, act as priests to pilgrims at Gaya, while those of the other make fans and brushes of peacocks' feathers, and bring musk and skins from Nepal. They also beg, tell fortunes, catch hawks, collect reeds, etc., and have a bad reputation with the police. Probably most of the persons shown under this head in the districts south of the Ganges belong to the former, and those north of that river to the latter, community.

693. The Dhanua, Dharua or Dalua caste is found in the Orissa States, Midnapore and Singhbhum. They were once the predominant tribe in the Narsinghpur State, and formed the main element in its militia and in that of Mayurbhanj. At that time they ranked high and enjoyed the services of the Bráhman, Bhandári and Dhobá, all of which are denied to them now that they are no longer of any political importance. They are said to form an entirely distinct community.\*

694. The Dhárhís of this Province are found chiefly in Patna and Monghyr, but they are most numerous further west—in Gorakhpur, Basti and Gonda.† They may possibly be of the same origin as the Dosádhís, but they now form an entirely distinct caste. They are possibly the same as the Dáhi or Dárho mentioned by Hodgson as one of the broken tribes of Nepal‡. There are no sub-castes and no *gotras*. They are said to be notorious criminals and look on thieving as their traditional occupation, so much so that a theft committed in another man's preserve without his consent is mentioned as a bar on intermarriage. At the present day many have become village chaukidars and field watchmen. Many also are field labourers and a few cultivate their own land. They trace their origin to five men who were roasting a cow in a jungle near Rájgir, and hid themselves in the animal's skeleton when Sri Krishna unexpectedly appeared on the scene. In respect of marriage, their customs are the same as those of other low caste Hindus. The essential feature of the marriage ceremony is the *sindurdán*, or the smearing of the bride's forehead with vermilion. Widow re-marriage is permitted. Divorce for unchastity is allowed. They employ degraded Jaishi

\* Mr. Risley mentions Doróá as a sub-tribe of Gond.

† Crooke's "Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh," Vol. II, page 276.

‡ Essays on Indian Subjects, Vol. I, page 161.



Bráhmans and profess to worship the regular Hindu gods. Their chief working deity, however, is the Grám Devatá Goreiya to whom they make offerings on all feast days. Their household gods are Káliji and Bishun Maharáj, to whom they offer clarified butter, and burn wafers of sandal wood. They burn their dead (except infants who as usual are buried) and make a point of throwing at least five of their bones into the Ganges. The *śrādh* is performed on the 11th day. They eat pork, rats and fish of all kinds, but not beef, fowls' eggs, lizards or vermin, nor will they touch other people's leavings. They will not eat *kachhi* or smoke with any other caste, but will drink with Dosādhs.

695. The Dhimars are found chiefly in Darbhanga, and are probably an off-shoot of some other caste, but it is difficult to ascertain which. Their name seems to be derived from Dhibara, a fisherman, which is also the origin of the word Tiyar. They are sometimes affiliated to the Kahárs, but beyond the fact that some are *pálki*-bearers, there seems to be no special connection with this caste. They believe the parching of grain to be their traditional occupation, but, as noted above, some now serve as *pálki*-bearers and others work in lac, deal in fish, and serve as masons, menial servants and day-labourers. They have a tradition that they came originally from Benares in the retinue of a Rájá named Sibai Singh. They have only one *gotra*, the Káshyapa, which is the common property of so many non-Aryan tribes on the road to Hinduism that there is a Bengali proverb:—

*Hárire Márire Káshyapa Gotra.*

They are served by good Bráhmans and are *jálácharaniya*. They burn their dead, and on the third day offer a kind of intermediate *pinda* or funeral cake to the spirit of the deceased. It is placed on the ashes of the pyre, which are then piled up round it, a Tulsi plant being placed on the top. They are votaries of Sakti. Amongst their minor deities are Sokhá, Sambhunáth and Gobind. Some are Páñchpiriyás.

696. The Feringis of East Bengal are the descendants of Portuguese pirates, and of converts made by the priests who accompanied them. It is not possible to form any estimate of the extent to which Portuguese blood flows in their veins. At the present day, they are darker than the natives amongst whom they live, but colour is a very uncertain guide. A Nepalese hillman notoriously changes colour rapidly if he settles in the Terai, and the Goanese of alleged Portuguese origin are also very dark. The Portuguese in question were originally in the service of the Kings of Arakan, who settled them at Chittagong, where they remained harassing the neighbouring country until 1664, when Shaista Khán succeeded in getting them into his power and transferred many of them to Dacca. In Nawáb Jafar's rent-roll the naval establishment included 923 Feringis who were chiefly employed as gunners.\* The present Feringis are ignorant but very proud, and will not do any manual labour. Their condition is gradually deteriorating. They are Roman Catholics by religion and still bear Portuguese names. They wished to be returned at the census as Eurasians.

697. Gandharb is the Bihar caste which supplies dancing girls and prostitutes.† In Muzaffarpur there are five exogamous *gotras*, Ramsi, Arakh, Páñbháiyá, Sháhmál and Sítal. There are no regular sub-castes, but the Gandharbs of Bihar will not intermarry with those of Nagpur. They say that they came to Bengal from Benares, whither it is said they were brought from Western India in the sixteenth century by Rájá Domanderia of Chandramalgarh in the Benares district. The married members of the caste are cultivators, but they encourage prostitution among their unmarried daughters. Intermarriage with other castes is not allowed, but those who are professional dancing girls and prostitutes adopt girls of all castes and bring them up to their profession. They practise child-marriage and forbid their widows to marry again. Divorce is said not to be permitted. They are Hindus of the Saiva sect; they burn their dead, perform the *śrādh*, and

\* J. A. S. B., 1873, p. 220.

† A full account of the caste, as found in the United Provinces, is given by Mr. Crooke.



follow ordinary Hindu observances, except that in the matter of inheritance the sons and daughters of a dancing girl share alike. They will take water from the hands of Kurmis and Kahárs. In Benares it is said that Bráhmans will eat *pakki* food prepared by them, but this is not the case in Bihar.

In 1891 a distinction was made between Gandhár and Gandharb, and the former is mentioned by Mr. Risley as a sub-caste of Malláh. I have, however, been unable to trace any separate group of this name, and although the census slips were carefully examined, the entries all appeared to refer to Gandharb and not Gandhár. The persons shown under the latter head against Darbhanga in 1891 appear from the district returns to be really Gandharb. It is also reported from Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, and Muzaffarpur that the proper caste on that occasion was Gandharb, while in Singhbhum, where also some persons were shown as Gandhár, the very word is unknown. The only trace I could get of any group of that name was through an Inspector of the Bankipore Census office, who was told by a Gandharb that there is a small separate community of itinerant musicians in the United Provinces who are known as Gandhár.

698. Gangái or Ganesh is sometimes identified with Gangautá, but this is incorrect. The caste is found chiefly in Purnea and in the districts to the east and south-east of it. In Purnea again they are found chiefly in the Kishárganj subdivision along the course of the Kankái river, a Himalayan tributary of the Mahánandá, and there is a saying in the district—

*Jahán, jahán Kankái, tahán, tahán Gangái.*

The similarity between this name and that of the river suggests that they have been called after it. The Gangáis are said to have a fair complexion with a broad flat face and depressed nose, and generally to present a distinctly Mongoloid appearance. It is said that the head-quarters of the caste are in the Nepal Terai. The usual occupations are cultivation, weaving and lime-burning. There are two sub-castes, Bara or Bábu and Chota. The latter are superior in status, as they abstain from pork and alcoholic drinks in which the Bara Gangái freely indulges. The separation between the two groups is not quite complete, and a Chota Gangái will take a wife from, though he will not give his daughter to, a member of the Bara Gangái sub-caste. Some perform the *śrádh* on the 13th and others on the 30th day. When their paddy is in ear, they have a peculiar custom of going to their fields and calling out to the God of Plenty *Kható Nabho Suraha*, after which they return home and immolate a pig to the deity. They rank with Hajjáms, Mális and Sunris.

699. The Gáráls have been treated as a sub-caste of Chandál, but it is sometimes said that they are really a distinct caste. They usually call themselves Gandak and claim descent from Gandak Rishi. They do not admit any connection with the Chandáls, and do not intermarry with them. Their social status is slightly superior to that of the Chandáls, and they are shaved by the ordinary Nápit, who refuses to work for the latter. They mourn for 30 days as do the Káyasths and Sudras, while the Chandáls observe only ten days' mourning. Their traditional occupation is the preparation and sale of "chira" and "muri." Some are shop-keepers and some day-labourers. Infant-marriage is practised. Widow re-marriage and divorce are not permitted. There are no exogamous or endogamous subdivisions; some are called Kulins and some Manliks, but these terms involve no restriction on marriage. They are served by degraded Bráhmans, follow the ordinary Hindu observances and worship the ordinary gods, but pay special reverence to Káli. They hold sacred the Bat, Bel and Nim trees and will not cut or burn them.

700. The Gaura is the Goálá caste of Orissa. There are several sub-castes, of which the Mathurapuri ranks highest in Balasore, because its members do not carry the *pálki*; in Cuttack all Gauras will do so. The Gopapuri sub-caste is noticeable for the fact that the women are almost the only ones in Orissa who do not wear nose ornaments, a circumstance which, they pretend, connects them with Krishna's mythical milkmaids. The young women of both sub-castes prepare the butter and *ghí* which the elder ones take round for sale with their milk. Field labour of



all-kinds is eschewed by the Gaura women. The sub-caste known as Magadha, ranks last and is probably a recent accretion from some aboriginal tribe.

701. Ghántrá is the name of a small caste of workers in brass and iron who are found mainly in Angul, whither they are said to have migrated during a famine. Their favourite deity is Káli, who is represented by an iron rod, and to whom they make offerings of fowls, goats, rice and milk. Once a year, during the *Káli pujá*, they worship a lump of charcoal as the emblem of their craft. They eat fowls and drink wine, but do not take other people's leavings. They have no Bráhmans to serve them.

702. The term Ghatwár or Ghátwál was originally purely functional, and was applied to the low castes who were employed, in the days of native rule, to guard the passes, and protect the people in the plains from the incursions of the wild tribes in the hills. In Bihar they now usually claim to be Suryabansi Rájputs, and in Bhagalpur it is reported that the richer members of the community have married into orthodox Rájput families. The origin of the Ghatwárs has generally been forgotten, but in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, they are in most parts believed to be Bhuiyás.\* Mr. Driver, whose knowledge of the Chota Nagpur tribes is unrivalled, tells me that they are the Northern Bhuiyás, and are divided into two sub-castes, Singh and Rái, of whom the Singh alone claim to be Rájputs. A reporter from Hazaribagh also says that there are two classes of Bhuiyás, and that the higher and more Hinduised call themselves Ghatwár. These are served by good Bráhmans and their water is taken. Ghatwárs who are well-to-do cultivators call themselves Bábuán, and when they become zamindars they assume the name Tikáit.† There is a proverb—

*Ghaté te Ghatwár, Vaté te Tikáit.*

The Tikáits again call themselves Rájputs and wear the thread. The lower or Rikhiásan Bhuiyás are regarded as unclean; they eat pork and rank very low, on about the same level as Ghásis.‡

In Gaya the Ghatwárs have succeeded in dissociating themselves from the Bhuiyás and are regarded as a separate caste. The richer members of the community call themselves Tikáit, wear the sacred thread and abstain from animal food and drink. A Tikáit will not intermarry with an ordinary Ghatwár. Both sections marry as adults and, unlike most Hindus, they usually choose as their bride a girl of their own village. They allow widow marriage but forbid divorce. Polygamy is only allowed in case the first wife proves sterile. The marriage ceremony is of the usual type. The binding element is the smearing of the bride's forehead with vermilion. Widows are married by the same ceremony as virgin brides.

703. Ghorái is the name of a small agricultural community in Midnapore. It has been treated as a sub-caste of Kadmá in Table XIII, but it is not quite certain that this is correct. The Ghoráis have separate priests from the Kadmás. They have no traditions regarding their origin.

704. The Ghusuriás are a low caste of Orissa who tend pigs, from which circumstance they derive their name. Their original settlement is said to have been in Puri, and those to the south of the Bráhmani river consider themselves superior to, and will not intermarry with, those living north of that river. In Balasore there are two endogamous sub-castes, Bichha and Nagesha. They will admit outsiders of higher caste. Adult marriage is the rule, but there are exceptions. A man may marry two sisters. Divorce is allowed and the *divorcée* may marry again. So may widows. At the marriage of virgin wives the joining of the hands of the bride and bridegroom constitutes the binding part of the ceremony, while in the case of widows (whose marriage is called *Dutiya*), the smearing of the bride's forehead with vermilion is the essential element.

\* In Manbhum their affinities are said to be with the Bhumij.

† In Bonai the word Tikáit means "a recipient of the *Tiká* or mark of investiture," and is applied to the eldest son or heir-apparent of the Rájá.

‡ Rikhiásan is also a section of Musabars in Bihar. I have already referred to the supposed connection between the latter and the Bhuiyás.



The Ghusuriás are not served by Bráhmaus,\* and their priests are Baishnabs of their own caste. Their religion is of very primitive type, and is chiefly thought of in times of epidemic disease, when a pig is killed at some place where three roads meet, as an offering to the Jogini or disease-godling, and the carcase is thrown away. When a Ghusuriá dies, the corpse is rubbed with turmeric and bathed, wreaths of flowers are placed on the neck, and it is then buried in a kneeling position with the face bent downwards and the hands placed under the thighs.

The social rank of Ghusuriás is very low. They eat pork, beef and fowls, but not monkeys, jackals or reptiles. They take the leavings of Dhobás and higher castes. Their touch defiles.

705. The Girgiriás are found mainly in the Orissa States and Angul. By profession they are fishermen, and it is sometimes said that they are a sub-caste of Kewat, but this seems to be doubtful.

GIRGIRIÁ.

706. Godrá is the name of a small caste of basket-workers found in Angul and the Orissa States.

GODRÁ.

707. The Gokhás are fishermen, but their touch defiles and they rank far below the Kewats, who also live by fishing. The name of the caste is derived from *go*, water, and *kháya*, living. Like the Bernás of Eastern Bengal, they may use only bamboo fishing contrivances, called *Shálua*, and are forbidden to fish with nets. They also cure fish all along the coast. Their women sell fish. Some have abandoned their traditional occupation and taken to cultivation, while others serve as *pálki*-bearers, when they are called *Ká-luabehárá* or 'mud bearers' to distinguish them from the regular *pálki*-bearers of the Gaur caste. These *pálki*-bearing Gokhás form a separate sub-caste known as Kándia, while those who do not carry *pálkis* are known as Málik Gokhá. Marriage within the usual degrees of relationship is prohibited, and a man is also forbidden to give his daughter in marriage to the family from which he has obtained his wife. The marriage ceremony is of the usual type, but it always takes place in the house of the bridegroom, the explanation given being that a bridegroom was once carried off by a tiger while on his way to the bride's house. Widows are allowed to marry again. Divorce is permitted in the case of adultery. The Gokhás eat pigs and fowls. They are nominally Hindus of the Vaishnava persuasion, but their worship is of a very primitive nature. Their chief object of adoration is Bálulái, whom they worship with offerings of spirits, fowls and pigs on the full-moon day of Ásárh and whenever epidemic disease appears. Women join in the worship and look after the sacrifices, while the men sing and dance and play on an instrument called *Mádal*. They also worship trees which they smear with vermillion.

GOKHÁ.

708. Golá is a low caste of Orissa with several endogamous sub-castes, viz:—

GOLÁ.

(1) Gandia. Live by cultivation, chiefly of onions and garlic, and by the manufacture of gunny-bags;

(2) Bengali. Are prohibited from growing onions and garlic and from making gunny-bags, and are usually cultivators or petty traders;

(3) Tulábhiná, or cotton carders, and

(4) Thoriá, or traders in grain which they carry on pack-bullocks, whence their name. It is a moot point whether Tulábhiná and Thoriá are sub-castes of Golá or separate castes. Pending the decision of this question, I have entered them separately in Table XIII. The gradual introduction of railways and roads is causing many Thoriás to take to cultivation as a means of livelihood.

709. The Gunis are usually beggars. They also sell wooden necklaces.

GUNI.

They are found mainly in the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur and Orissa, but their total number is very small.

\* Some Bráhmaus will accept money from Ghusuriás and other low castes to perform a *pájá* on their behalf in their absence, either at home or in some temple or other holy place. When this is done, the Bráhmau will place part of the *dhog* or offering in a pot and leave it near the man's home, and the latter then takes it away and eats it.



710. Gurer is said to be the name of a distinct caste in Bihar, but it is not mentioned by Mr. Risley, and I have received very little information regarding it. The persons so returned were usually shop-keepers.

711. Hádi or Háttri is the name of a caste peculiar to the north of Mymensingh. Like the Hájangs and Dálus they are probably of Gáro origin, but one informant says that, according to their own traditions, their ancestors were Koches from the foot of the Himalayas, and they have the same tradition of origin as the Koch Kings, viz., that they are descended from Siva by a Koch girl, Hirá. For this reason they often call themselves Sib Paddhata or Sib Sankar Das. They intermarry only amongst themselves. As with the Dálus, the only sub-castes are sectarian. The Adhikáris, or priestly section, and those who are strict Vaishnavas, will not give their daughters to other Hádís, though they will take their wives from them. Some are Sáktas and some Vaishnavas. The latter sect is believed to be of recent adoption. Girls are married before puberty. Polygamy and divorce are allowed. Widows may re-marry and may take as their second spouse any one whom they might have married when virgins, except the near relations of the first husband. Their children do not rank on quite the same level as those of virgin-wives. They employ degraded Bráhmans, and their religious beliefs and observances are much the same as those of ordinary Hindus. The women worship the planet 'Sani' on Saturday and Mangalchandi on Tuesday. Subháchani and Lakshmi are also worshipped by them. With the exception of the Adhikáris and Vaishnavas, the Hádís eat pork and all flesh, except that of cows, monkeys, fowls, and vermin; they also drink wine. They eat the leavings of superior castes. They rank with Dálus and Hájangs with whom they will drink and smoke. In 1891 they appear to have been confused with Bhuinmáli or Hári.

712. The Hájangs are another small community of Bodo, and probably of Gáro origin, who are most numerous in Mymensingh, but are found also in the Garo Hills, Sylhet and a few other districts of Assam. They speak a broken dialect of Bengali peculiar to themselves. A brief description of them was given by me in the Report on the Census of Assam in 1891 (page 233).

713. Iriká, Idigá or Chelia Golá is the name of a small community found in Puri and the Orissa States. Their head-quarters is in Ganjam, whence they are said to have immigrated in recent times. In Puri they rear goats and sell milk, *ghi* and vegetables, but in Madras they are said to be toddy-drawers. They are served by good Bráhmans from Ganjam. Their favourite object of worship is Narsingh, an incarnation of Vishnu who slew the demon Hiranya Káshyapa. They also worship two minor deities, Elámá and Kamur.

714. The Hálláms are a Kuki tribe resident in Hill Tippera. As has been noted in the Chapter on Language they speak a special dialect of their own. They are divided into 12 exogamous clans.\*

715. I have included Jáduá in the figures for Bráhman, but their claims to Bráhmanical rank are perhaps almost as doubtful as those of the Kápuríás who have been entered as a separate caste. They figure amongst the criminal communities described in the Police Code, where it is said that they are notorious swindlers who work on the religious credulity of their dupe; they frequently induce him to borrow money and entrust it to them, whereupon make off with it. They profess to cure barrenness and also practise astrology and fortune-telling. It is thought that they may be Aherias in disguise.

716. The Jadupetias are a curious community of the Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum and Birbhum, occupying a place midway between Hinduism and Muhammadanism. The majority were entered by the enumerators as Hindus, but some were described as Muhammadans. They say they are the descendants of a Muhammadan *fakir*

\* Riáng, Márchum, Káipháng, Kálai, Rángkhol, Chaiyáng, Dhanchá, Rakshyungchá, Bangeher, Rupini, Cháimál.



by a low caste Hindu woman. They believe in Alláh, but also worship Káli, Manasá Debi and other deities of the Hindu Pantheon. Hindu priests sometimes officiate when they offer sacrifices to Káli. They practise circumcision and bury their dead. On the other hand, many of them shave off their beards, and kill animals, as the Hindus do, by severing the head from the body. Many again bear Hindu names, and their married women mark the parting of their hair with vermillion. Some refrain from beef. They have a Kázi who officiates at their marriages, but not necessarily at their burial services. By profession they are brass-workers, and make trinkets, gongs, weights, &c., of that metal. Some again are mendicants; they draw pictures of persons recently dead and exhibit them to the bereaved relatives, who give them presents.

717. The Jagwás, or Sajiannas, are a small caste found in Gaya. They profess to be Bráhmans by origin, but they are popularly supposed to be degraded Bábhans, and this

JAGWÁ.

view is confirmed by the fact that their caste title is Singh. They claim descent from Yagyavalkya, probably on account of the similarity of name; this, however, is more likely to be derived from their original occupation which, according to the Aushnasi Smriti, was to serve as watchmen at sacrificial rites (Jagya). Their main occupation at the present day is attendance at the *śrádha* of high caste people, where they are feasted and given presents. They eat voraciously on these occasions, and their manner is rude and boisterous. To meet one of them at any other time is considered a bad omen. They eke out their earnings by agriculture; some have attained the status of occupancy raiyats and a few have become zamindars. They are illiterate and uncouth, but in respect of marriage, diet and social matters generally, they follow the observances of high caste Hindus. They are served by good Bráhmans. Some are Saivas and some are followers of Vishnu. Their favourite godlings are two spirits, viz., Vishnupati Thakur (male) and Mainyaji (female), to whom they make offerings of sweetmeats and wearing apparel. To the former the sacred thread is also offered. The great time for worshipping them is on the occasion of marriage.

718. The Jhorás are a fairly numerous caste of the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. They are usually fishermen or gold washers, and are said by some to be a

JHORÁ.

sub-caste of Kewat. This may possibly be the case, and the name is mentioned by Mr. Risley as that of a sub-caste of Kewat in Bihar. On the other hand some Jhorás are Animists, whereas all Kewats are Hindus.\*

719. In Bengal, Jyotish is merely a functional appellation, meaning an astrologer, who is usually an Áchárjī Bráhmaṇ, but in Orissa it is the name of a separate caste of

JYOTISH.

astrologers. They read out the almanac daily to the villagers, and many of them hold rent-free lands given to their ancestors by the old Hindu Kings. They act as the priests of the Chamár and Siyal castes. They are served by good Bráhmans and are orthodox Hindus, but they are regarded as degraded and their touch defiles cloth. They are also known as Náik, Graháipra and Ganak. The last mentioned synonym is also the name of the corresponding caste in Assam, the social position of which, however, is far higher.

720. There are two classes of Káchrá, one consisting of immigrants from the Madras Presidency, and the other an indigenous caste of Orissa. The former rank lower. The

KÁCHRÁ.

latter, who are here referred to, are variously said to be descended from Vaisyas, Khandáits and aboriginal tribes. The name of the caste is usually derived from its traditional occupation, viz., the dealing in beads and other articles made of glass (*Kách*), but some say it is from 'Káchar,' meaning too much haggling over the price of the utensils sold by them. At the present day the members of this caste are usually workers and dealers in brass and bell-metal and some are well-to-do traders. Polygamy, divorce and widow marriage are allowed. They usually bury their dead and perform the *śrádha* on the tenth day. They abstain from fowls and spirits, but their water is not taken by the higher castes.

\* The word seems to be derived either from *jádr*, jungle or *jar*, a water channel. The word Jháriá is commonly used in the Tributary States to denote jungly tribes.



721. Káhaliá, like Daitá, is a small caste of the Puri district. The people thus designated are believed to be descended from the illegitimate children of the dancing girls attached to the great temples, but they themselves deny this and profess to have come originally from the banks of the Ganges. They play in the temples on a wind instrument called *Káhali*, from which their name is derived, and sometimes describe their castes as Tali Sebaka, i.e., inferior temple servants. Marriage is prohibited within three generations on the side of both parents. The binding portion of the marriage ceremony is the tying together of the hands of bride and bridegroom with Kusa grass. Widows may marry again; the second husband is usually the younger brother of the first. The ceremony, when a widow marries, is a simple one, and consists in the public presentation to her by the bridegroom of bangles and a new cloth which have been previously consecrated by a Bráhma. Divorce is allowed for adultery or incompatibility of temper. They are served by good Bráhmans and are Vaishnavas by sect. They burn their dead.

722. In the body of Table XIII, I have grouped together under the head 'Kallár,' several small communities of outcastes, but have given the necessary details for each in the column of remarks. Most of these unfortunate persons lost their caste on the occasion of some famine, but the Káthichhuás, who are found only in Tippera, are descended from Káyasths and other Hindus, who were outcasted by intermarrying or eating with Tipárás.\* They are also known as Tripur Dás. They will intermarry and eat with Tipárás. They keep up, to some extent, their old Hindu customs and observances, but very few of them have preserved any traditions regarding their original caste. The Chattarkháis are found only in Orissa. Although looked upon by others as outcastes, they maintain amongst themselves their original caste distinctions, and it is possible that some of them described themselves accordingly at the census.

723. The Káltuyá, Kolthá or Kolutá of the Orissa and Chota Nagpur States has sometimes been identified with the Kalitá caste of Assam, but beyond the similarity of name and the fact that each is supposed to have a larger infusion of Aryan blood than most other local castes, there seems to be very little ground for the assumption that they have sprung from the same stock. The Káltuyás of Angul have the same tradition as that heard in Chota Nagpur by Colonel Dalton that they originally emigrated from Mithila, but they have no written records, and the fact that they possess an outfit of totemistic septs militates strongly against the theory of an Aryan origin. These septs are Nágesh, Pipal, Ganesh, Hasti and Kachhap. The animal, etc., after which the sept is named, is held sacred, and a man of the Nágesh clan would never kill a snake, nor would one of the Pipal clan cut down a pipal tree (*ficus religiosa*). In the Orissa States the Káltuyás are found chiefly in Dhenkanal, Talcher and Hindol. They are often called Káltuyá Chásá, and many were entered as Chásá at the census. They are described in a report from Angul as a sub-caste of Chásá, but it is admitted that they will not associate or intermarry with other groups known by that name. Infant marriage is the rule. Divorce and widow re-marriage are permitted. Adultery is looked on as a serious offence only if it be committed with a man of another caste. They are served by good Bráhmans. They are Vaishnavas by sect, and specially worship Jagannáth, Rádhá and Krishna, and Chaitanya of Nabadvip. They also worship the Grám Devatá or village deities, of whom there are about twenty, especially in Ásárh to invoke rain, in Bhádra when the new rice appears, and in Fálgun after the harvest home, when a bountiful harvest in the coming year is prayed for. Some of the godlings are believed to be malignant, and these are worshipped whenever disease breaks out.

724. The Kalu is treated by Mr. Risley as a sub-caste of Teli, but he says that "their separation from the main body of the Telis is so complete that many regard them as a separate caste." I have shown them separately, as the standard which I have taken for differentiating castes is Hindu public opinion, and there is no doubt that in Bengal the Teli and the Kalu are generally held to be distinct. The

\* *Káthi* means cooking stick, and *chhuá*, touched.



Pandits of Nadia and Hooghly have ruled that the Teli or rather Tili, is a Baniyá caste, and in any case, he is no longer an oil-presser; he admits no connection with the Kalu; he has a different Bráhmaṇ, and he ranks on an entirely different social plane.

The betrothal customs of the Kalus of Manbhum are peculiar. Next to the bride and bridegroom the principal parties are their maternal uncles.\* They sit facing each other with a napkin spread between them, and untying a bundle of cakes place them on the napkin. They then put bits of the cakes into each other's mouths, the uncle of the niece exclaiming each time, "I give my niece to your nephew, protect her from shame and danger." The bride then touches the feet of her prospective uncle-in-law, who puts a garland of flowers round her neck and gives her some betel-nuts and palm-leaves. This is known as *Gúttiká*. A day for the actual celebration of the marriage is then fixed, and the ceremony is carried out with the aid of the family priests.

The *śrádh* is performed on the 31st day.† With the invitation to the relatives of the deceased is sent a certain number of betel-nuts. If 14 nuts are sent, the recipient understands that he and all his family are invited to the ceremony, but if only nine are received he knows that the male members alone are expected to attend. The males of the caste wear a necklace of beads and the females an ornament called *hánsuli*. The females, other than those of the Sikhariá sub-caste, are not allowed to tattoo the forehead or to wear a nose-ring. The Kalus worship the *Ghani*, or instrument by means of which they press oil, on the first day of Mágh.

725. Kándári is a sub-caste of Pátñi in Malda. Many of them are now shop-keepers. The persons concerned applied to the Magistrate to be allowed to return themselves as Karan, and he granted their request.‡ The enumerators, however, appear to have usually exercised their discretion in the matter and, in spite of the Magistrate's order, only 59 Karans were found in the returns. These are probably Kándáris.

726. The Kandrás are a low caste in Orissa. They are usually day-labourers or village chaukidars, the latter being considered the traditional caste occupation. The name is said to be derived from their skill in archery (*kánda* means 'arrow'), and in former times they and the Páns formed the rank and file of the local militia. They are also known as Digrurk. Their women are very industrious. They serve as coolies, and collect and sell shells, feathers, fire-wood, etc. Their touch defiles and they have no Bráhmaṇs. The marriage ceremony is conducted by an elderly man of the caste, who places a thread round the necks of the bride and bridegroom and proclaims them man and wife. Divorce is allowed for infidelity or incompatibility of temper. They profess to be Vaishnavas, but their main object of worship is the Grám Devtí to whom they resort in time of trouble. They allow their widows to marry again. Dead bodies are either burnt or buried; in the latter case the corpse is laid on its back with its head to the west. On the Mahálaya Amábásya day, rice and curry are cooked and offered to the ancestors; a small portion is thrown into the fire and the rest is then eaten. There are three sub-castes—

(1) *Kalandi Baishnab*.—They serve the other sections of the caste as priests and adjudicate upon social questions. They also trade in stone utensils and beg. They rank highest.

(2) *Machua*.—Prepare and sell contrivances for catching fish.

(3) *Chandali*.—Make and sell mats.

727. Kadmá, which is returned mainly from Midnapore, is said by some to be the same as Kandrá, but as the identification is not complete, I have thought it better to show the two items separately.

\* This savours of a time when the matriarchal form of polyandry was in vogue. There are also traditions pointing to a period of polyandry of the fraternal order, where several brothers shared a wife in common. It is said that at one time the eldest brother alone married and the younger brothers remained single. The degradation of the caste is attributed to the incontinence of these younger sons.

† The Sikhariá sub-caste perform it on the 11th day.

‡ The Magistrate of this district granted several similar requests by other communities, and the Malda caste returns are somewhat confused in consequence. Amongst others he allowed the Gaurdeshi Baniks to be entered as Agarwál, the Bangabaniks as Bais Baniyá, and the Bangadeshi Baniks as Mahesri,



728. The Kantábudiyás or Kántádiás are dealers in tobacco, cultivators and petty traders. They are found only in Cuttack.

## KANTÁBUDIYÁ.

They have no traditions as to their origin, and the fact that 'Kantábudá' means 'a thorny bush' throws very little light on the question. They have the same titles as Chásás, and may have been degraded from that caste in consequence of their occupation as tobacco-dealers. As with the Daitás, persons who die unmarried are burned and not cremated.

729. The Káorás were treated in 1891 as a sub-caste of Dom, but it seems preferable to show them separately. They are

## KÁORÁ.

most numerous in the 24-Parganas, where they are reported to form a distinct caste, and the same view is taken in Midnapore and Khulna. In Howrah, Hooghly and Burdwan they are said to be a sub-caste of Hárís. They are swineherds by profession. They rank with Doms and Hárís, but do not intermarry with either of these communities. There is a marked resemblance in sound between Káorá or Káonrá as it is more correctly spelt and the Orissa caste Kandrá. The social position of the two groups is also very similar, and it is possible that further enquiry may establish their identity.

730. Most of the Kápuriás found in Bengal come from the United Provinces, chiefly from the Fatehpur district. While wan-

## KÁPURIÁ AND KÁPURI.

dering about the country, which they do only in the dry season, they live in small tents. They beg and steal, and deal in ponies and goats. Their women make baskets of grass and of leaves of the date-palm. They usually claim a Bráhmanical origin, and many of them appear to have been returned as Bráhmans at the census.\* Their subdivisions, traditions and social customs correspond very closely to those described by Mr. Crooke. They are usually Sáktas. The only minor deity adored by them is Sitalá, to whom they offer rice, fruit, sweetmeats and goats. No regular *srád̥h* ceremony is performed. The period of impurity after death is only of three days' duration. Widow marriage is allowed, and the deceased husband's younger brother has the first claim.

The persons enumerated in Orissa who are shown under this head belong to an entirely different community. They are called Kápuri and claim to be Khandáits, but are not generally regarded as such, and are held to be so degraded that even the washermen will not take food from their hands. Bráhmans serve them, but will not take water from them. They act as priests to the Kurmis, Gauris and Kaibarttas. They are quite distinct from the Pátrás of whom Kápuriá is a title.

731. The Kartiá is a fishing caste found only in Puri and the Orissa States. Its origin is unknown. The social status is low.

## KARTIÁ.

732. Kasarwáni is the name of a Baniyá caste of Bihar and the United Provinces. Mr. Crooke derives the word from

## KASARWÁNI.

*Kánsya kára Vaniḥ*, "a seller of brass vessels," but Mr. O'Malley reports from Gaya that the correct word is *Kesarbáni*, meaning a dealer in saffron (*kesar*), and that the cultivation and sale of saffron constitutes the traditional occupation of the caste. At the present time they are usually grocers and general dealers and a few have entered Government service. As in the United Provinces, so in Bihar, the current tradition is that the caste emigrated from Karamanikpur, but this place is located by some in Cashmere and by others in the district of Allahabad. The cause of the migration is said to have been a conflict with the local ruler in which the Kasarwánis were worsted. There are 96 different exogamous groups which are said to represent the descendants of the 96 Kasarwánis who survived the above conflict. They belong to various religious sects—Saiva, Vaishnava and Nánaksháhi, but all practise in their own houses the strange Páñchpiriyá cult. The offerings to the five *pīrs* consist of sweetmeats, cooked rice and flesh which are afterwards consumed by the members of the family; no

\* In the notes prepared in the course of compilation regarding the castes and occupations of persons from distant districts, I found in several cases (e.g., in Birbhum) the entry:—

"Fatehpur—Bráhmans, beggars." Fatehpur is the head-quarters of the Kápuriás and begging is their main occupation. Sherring mentions Kupuriya as a clan of the Saraswat Bráhmans.



outsider, not even a married daughter, is permitted to partake of them. Those who are not Vaishnavas eat the flesh of goats but not of sheep. They are served by good Bráhmans. There is no marked peculiarity about their marriage customs. Widow marriage is permitted, and the choice of a second husband rests with the widow's guardian. Polygamy, though uncommon, is not forbidden; it usually occurs only when the first wife proves barren or suffers from an incurable disease. The time when the *śrádh* is performed varies; in some cases the ceremony takes place after 13 days, and in some after 15, 17, 20 or 30 days. In respect of inheritance the Kasarwánis belong to the Mitakshara school.

733. The Kasaundhans are grocers like the Kasarwánis to whom they appear to be very closely allied. In Gaya it is asserted by the latter that the former are descended from their own illegitimate offspring, a statement which is of course stoutly denied by the Kasaundhans themselves. They have, however, the same tradition as the Kasarwánis regarding the emigration of their ancestors from Cashmere. There are two sub-castes, Sáth and Eksáth, corresponding to the Khara and Dusrá sub-castes found in the United Provinces. The Sáth sub-caste wears the thread and forbids widow marriage, which is allowed amongst the Eksáth branch of the community. The Nánaksháhi sect is that to which they commonly belong and, like the Kasarwánis, they often worship the *Pánch Pír*.

734. The Kathaks are a caste of story tellers, singers and musicians. They claim a Bráhmanical origin and wear the thread, but they now form an entirely distinct, and very disreputable, community and it seems on the whole better to treat them as a separate caste, in the same way as has been done in the case of Bhát, Jagwa, Kápuriá and Tiklihár, all of whom claim to be Bráhmans.

735. In the "Tribes and Castes of Bengal" Káthuríá is said to be a degraded sub-caste of Sutradhar who work as carpenters and also deal in lime. But in East Bengal they are generally supposed to be an off-shoot from the Chandál or Namasudra caste, and in Table XIII they have been included in the latter, but the necessary details have been given in the column of remarks. They do not intermarry with the Namasudras, but they have the same priests. They make lime by burning the shells of the Shámuk or Jhinuk.

736. The Kelás are a low Orissa caste of fowlers, jugglers and beggars. They are said to have come from Madras about forty years ago. They are nomadic and in their manners and customs, they correspond very closely to the Bediyas of Bengal. The Kelás living between Jaipur and Jellasore are not allowed to marry with those living in other parts of Orissa. Four sub-castes are reported from Cuttack, viz., Naluá, or Pátrásaura, Sápua, Mátiá, and Sabákhiá, or the omnivorous ones. In Puri there is a fifth sub-caste called Gaudia and in Balasore Adhhariya is returned instead of Mátiá. With the exception of the Naluás the Kelás speak a mixture of Oriyá and Telugu which in the case of the Sabákhiás approaches much more nearly to Telugu than to Oriyá. The Naluás, on the other hand, are said to speak an archaic form of Bengali; they also differ greatly in appearance from the other sub-castes, being of fair complexion with well marked Mongoloid features. The Naluás catch and sell birds, the Sápua exhibit snakes, the Mátiás are earth-workers and the Sabákhiás are professional beggars. The last mentioned will eat anything, even dead snakes. They wear a plume of feathers in their turbans and paint their faces. They are said to frighten people into giving them alms by cutting their bodies and vomiting in front of their houses. Begging, however, is by no means a monopoly of the last mentioned sub-caste. The begging party usually consists of a man with his wife and child. The woman sings and dances while the man plays on a rude instrument called *dhuruka*. They move about in gangs of from 10 to 50 members, and take up their quarters under trees or in market sheds. Some of them make mats from the leaves of the date-palm, fans of peacock feathers and the arrows called *Khandsara* used by some of the higher castes in certain religious ceremonies. They have no Bráhmans and the old men of the caste act as



priests. They chiefly worship Thákuráni to whom they sacrifice fowls and goats. They allow widow marriage and divorce. They bury their dead with the head to the south, males being laid on the back and females with the face downwards. In Balasore, the corpse is placed in a sitting posture. They admit outsiders after immersion in the Baitarani river, at the Dasaswari ghât, and the giving of a feast to the caste people.

737. The Khandewáls or Khandelwáls are a trading caste similar to the Agarwáls. They profess to be descended from Khandina Rishi. Others derive the name from Khandela in the Jaipore State. Some are Hindus of the Vaishnava sect and wear the thread, and some are Jains. Unlike the Agarwáls, the adherents of the one religion do not intermarry with those of the other.

738. Kháru is derived from "kháru," a bracelet, and is the name of a caste found in Orissa and Ganjam who make and sell brass bangles and other utensils. They will not work in bell-metal. They are served by good Bráhmans, but their water is not taken by the higher castes; according to some they are a sub-caste of Thátári.

739. The Khatíá, like the Kartiá, is an Orissa caste found mainly in Puri. The distinction between the two is that while the latter catch, the former sell, fish. The traditional origin of the caste is from a Kshattriya father and a prostitute mother. They have the usual customs of low caste Hindus. The ordinary barber and washerman will not serve them.

740. The Kheltá is a dancing caste similar to the Gandharb, by which name it is sometimes known. The male is called Kheltá and the female Kheltni. The males play and sing while the women sing and dance. Some of the women are prostitutes. The dancing consists of a series of high jumps. The songs are in a peculiar dialect, a jumble of Hindi, Santáli and Málto. There are four exogamous subdivisions, Kálkhor, Chhabadi, Bandhaiyá, and Pobiár. There are also two sub-castes, Gaur and Mallár, which are looked upon as degraded, and the other Kheltás will not give them their daughters in marriage, though they have not the same objection to receiving brides from them. Mahagawan and Godda are recognised as the head-quarters of the caste. Orphans and females ejected from higher castes are admitted to their community. They have a slang language of their own, but usually converse in Hindi. Those who take to cultivation and abstain from singing and dancing are looked upon as more respectable than their *confrères*.

741. Khitibansa or Mátibansa is a caste peculiar to Orissa. Their title is Náik, but they are quite distinct from the Jyotish caste, who use the same title. They have also no connection with the Mátibansa Tántis. Those who are literate generally serve as teachers and are locally called Abadhán; those who are not literate exhibit the idol of Mangalá or Basanta Thákuráni, the goddess of small-pox. They trace their origin to a clay figure made by Anádi, or Eternity, the great mother, who endowed it with life and learning, and directed that its descendants should be called Mátibansa and should teach boys in schools. The story of the origin of this community is said to be given at length in the *Siva Purán*.

742. The Khodáls are a low caste of Orissa who are said in Puri to have come from Ganjam; but if so, it is curious that they should be most numerous in Balasore and Midnapore. In Balasore they dig earth and grow vegetables, while in Puri they are pátki-bearers, day-labourers and firewood collectors and sellers. Their practices are similar to those of other low caste Hindus.

743. The word Kichak is a very elusive one, and I have been unable to trace true origin of the name, as applied to the small community in the Dacca district which was thus returned at the census. The word is as old as the *Mahábhárata* and the Pándavas are said to have visited the country of the Kichaks. They are mentioned by Hodgson as sharing the Nepal Terai with the Dhimál, Bodo, Tháru and Denwár tribes. In the Statistical Account of Purnea they are



named with the Kiráts as aboriginal chiefs who preceded the Muhammadans, but no trace can be found of them in that district at the present time. They are also referred to in the traditions current in Rangpur regarding Prithu Rája, whom they are said to have overthrown. But here too there are now no Kichaks and the very name has been buried in oblivion.

In the Police Code the Kichaks are described as "an off-shoot of the great Báuri race of Upper India" who make incursions into Bengal in the cold weather, travelling as far east as Rangpur. These people profess to come from Ghazipur. Their ostensible means of livelihood, it is said, are begging, jugglery, sorcery, but they are also thieves, cattle-lifters and passers of counterfeit coin.

The Dacca Kichaks have a tradition that their ancestors were dacoits, and that they were deported from Dinajpur and Rangpur by two Magistrates, whose names sound like Cooper and Nixon, some 60 years ago. They are now street sweepers, but will not remove night-soil, and disclaim all connection with Háris and Doms. They speak a dialect of their own which has been ascertained to be a form of Gujaráti. They have no priests. Marriages are celebrated by the pancháyat. No caste will take water from them, but the Dhobá will wash for them and up-country barbers will shave them. They will take water from all Hindus, except absolutely unclean castes, and also from Musalmans. They are occasionally employed as *shikáris*, and are reported to be very expert at catching hares. They were shown separately in the District Census Report of 1891, but were grouped under some other head (not now ascertainable) in the Imperial Tables.

744. I have shown Konai as a separate caste, as the Magistrates of the districts where it is chiefly found report that it is so, but it is sometimes considered to be a sub-caste of Muchi. In Pabna, Mátiál is said to be synonymous with Konai, but persons so returned have been classified as Muchi. There are two sub-castes, Chási and Kurur. The former are cultivators and occasionally fishermen or field labourers, while the latter are drummers, or dealers in hides. The community has no traditions as to its origin. Its social rank is low. Smoking with Muchis is allowed. Chási Konais are fairly orthodox in their diet, but the Kurur sub-caste will eat the flesh of buffaloes and sometimes even that of cows. They specially venerate Manasá, the goddess of snakes, and worship Dharmaráj in Baisákh and Jaishta on the night of the full moon. Widows are allowed to marry again. The wedding ceremony in such cases is a simple one. An earthen pot full of water is placed before the happy couple, and the bridegroom presents his lady-love with a new *sári* or dress cloth.

745. The Kondiás are found only in Purnea and are said to be allied to the Kurariárs. Like the latter they were originally hunters, but have now become cultivators and menial servants. The connection between the two castes is no longer admitted; they neither eat together nor intermarry, and are served by a separate class of inferior Bráhmans. The favourite deity of the Kondiás is Bishahari. They practise infant and widow marriage. In Table XIII they have been included in the figures for Kurariár.

746. Kuchbandiyá or Kuchbandhwá is the name of the group who make the brushes (*kunch*) used for cleaning thread, and collect the *khaskhas* grass for making *tátis*, etc. They have been classed as Nat in Table XIII for Bengal, but in the United Provinces they are considered to be a sub-caste of Kanjar. The word Kanjar, however, appears to be used there in a wider sense than in Bengal, and includes Nat, Beldár, Jogi and other groups which in this Province are looked on as forming independent castes.

747. The word Kuki is really a generic term used by the people of the plains to denote the hillmen, other than Tiparás and Chákmás, of Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts.\* In the hills the word is freely used of any stranger, regardless of his tribe, and Mrungs, Khamis, Paukhus and Banjogis are often thus designated by their neighbours. I have received very interesting notes on some of

\* For a proposed derivation of the word, see the footnote † to paragraph 541 in the Chapter on Language.



these tribes from Mr. Sandys of Agartola, but they are too lengthy to be reproduced here.

748. The Kumutis are practically confined to Puri and the Orissa States whither they are said to have migrated from Ganjam in Madras. Intermarriage with their caste fellows

KUMUTI.

in Ganjam still exists. They profess to be descended from an Ambastha father, and a Sudra mother, and they assume the thread at marriage. They are usually pedlars or grocers; a few are zamindars, while the poorest amongst them collect and sell the leaves of the *sál* tree (*shorea robusta*). They marry by preference the daughter of their maternal uncle; if there be none such, they must obtain the consent of their caste fellows before they can marry any one else. They do not eat fowls nor drink spirits. They are served by good Bráhmans and forbid their widows to marry again, but their water is not taken by the higher castes.

749. The Kurariárs are a criminal tribe of Purnea and the Nepal Terai.

KURARIÁR.

They are also known as Byádh, *i.e.*, fowler, and their traditional occupation is to catch birds for sale.

Many of them sell fuel, and it is not unlikely that the word Kurariár may be a corruption of Kuthariá or Kurhaliá, from *Kuthár* or *Kurháli*, the name of the axe used by them for splitting wood. They live in the jungle and subsist largely on jungle products. They have a bad reputation, and are often mixed up in dacoities and other offences against property, fleeing to the Nepal Terai when wanted by the police. They claim connection with the Tiyars, and will eat any food except cooked rice at a Tiya's house, though the latter will not return the compliment. There was formerly a prejudice against eating anything cooked by a married daughter, but this is gradually dying out. They call themselves Hindus, but the principal object of their worship is Lálmohan Palwán, a deified hero who is reputed to have been killed by a tiger. They usually employ the village barber as their matchmaker and as the officiating priest at their marriage ceremonies, but sometimes degraded Kanaujiá Bráhmans serve them. They do not eat any unclean food.

750. I have shown Let as a sub-caste of Bágdi with which it appears to have been classed at previous censuses, but it is generally

LET.

regarded as a separate caste in Birbhum and the

adjoining districts, where it is chiefly found. It is also mentioned as a separate caste in the *Brahma Vaisarta Puran*,\* where its origin is attributed to the union of a Tiya husband and a Tailakar wife, and its traditional occupation is said to be dacoity. The head-quarters of the community are at Songora Bazar in Birbhum. There are two exogamous divisions, Káshyap and Aládasi, but no sub-castes. They trace their origin to one Ásipákar, but cannot say who he was. By occupation the Lets are day-labourers; they also fish with nets (bamboo fishing traps are *taboo*), catch tortoises and knit nets. Many are village watchmen; a few are cultivators. They rank with Máls and Bágdis, and all three will smoke from the same *hukka*, though they will not eat together. The Lets are Hindus and employ degraded Bráhmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. They pay special reverence to Manasá, and also to Dharmaráj, who is given offerings of rice-beer on the full moon nights of Baisákh and Jaishta. They usually burn their dead, but bury them on the bank of a river when fuel cannot be had; in such cases the grave is six feet deep and the corpse is laid on its back. They perform the *srádá* ceremony after 10 days, and propitiate the spirits of departed ancestors at marriage. Infant marriage is practised. Smearing the bride's forehead with vermilion constitutes the essential part of the marriage ceremony. Widows are allowed to marry again by the Sagái rite; the second husband is usually a widower when the iron bangle of his previous wife is placed on the widow's arm. Her rights and privileges are precisely the same as those of a virgin wife. Divorce is permitted for infidelity, barrenness, incompatibility of temper, or failure to

\* *Brahmakhandá* Cap. X, verse 101. The mention of Let in this ancient work shows that the name must formerly have been applied to a much larger community than that which is known by it at the present time. We have seen elsewhere how easily the designations of these non-Aryan tribes change. The Santál was known successively as Horo and Kherwár before he obtained his present tribal name and at the present day he usually describes himself as Mánjhi. In many parts the Bágdis also are more generally known as Mánjhi.



maintain. The Lets eat goat's flesh, fish, both scaly and scaleless, and ducks, but abstain from the flesh of pigs, cattle, fowls, &c. They will admit outsiders of a decidedly superior caste, *e.g.*, members of the Nabasákha group, but not Bágdis, Kalus, Dhobás, and the like. An outcasted Kumhár and a Puro are reported to have been recently received into the Let caste in Birbhum.

751. Lodh, Lodha or Nodh is the name of an aboriginal tribe of Angul and the Orissa Tributary States. Its head-quarters is in the Central Provinces, where it numbers over a quarter of a million. It is also found in Midnapore, where it is reputed to have come from Singbhum and Mayurbhanj, and the connection is admitted by the Nodhs of Mayurbhanj, who are one of the oldest tribes in that State. The terms Sabar and Sahar are said to be synonyms of this tribe in Midnapore. The Magistrate of that district thinks they may be allied to the Savars described by Mr. Risley, but in Mayurbhanj the Savars rank considerably above them, having the use of Bráhmaṇ, Dhobá and Nápit and being allowed to wash the plates of the higher castes, which privileges are denied to the Nodhs. The Sahars, though they rank on a level with the Nodhs, are also said to be a distinct tribe in Mayurbhanj. The Chirimárs of Midnapore town, who live by snaring birds, are said to be a branch of this tribe. There are three exogamous sections Sálmaḥ, Káchhim and Churki Álu. In Midnapore the origin of the tribe is attributed to the five Pándavas by whom they were employed to hunt animals, while in Mayurbhanj they trace their descent from Bali Rájá. Their traditional occupation is the collection of jungle produce, such as cocoons, lac, resin, honey, wax, &c. Many still live by these means in the Tributary States, whence they are called Lodha Khediá, but in Midnapore they are usually cultivators, day-labourers and fire-wood collectors. They admit outsiders of higher rank. They practise infant marriage. In Midnapore they allow polygamy and forbid widow re-marriage, but in the Tributary States polygamy is forbidden, while widows are allowed to marry again, and are not hampered in their choice of a second spouse by the preferential claim of the younger brother of the first husband. Divorce is allowed only in the case of unchastity, when the woman is outcasted. According to a report from Midnapore, marriages are arranged by the parents. The marriage ceremony is performed by a man of the caste, who is known as the Kotál. He ties Kuska grass on the hands of the bride and bridegroom, and after leading the former round the latter several times, he places them facing each other on opposite sides of a small platform or *bedi*, made of earth brought the previous day by the females of both families from the foot of a *Sidha* tree (*Nauclea cadamba*), on which two pots of water with a mango twig in each are standing. The bridegroom then puts an iron bangle on the bride's wrist and smears her forehead with vermilion; this completes the ceremony. In the Tributary States the practice of getting earth from the foot of a *Sidha* tree is not in vogue. Sitalá is the chief deity of the Lodhas. In Midnapore they also worship Varuna and Bhairab. They burn their dead and mourn for 10 days. On the 11th day they shave themselves and wash their clothes and present rice and a small sum of money to an Áchárji Bráhmaṇ or to some Vaishnava mendicant.

There is a caste called Lodha in the United Provinces,\* and the few persons thus returned in Bihar and Bengal Proper (outside Midnapore) probably belong to this community.

752. The Mahuriás of Orissa have no connection with the Mahuris of Bihar who are traders and money lenders. Their name is derived from the wind instrument called *Mahuri* (corresponding to the *Shánái* of Bengal) on which they play on the occasion of marriages and the like. Their females make and sell ropes. They are said to be allied to the Háris and Doms, and to be quite distinct from the Bediyas, in spite of the fact that, like some of the latter, they are also known as Chirimár from their killing and selling birds.

\* Crooke's "Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," Vol. III, page 364. These Lodhas claim kinship with the Lodhis of Central India. They are apparently of non-Aryan origin, and it is possible that the similarity of name is not altogether fortuitous.



753. Majhwár is a Dravidian tribe of Udaipur, one of the Chota Nagpur States, about half of whom are Hindus and half Animists. They are basket and mat-makers, and workers in bamboo generally. They are also known as Sonta. A few are found in Gangpur and Sarguja, and also in Mirzapur, where they have been described by Mr. Crooke, who says that they often call themselves Mánjhi like the Santáls. They are, it is said, allied to Chero, Pán and Parahiya, and many of their subdivisions are common to Gonds and other races. The basis of the tribal organisation is totemistic, and their traditions in Mirzapur point to a previous residence in the Western Vindhya and Kaimur ranges.

754. The Malárs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr. Streatfeild writes of them as follows:—"They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malár was the elder brother of the original Oráon, and that having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever; small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamented *poilas* or seer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malárs permanently settled in a Munda village, speaking Mundári and working as cultivators, but a regular Malár in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nágpuriá Hindi."

755. There is a small tribe in the Orissa States called Málhár, but in spite of the similarity of name there seems to be no connection between them and the Malárs. There may, however, have been some slight confusion between the two in the course of compilation. The Málhárs live mainly on fruits and roots found in the forests in which they live and by the sale of wild honey and other jungle products.

756. Mallik is the name of a community found only in Manbhum, chiefly in the Jherriah, Raghunathpur and Nirsha thanas. They are locally reported to form a separate caste, and are in no way related to the Bágdís who use the word Mallik as a title.\* It is suggested that they may be of the same stock as the Mál Pahárias. The zamindári of Pandra at one time belonged to the Malliks. In the Sonthal Parganas some people returned as Mallik Mál were reported by the Deputy Commissioner to belong to the Mál tribe, and it seems probable that the Malliks of Manbhum are of the same stock. Pending further enquiry, therefore, I have treated them as a sub-caste of Mál.

The following notes on the Malliks are based on a report from the Subdivisional Officer, Gobindpur:—

They call themselves Deobansi Malliks as distinguished from another group called Rájbansi Mallik with which they repudiate all connection. The whole caste has the same totem Pátrishi, the Indian Paradise flycatcher. The only bar on marriage is that a man may not espouse his first cousin or any nearer relation. Divorce, polygamy, and widow marriage are allowed. The former is effected by publicly tearing a leaf in two. Marriage is both infant and adult. The binding part of the ceremony consists of the placing of an iron bangle on the left wrist of the bride. They profess to be Hindus, but their religion is of a very low order. They specially worship Mahámái Káli, Manasá, and five Deotás called Thulha, Baghut, Monongiri, Babiari and Máýá. The offerings to these deities are usually fowls, sheep and goats. They perform the ceremonies themselves, but once in five years, when they worship the sun, (Bhagawán) a degraded Bráhman is called in, and he also assists at marriages and funeral ceremonies. The dead are usually burnt. They are cultivators

\* In Orissa the Kandrás use Malik (with one *l*) as a title and often so describe themselves when asked as to their caste.



and day-labourers. They eat pork and fowls, but abstain from beef and vermin. They will take cooked food from Bhuiyás, but not from Doms or Hárís.

757. Mátíál has been included in the figures for Muchi. It is the name of a community who were apparently Muchis by origin and who have not yet altogether succeeded in obtaining general recognition as a separate caste. They do not usually skin animals, but many of them deal in hides. They seem to be allied to the Konais who have already been mentioned. The Káráls, who are sometimes looked on as a sub-caste of Chandál, also appear to be connected with the Mátíáls. They are fishermen and cultivators and deny the relationship, but they claim descent from Janak Muni, the mythical ancestor of the Mátíál.

758. Of the 78 'minor foreign castes,' of which the details are given at the end of the Caste Table (page 266 of volume II), a considerable number refer to sepoys of the Bombay and Madras establishments who were quartered in Bengal at the time of the census, and others, such as Bhulia, were found in outlying tracts bordering on other Provinces. The only caste shown in this list, of which any considerable number was enumerated in a non-contiguous district, is the Katiá, which were returned as the caste of 239 persons in Midnapore. The Katiás are a weaving caste of the Central Provinces, but they had come to Midnapore to serve as coolies on the railway.

759. The Nepal Terai, north of the districts lying between Jalpaiguri and Muzaffarpur, is shown in Kennell's Map of 1779 as Morang,\* and the small community known in Kuch Bihar as Morangia doubtless derive their name from this tract of country. The tradition is that they are descended from twelve persons presented as slaves by the Rájá of Morang to the Koch King Nar Náráyan who ruled in the 16th century. They say that they then wore the thread, but gradually discarded it. They did not know the use of the plough when they first came to Kuch Bihar, and the pargana in which they were settled is still known as Kodálkheti from the fact that they used the spade to till the soil. The Morangias will not eat food cooked by any other caste, not even by Bráhmans. They mourn for 10 days. Widow marriage is prohibited.

760. Nahura is the name of a small non-Aryan tribe of Angul and the neighbouring states. I have not yet obtained an account of it.

761. Náik is a title of many castes, and it is not at all certain that the persons so returned at the census form a separate community of their own, but they have been shown as such, in accordance with a report received from Bankura, where they are chiefly found, and in the absence of sufficient information to affiliate them to any other group. Possibly they are Khairás. They claim to rank above Báuris and Bhuiyás. They abstain from beef, pork and fowls, but not from spirits. They burn their dead and perform the *śrádh* ceremony on the 12th day. Widows may not re-marry and divorce is allowed only for aggravated unchastity. A man may marry again if his first wife is barren or has an incurable disease. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste.

762. The Mru or Murung is a small tribe confined to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They speak a language of their own which is allied to Burmese. A small proportion of them are Buddhists, but most call themselves Hindus. The name may be derived from Mrohaung, the ancient capital of Arakan. This may possibly also be the derivation of the word Magh, which is usually pronounced with a nasal sound—something like Moung.

673. The Naliyás are found mainly in Puri whither they have immigrated from Madras. They live on the coast and are sea-fishermen. There are two sub-castes, Jáliyá and Khálási. The latter work in sea-going vessels. Some dig earth, pull punkhas and carry loads. The rule amongst them, as amongst the Kumutis, is that a man should, if possible, marry his first cousin. A widow may marry again, and

\* It is also shown on Van den Broucke's map as comprising the whole Himalayan tract from Bihar to Assam, and is mentioned more than once in the *Alamgirámah* and in the annals of the Koch Kings.



it is thought proper for her to espouse her first husband's younger brother. The sons inherit, and if there are no sons the property is taken by the community. They profess to be followers of Rámánuja. They worship Varuna with offerings of flowers and sweetmeats before launching a boat or casting a net. In time of trouble goats and fowls are sacrificed to Thákuráni. They do not perform the *śrádh* ceremony, but are beginning to offer *pindas* to their ancestors in general on the Mahálaya day.

764. Nat in Bihar corresponds very much to Bediyá in Bengal, and in the widest sense would include several castes which I have shown separately, such as Kanjar, Gandharb and Kheltá. In Sanskrit the word means 'a dancer.'

765. Nekuá or Neko is the name of a small community found only in the 24-Parganas. They were formerly weavers, but are now cultivators. They have separate priests of their own, and the Magistrate reports that they cannot be affiliated to any other caste.

766. Nichaundiá is a Baniyá caste of Gaya. Rájá Mán Singh, who is supposed to have lived for some years at Mánpur village near Gaya, is said to have brought two colonies of Agarwáls from Narnaul. The second colony, which arrived some years after the first, found that the latter had taken to eating fish and flesh, from which all Agarwáls should abstain; they therefore gave them the nickname Nichaundiá by which they have ever since been known.\* There is nothing to distinguish the Nichaundiás in their social and religious observances from other respectable Hindus. They are served by high class Bráhmans. Amongst the minor deities they pay special adoration to a male spirit called Bandh Gosáin, whose worship at marriages is indispensable, and who is propitiated by offerings of sweetmeats, male attire and incense. The Nichaundiás abstain from all animal food. Their original occupation was trade and money-lending. At the present day they are mostly traders, grocers, cloth-sellers and tobacconists, but some have taken to agriculture.

767. The Pahirás are a small tribe found mainly in pargana Dolma, in Manbhum, who have abandoned their original Munda language in favour of Bengali. I have no special information regarding them.

768. The Pankhus are a small tribe of the Chittagong Hill Tracts allied to the Banjogis. They have been described by Captain Lewin in his book on the Hill Tracts of Chittagong.

769. Pátrá or Kápuríá is the name of an Orissa caste who trade in silk cloth and piece-goods. They string necklaces and make and sell the bands used by Oriyá children for tying up their hair. The weaving of coloured silk cloth seems to have been their original occupation. There are four sub-castes—Phulia, Tasaria, Dandia and Bania. They are Vaishnavas by religion and specially venerate Bala Deva. They are served by good Bráhmans and are *jal chal*, i.e., their water is taken by the higher castes.

770. Porawál is a caste of Baniyás returned only in Hazaribagh and Cuttack. Mr. Crooke mentions Parwál and Purwál as two Baniyá castes of the United Provinces, and says that the latter caste has a tradition that it originally came from Pari.† The late Jogendra Náth Bhattáchárya in his book on "Hinda Castes and Sects" derives their name from Pore Bunder in Gujarat.

771. The Pundáris or Puros are found mainly in Birbhum, Malda, Rajshahi and Murshidabad. The name seems to indicate that they are in reality Pods, but by residence at a distance from the head-quarters of the caste they have gradually come to lose connection with it, and the Puros of Malda profess to know nothing of the Pods of the 24-Parganas, though they admit that they belong to the same caste as the Puros of Birbhum. According to the Játimála they are descended

\* *Nich* means 'down' and *avandá* 'with face downwards.'

† "Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," Vol. III, pages 136 and 181.



from the union of a Vaisya man with a Sunri woman. Their usual occupation in Malda is the cultivation of the mulberry plant and the rearing of silkworms, but some are zamindars, occupancy and non-occupancy raiyats and landless labourers. In Nadia they are vegetable growers and cultivators, and believe that the growing of vegetables was their original occupation. Three endogamous groups are reported from Malda, viz., Pundra, Paundrik and Supundra. The first two, it is said, are found in Malda and the third in Birbhum. In Nadia also there are three sub-castes, but they are here known as Begune, Piyáze and Peto. In Malda there are five exogamous *gotras*, Chandra Rishi, Ala Rishi, Mug Rishi, Tula Rishi and Káshyapa Rishi, said to be named after the spiritual guides of the original families from whom the present members of the caste claim descent. The Puros claim as their progenitor Pundra, son of Bali and founder of the ancient kingdom of Paundra Vardhana. Their present social position is low, and they do not aspire to the designation 'Brátya Kshattriya' as do the better class Pods of the 24-Parganas. It is said that their features and complexion differ very little from those of the Nabasákhas and other Hindu castes of the same rank. Their Bráhmans are degraded, but claim to be descended from the Bárendra and Baidik sub-castes. They are Vaishnavas by sect, and worship Vishnu as Pundarikakshya, the Lotus-eyed, a circumstance which suggests another derivation for their caste name, although it is equally likely that the latter suggested to their Bráhmans the desirability of inculcating the worship of this particular form of Vishnu. They forbid widow marriage and follow the ordinary observances of middle class Hindus. Their favourite godlings are Mangalchandi and Bisahari. Unmarried girls worship Kátyáyani.

In the state of Baud there is a small group of persons known as Pundári Máli. They grow flowers and vegetables. In accordance with local opinion they were treated at the census as a sub-caste of Máli, but the similarity of name and occupation would seem to suggest their original identity with the Pundáris or Puros of Bengal.

772. The Rájus are numerous only in Midnapore and Orissa. Their main occupation is cultivation, but a few are money-lenders and zamindars. They trace their origin to a certain Rájá Chauranga Deb, of Orissa, who, when encamped at Jellasore or, as some say, Dantan, fell in love with two girls, the one of the Vaisya and the other of the Dhobá caste. His descendants by the former are known as Dáina, and those by the latter as Báyan. The females of the former class wind their *sári* or skirt from the left, and those of the latter, from the right side of the waist. The two groups do not intermarry. The Dáina sub-caste considers itself superior to the Báyan, and it forbids the re-marriage of widows, which, though discouraged, still takes place occasionally amongst the Báyans. Owing to the influence of their progenitor, it is reported that in former times the Rájus were allowed to intermarry with the Sadgops of Bengal and the Chásás of Orissa, and this is said to account for their family names, of which Ghosh, Pál and Datta are the same as those of the Sadgops, while Jena, Sháhámál, Padhán, Mahanti, etc., are found amongst the Chásás. The Rájus rank with the Nabasákha group and are served by good Bráhmans. Some of their leading men are beginning to claim a Kshattriya origin and to assume the sacred thread. The social and ceremonial practices of the caste are much the same as those of the Nabasákhas. At marriage the essential portion of the ceremony is the binding together of the hands of the bride and bridegroom with Kusha grass. In the case of virgin wives the right hands are taken while when widows marry again it is the left hands which are bound together. A bride of the Báyan sub-caste ties a small quantity of ashes in the corner of her *sári*, which is supposed to be a token of her descent from a Dhobá.

There seems to be no connection between this community and the caste of the same name in Madras.

773. Rárho is the name of the Orissa caste of grain-parchers. The women parch the grain and the men sell it in the bazaar. The caste is found chiefly in Balasore. Some say that it came originally from Bengal, while others are inclined to think that it is a functional off-shoot from the Kaibartta caste.



774. I have referred to the group of persons known in Orissa as Sabákhíá in the note on the Kelá caste, of which it is probably a sub-caste. In Table XIII I have treated it as a separate caste, but on further consideration I am doubtful if this procedure was correct.

775. The Sahars are numerous in Cuttack, Puri and the Orissa States. They are said to be different from the Savars.

SAHAR. Many are day-labourers. They subsist largely on jungle products and are skilful hunters and fowlers. They employ no Bráhmans, and their chief object of worship is the Grám Devtí. There are three endogamous sub-castes, Basu, Palia and Paika. Nothing is known about their origin. They allow divorce and the re-marriage of widows. They drink wine and eat all kinds of animals.

776. Sámanta is a title of Rájputs, Khandáits, Águris and other castes, but, like Náik, it is reported to be a separate caste in Bankura, where it is the name of a community of persons residing chiefly in the Chhatna pargana, who appear to be of aboriginal origin, but who now claim to be Rájputs. The Rájá of Chhatna is himself a Sámanta. There are six sub-castes, Charakdángá, Mei, Házá, Háral, Banti and Pátharmeriyá. Intermarriage is not absolutely prohibited, but a man will not give his daughter elsewhere so long as he can find a suitable bridegroom in his own section of the community. Girls are married very young if a suitable match can be arranged, but many grow to maturity while still virgins. Widow marriage is forbidden. The Sámantas abstain from drink and unclean food and profess to follow the Hindu law of inheritance. They are served by good Bráhmans. The usual occupation is cultivation.

777. The Sanáis were returned only in the Narsinghpur State and Cuttack.

SANÁI. They are reported to be to a degraded caste of sweepers, but appear to have no connection with the Hári or any of the other sweeper castes.

778. The Saráks are an archaic community of such special interest that I may perhaps be pardoned for giving a somewhat more detailed account of them than has been thought

SARÁK. necessary in the case of other castes. They are described by Mr. Risley as "a small caste of Chota Nagpur who seem to be a Hinduised remnant of the early Jain people, to whom local legends ascribe the ruined temples, the defaced images, and even the abandoned copper mines of that part of Bengal." The recent census shows that the caste is much more widely distributed than was apparent from the statistics of earlier enumerations, but it is doubtful whether even the present figures represent its full strength. In many parts the Saráks have taken to weaving and are popularly known as Saráki Tánti, and they have thus doubtless sometimes been entered at the census as Tánti and not by their proper caste name. In the Pipli thana of Puri, a local reporter has estimated that there are a thousand Saráks, but only 150 have been returned at the census.

Burdwan ...	...	819
Birbhum ...	...	87
Bankura ...	...	1,972
Midnapore ...	...	436
Hooghly ...	...	166
Sonthal Parganas ...	...	982
Cuttack ...	...	176
Balasore ...	...	6
Puri ...	...	150
Hazaribagh ...	...	26
Ranchi ...	...	1,942
Manbhum ...	...	10,496
Orissa States ...	...	129
Total ...	...	17,385

The word Sarák is doubtless derived from Srávaka, the Sanskrit word for "a hearer." Amongst the Jains the term was used to indicate the laymen or persons who engaged in secular pursuits as distinguished from the Yatis, the monks or ascetics, and it still survives as the name of a group which is rapidly becoming a regular caste of the usual type (Saráogi). The Buddhists used the same word to designate the second class of monks, who mainly occupied the monasteries; the highest class or Arhans usually lived solitary lives as hermits, while the great majority of the Bhikshus, or lowest class of monks, led a vagrant life of mendicancy, only resorting to the monasteries in times of difficulty or distress. The origin of the caste is ascribed in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purán* to the union of a Joláhá man with a woman of the Kuvinda, or weaver caste. This, however, merely shows that at the time when this *Purán*



was composed, or when the passage was interpolated,\* the Saráks had already taken to weaving as a means of livelihood. Mr. Risley says that the Saráks of Manbhum, though now Hindus, retain traditions of having formerly been Jains.

779. It is now reported from Manbhum and Ranchi that they claim formerly to have been Agarwáls who venerated Pareshnáth and inhabited the country on the bank of the river Saráks of West Bengal and Chota Nagpur. Saraju which flows into the Ganges near Ghazipur, in the United Provinces, where they lived by trade and money-lending. They cannot explain why they left their original home, but in Manbhum they say that they first settled near Dhalbhum in the estate of a certain Mán Rájá. They subsequently moved in a body to Pachet, in consequence of an outrage contemplated by Mán Rájá on a girl belonging to their caste. In Ranchi it is believed that their first settlement was at Ogra near Puri, whence they subsequently migrated to Chota Nagpur. In Burdwan and Birbhum there is a tradition that they originally came from Gujarat, but in the former district the popular belief is that they were brought thither as sculptors and masons for the construction of stone temples and houses, the remains of which are still visible on the bank of the Barákar. They themselves say that their ancestors were traders and revered Pareshnáth, but at the present time, as in Birbhum, Bankura, and Manbhum, they call themselves Hindus. The Saráks of this part of the country are served by Bráhmans, who in some parts are, and in others are not, held to be degraded by acting as their priests. In Manbhum it is said that they were not served by Bráhmans of any kind until they were provided with a priest by a former Rájá of Pachet, as a reward for a service rendered to him by a Sarák, who concealed him when his country was invaded by the *Bargis*, i.e., the Maráthás. There are seven *gotras*, or exogamous groups†—Ádi or Ádya Deb, Dharma Deb, Rishi Deb, Sándilya, Káshyapa, Ananta, and Bharadvája. In Birbhum Gautam and Vyása are also given as the names of *gotras*, and in Ranchi Batsava is added. They are also divided into four *tháks* or sub-castes based on locality, viz.—

- (1) Páñchkotia, or inhabitants of the Pachet estate in Manbhum,
- (2) Nadipáriya, or Saráks residing on the right bank of the Dámodar in Manbhum,
- (3) Birbhumiya, or residents of Birbhum, and
- (4) Támáriya, or residents of pargana Támár in Ranchi.

There is a fifth sub-caste based on occupation, viz., the Saráki Tántis or Tánti Saráks of the Vishnupur subdivision of Bankura, who live by weaving and are held to be degraded. The latter, again, have four subdivisions—Asvini Tánti, Pátrá, Uttarkuli, and Mandarani. In the Sonthal Parganas the sub-castes are Phul Saráki, Sikhariá, Kandala and Saráki Tánti.

Except for the few traditions mentioned above, the names of some of their *gotras*, and the extreme tenderness for animal life mentioned by Mr. Risley, which not only makes them strict vegetarians, but even leads them to eschew altogether the use of the word 'cut,' there is little to distinguish the Saráks of West Bengal, Manbhum, and Ranchi from the ordinary Hindus amongst whom they live.‡ In Ranchi the Saráks specially venerate Syáma Chand whose worship is performed by a Bráhman. All fines imposed for caste offences are set aside for the worship of this godling.

780. In Orissa the Saráks are weavers, and are often known as Saráki Tánti, but they are accorded somewhat higher rank than the ordinary Tántis. There are here four main settlements, viz., in the Tigaria and Baramba States, in the Banki thana in Cuttack, and in the Pipli thana of Puri. The Puri Saráks have lost all connection with the others, and do not intermarry with them. Though they are not

\* *Joláha* is a word of Muhammadan importation, and is derived from the Arabic *Johálá*, plural of *Jáhil*, ignorant.

† In Dumka the *gotra* does not operate as a bar on marriage. They perform their *śuddh* on the 11th day and not on the 30th as elsewhere.

‡ In Manbhum they abstain from felling or from eating the fruit of the *dañak* (*Artocarpus Lacucha*) and *damur* (*Ficus Glomerata*) trees. The word 'cut' is also taboo to the Baishnabs of Bengal, and there is a well known story of the imbroglio that arose between a girl and her *guru* owing to her having to avoid the use of this word. The Saráks will not eat onions.



served by Bráhmans, they call themselves Hindus. They have no traditions regarding their origin, but like all other Saráks are strict vegetarians. The Saráks of Baramba, Tigaria and Banki are closely connected and still intermarry. Those of Baramba were shown as Buddhists at the census. The others also say that they are Buddhists, but at the census they were entered as Hindus. The tradition current amongst both communities is that their ancestors came from Burdwan to worship at the temple at Puri, and that the Rájá of Orissa (the Thákur Rájá of Puri), who was himself a Buddhist, took much interest in them and settled them near his palace on some land which he assigned to them for their maintenance. This tradition is, to some extent, confirmed by their titles, some of which, such as Chánd, Datta, Kar, and Nandi, are more common in Bengal than in Orissa. There are various references in their religious writings to Bardhamán which probably stands for Burdwan. The use of the word Sarák by a Buddhist community seems to indicate that they were originally a sectarian group that has hardened into a caste, and Babu Jamini Mohan Das, who has collected for me most of the information regarding the Orissa Saráks, says that they are in many respects similar to the Dasnámí Sannyásis of Cuttack, a caste of known sectarian origin which will presently be referred to. A parallel caste of Buddhist monks abandoning celibacy and forming domestic ties is furnished by the Bánhras of Nepal who will be described further on in the notes on Nepal castes.

These Buddhist Saráks profess to have four *gotras*, viz., Adi Deb, commonly called Ayi Deb, Krishna Deb, Hema Deb and another which has not yet been ascertained, but may possibly be Dharma Deb.

They assemble once a year (on the Mágh Saptami) at the celebrated cave temples of Khandagiri to offer homage to the idols there and to confer on religious matters.\* They also worship an idol called Chaturbhuja,† whom they identify with Buddha, especially on the Baisákh Chaturdasi, or day preceding the full moon, which they say is the anniversary of Buddha's wedding.‡ The offering consists of edible fruits, rice, etc. Cooked food is never offered. The only offerings at Hindu temples of which they will partake are those made to Jagannáth at Puri, which, as is well known, is often said to be of Buddhistic origin. All their ceremonial observances are commenced with the recitation of the formula:—

*Ahinsá parama Dharma.*

They say that they follow the precepts of the Sisu Veda, but cannot tell what doctrines are therein inculcated.

Girls are married between the ages of 7 to 11, and boys between 15 and 20. They say that widow-marriage is forbidden in their *Shástras*, but of late it has crept in. Marriages and other ceremonies are performed by any one of the caste who can read the *Mantras* and is allowed to call himself Achárya.§ The only occasion when Bráhmans are employed is at the *Hom* ceremony. At marriage the proceedings commence with the following ceremonies:—

- (1) Abáhana, or welcome to Buddha Deva.
- (2) Puja to Ganapati and Varuna.
- (3) Naibedya, or offering to Buddha and the ten Dikpáls, or guardian deities of the ten directions.||

\* These temples are situated midway between Puri and Cuttack, about 12 miles west of the high road, and have been fully described by Hunter. They are of undoubted Buddhistic origin, and represent various phases of Buddhist life, from the small rock cells of the early Buddhist missionaries to the elaborate Queen's palace, of later times, when Buddhism had become the State religion. They cover a period from about 200 B. C. to 474 A. D., when the Kesari or Lion dynasty rose to power.

† In the Vishnupur Circular cards, which date from about the tenth century and which have recently been described by Mahámahopádhyaýa Hars Prasad Sastri, the figure representing Buddha is four armed. The Náráyana Chaturbhuja described in Mr. Westmacott's "Traces of Buddhism in Dinajpur" (J. A. S. B., 1875, page 189), may also be a representation of Buddha. On the other hand, the image actually worshipped on the occasion mentioned in the text (in Tigaria at least) has only two arms, and is undoubtedly a representation of Buddha.

‡ The full moon day of Baisákh is looked on by Buddhists generally as their most sacred day, being the anniversary not only of the birth, but also of the enlightenment and the *pari-nirvána* of Gautama Buddha.

§ This is the title still borne in Nepal by the Buddhist priests of the Newárs. According to one account the sister's son is preferred as priest if he possesses the requisite qualifications.

|| India, Agoi, Jam, Nairit, Varuna, Vágu, Kubir, Siva, Brahma and Ananta.



- (4) Gandhādhībāsa, or welcome to the bride and bridegroom.
- (5) Worship of 18 Mātrigan, including 12 deified women\* and six essential human virtues.†
- (6) Nandimukhī Srāddha, or offerings to the spirits of the ancestors of the bride and bridegroom.

Then follows the *Kanyā Dān*, or bestowal of the daughter in marriage. A compound of milk, curds, honey, molasses, and *ghi* is next offered to Buddha, and eaten by the bride and bridegroom; this is called *Madhu parka pāñchāmrita*. After this comes the binding part of the ceremony, the joining of hands, or *hastagranthī*, and the father then makes over the bride to her husband's care (*samarpan*). The *Hom* ceremony is now performed by a Brāhman called in for the purpose, and the Achārya concludes the proceedings by calling upon Buddha to shower his blessings on the young couple. In confirmation of the tradition amongst the Ranchi Sarāks that their ancestors were once settled in Orissa, it may be mentioned that their marriage ceremony is very similar to the above, except that the preliminary welcome to Buddha is dispensed with.

The *srādh* is performed on the 11th day. The rules prohibiting the eating of animal food and the taboo of the word meaning 'cut' are as strict amongst these Buddhist Sarāks as amongst those of Burdwan. The caste organisation is very complete and is much the same as that of the *hātua* or trading castes of Orissa. At the head is the Mahāpātra, who decides various social and caste questions with the aid of his Paramānik or Assistant, Thānpati or peon, and Pākhā or page. In important matters the decision rests with the community, who are called together by the Mahāpātra and deliberate under his guidance. All fines that may be imposed go towards meeting the cost of the *Bauddha Pujā* in Baisākh. The Thānpati presides at this *pujā*; if he is impure owing to a death or birth in his family, the Pākhā takes his place. At caste feasts the Mahāpātra is always served first. At marriages the Mahāpātra and Paramānik are each given a piece of cloth, and the Thānpati and Pākhā both receive ten betel-nuts. The rank of all these caste officials is hereditary. Some of the Sarāks are in possession of old palm-leaf records, but they know very little regarding their contents.‡

781. There is a small community in the Champaran district known as Sarbhāng, which is said to be sprung from promiscuous intercourse between Sannyāsi ascetics and loose women. No caste restrictions are observed; they admit outsiders of all castes and religions and will take food from any one. They worship Rām Chandra and hold that the whole world is full of Rām, so everything is pure. The dead are buried. The usual occupation is begging, but some have settled down to cultivation. The caste, if such it can be called, ranks with Aghoris and is regarded with scorn by respectable Hindus.

782. In many parts of the province there are communities descended from religious sectaries who are known variously as Gosāin, Sannyāsi, Dasnāmi, Atith and Jogi, and as these terms are often used in very different senses, it is desirable to explain their various meanings.

783. Gosāin or Goswāmi may be literally translated as one who has mastered his senses, and was originally applied only to persons who had abandoned all worldly interests and adopted a life of asceticism and contemplation. It seems to have been primarily a title of the followers of Sankarāchārjya, but was assumed by the great Vaishnava reformer, Chaitanya, and since his time it has, in Bengal and Orissa, come to be used specially of persons of the Vaishnava sect. Amongst the latter the term was first applied to certain Brāhmans and other great religious preceptors, and it is still used by their descendants as a family

\* Gaurī, Padmā, Sachi, Medhā, Sābitrī, Bijayā, Jayā, Debasenā, Swāhā, Swadhā, Mātrī, and Lokmātrī. Amongst the Hindus of Bengal only sixteen Mātrikas are worshipped, the omissions being Mātrī and Lokmātrī, both of which are general terms with no definite application. I am informed that the Brāhmans of Orissa, like the Sarāks, take eighteen as the number of Mātrikas.

† Dhriti (patience), Pushti (nourishment), Khamā (forgiveness), Tushti (contentment), Atmā (soul), and Adhishatī Debātā (guardian deity).

‡ I have since procured one of these manuscripts through Babu Jamini Mohan Das and made it over to Mahamahopādhyāya H. P. Sastri for critical examination. The marriage ceremony as therein described differs in some respects from that mentioned in the text.



title, usually in the form of the *tatsama* Goswami. It is also the title assumed by any Baishnab who sets himself up as a Guru or spiritual guide. In the rest of the province the word is sometimes employed as a title of Bráhmans, but it is more generally understood as a synonym for Sannyási or Atith, and indicates the followers of Sankaráchárjya, both celibates and house-holders. It is used in the latter sense chiefly in Darbhanga, the Sonthal Parganas and parts of Chota Nagpur. The term is also sometimes applied to those Jogis who are followers of Machendra Náth, and in the north of Chota Nagpur the Jogis generally are known as Náth Gosáin.

784. Sannyási in its strict sense means "one who has given up all earthly desires," but the word now includes all kinds of Saiva mendicants. It is generally confined to those who

*Sannyási.*

are celibates, but in Orissa and Midnapore it indicates the caste, to be presently described, which is known in Saran as Gharbári Atith, and in the Sonthal Parganas and a few other districts as Gosáin. In Nepal I am told that Sannyási, Jogi and Atith are all synonymous terms, indicating the ascetics who belong to the various orders founded by Sankaráchárjya collectively known as Das-námi. Any one of any caste can become a Sannyási, but low caste members of the cult cannot mix with those of higher caste. They are cenobites, but it is open to them at any time to leave the monasteries and become house-holders or Gharbári Atiths.

785. Atith\* means "an unexpected guest" and was originally a general designation of all wandering Saiva ascetics, but it is now more specialised and is generally applied to

*Atith.*

the followers of Sankaráchárjya, who are more precisely known as Dasnámi with reference to the ten sub-sects or *kuris* into which his followers were ultimately divided. At the present time the Atiths are divided into two main classes, Sannyási Atiths or ascetics and Gharbári Atiths or house-holders.† Both classes are addressed as Bábáji as a token of respect. They are often known to outsiders as Gosáin. In Midnapore and Orissa the word Sannyási is used as the designation of those who are house-holders. The following more detailed particulars regarding the two sections of Atiths are based mainly on information received from Saran where they are most numerous.

Sankaráchárjya, who is regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Siva, had four disciples, and these disciples established the ten orders of ascetics or Atiths enumerated in Mr. Risley's articles on Dasnámi. Sankaráchárjya's mission was to extirpate Buddhism, and wherever a Buddhist monastery was found, a *math* of his own followers was established. These ascetics took a vow of celibacy and were supposed to devote themselves entirely to religious matters. But large landed estates gradually became attached to the *maths*, and the inmates, though they did not marry, formed liaisons with women of different classes. Many of these *maths* still survive, but side by side with the anchorites, or Sannyási Atiths, corresponding groups of house-holders, or Gharbári Atiths, have gradually come into existence. They attribute their origin to an intrigue between a Sannyási Atith and a Bábhan woman, and it seems not unlikely that they are the descendants of the women attached to the *maths*. Or it may be that they are the descendants of followers of the sect who never took the vow of celibacy, or of backsliders who broke their vows and settled down and married. The fact that outsiders frequently address them as Gosáin seems, however, to indicate that their ancestors were spiritual guides, and the possession by many of them of grants of rent-free land points in the same direction. They wear the same distinctive yellow turban and necklace‡ as the Sannyásis, and retain the terms, Giri, Puri, &c., which they add after their own names.§ The fact that a man belongs to one or other of these classes or *kuris* does not, however, limit the choice of a wife, and the only restriction in this respect is that a man may not marry in his father's *gotra*, nor within the fourth or fifth degree of relationship on the mother's side. The marriage ceremony is of the

\* Spelt Athith in Champaran and Atithi in Gaya.

† These Gharbári Atiths have their counterpart in the Báhmas of Nepal, see paragraphs 887 & 888.

‡ Some dye all their clothes yellow and also their bedsheets. The *Eudráksha* or necklace contains 108 beads. They have also an elbow string with 27 and a wristlet with 5 beads. Strings with 5 beads depend from each ear.

§ The most common *Kuris* amongst the Gharbári Atiths are Giri, Puri and Arun.



ordinary type, and the painting of the bride's forehead with vermilion constitutes the binding element. Among the well-to-do, infant marriage is in vogue, but the poorer classes marry as adults. Widows are not allowed to marry again, and outsiders are not admitted to the caste. The Atithis are served by good Bráhmans on ceremonial occasions, but their Gurus or spiritual guides are taken from their own community. They are in the main worshippers of Siva, to whom flowers, etc., are offered, and goats are sometimes sacrificed. In Saran it is said that the godlings Báñdi and Goreiya are also worshipped. The Gharbári Atithis sometimes burn their dead, but both they and the Sannyásis usually bury them in a sitting position with their hands clasped as in meditation. This burial is called *Samádhi*. Sometimes the dead bodies are thrown into the Ganges supported by floats so as to maintain the sitting posture. They perform the usual *srádh*, but those who are ascetics offer the *pinda* only to their deceased spiritual leaders. In Saran the Gharbári Atithis are fairly prosperous. Some are zamindars and others are money-lenders and cultivators. A few are landless labourers, and some still follow their traditional occupation, mendicancy. In Darbhanga they usually sell beads. In Midnapore they act as the priests of the Jogis. Elsewhere they are usually cultivators. In Gaya a few are clerks in Government service. They are generally regarded as a clean caste, and their water is usually taken. Their social position varies. In Saran they are said to rank low, but in Gaya they are reckoned to stand next to the Bráhmans and they pronounce the *Asirbád* or 'benediction' to all the other castes. The Gharbári Atithis will not eat with the Sannyásis, as the latter take in outsiders, while the former do not. The latter theoretically admit all castes, but in practice they receive only those who are *jalácharaniya*. They do not employ Bráhmans. Some of them are in charge of great temples, such as those of Bodh Gaya and Tarakeswar, and are very rich. As an instance of the slender connection between theory and practice in Hinduism, it is pointed out by Mr. Oldham that the Mahant of the famous temple of Bodh Gaya is a Saiva ascetic of the Giri sect, and that he fosters the worship of the image of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu. Many of the monastic Atithis form liaisons with women of various castes. They usually take a *chela* or disciple into association with them, and when they die the latter succeeds to their estate and position.

786. Dasnámi refers almost everywhere to the followers of the ten sects of followers of Sankaráchárjya, and is usually confined to those who are mendicants, but in Hazaribagh it is also used with reference to those who are house-holders. In Saran it is said that some of the Dasnámis are Kabirpánthis.

787. Yogi or Jogi is a word of much greater ambiguity. It means one who practises *yoga* or 'devotion,' but it is used in a wide sense of any ascetic, including even the filthy-eating Aghoris. Used more precisely, it indicates a low class of people who make silk thread, string ornaments and sell strings to be worn as charms round the neck or waist. Many of them are strolling beggars, who play upon a stringed instrument or extort alms by beating a drum incessantly in front of a man's house without speaking. In Orissa they perform the worship of Siva and practise as doctors, while in parts of Bihar and Chota Nagpur they are the religious guides of the Chamárs and other low castes. They usually wear the yellow turban of the Saiva ascetics and often assume the sacred thread. But they everywhere rank very low; their water is not taken, their touch defiles, and it is considered a bad omen to meet one of them when starting on a journey.\* Those who work in thread are often known as Dorihár. In Shababad those who string ornaments are called Patihár. Their origin is generally unknown. In Darbhanga it is suggested that they are the off-spring of illicit intercourse between mendicant Sannyásis and women of low caste.

In Gaya the word is said to be the special designation of the followers of Machendra Náth, who are divided into five sub-sects, Bharthári, Yogi, Jagam, Joláh Yogi and Náth. The Náths are further subdivided into Bind,

\* Their low position may be due to the fact that they were formerly Buddhists, with which religion they are often said to be connected. An interesting account of the Jogis in the Punjab will be found in the Punjab Census Report for 1891, page 113.



Desi, Upadesi and Darshana. The Yogis and Joláh Yogis have as a rule abandoned celibacy and become house-holders. The Bhartháris are some of them celibates and some house-holders. The others are all *Udasi*, i.e., they are celibates and lead an ascetic life. Those who are house-holders intermarry within the limits of their sub-sect. The Yogis string ornaments and deal in thread, and are also called Dorihár. The Joláh Yogis, are weavers, and the Bhartháris play on the *Sarangi*, a sort of guitar, and sing songs in praise of Bharthári, brother of Vikramáditya. The house-holders admit no outsiders, but the ascetics take in members of the higher castes. The ceremony of admission includes shaving the hair-knot (*tik*), boring the ears, and putting on a yellow cloth and a sacred thread made of sheep's wool, to which is attached the emblem of the sect, a wind instrument called *singhi nad* made of the horn of a deer, or of *bel* or sandal wood. This is blown at all religious ceremonies and before taking food. The members of the sect are usually Saivas, but some Bhartháris are now Muhammadans. Like the Atiths they bury their dead in a sitting position.

The Jugis of Bengal Proper do the same, and their occupation, their use of the *Padabi* 'Náth,' their low social rank, &c., all point to a connection between them and the Jogis of other parts of the Province. The change from 'o' to 'u' is seen in many Bengali words besides Jugi, e.g., Muchi, Mudi, Dhuti, and Puthi.

788. The Shágirdpeshás are specially interesting, as they are the only true caste in this Province which takes its origin from

SHÁGIRDPESHÁ.

miscegenation, and which is still adding to its numbers in the same way. Amongst the members of the higher castes of Orissa who do not allow widow remarriage, and also amongst the Káyasth immigrants from Bengal, it is a common practice to take as maid-servants and concubines women belonging to the lower clean castes, such as Chásá and Bhandári. The offspring of these maid servants are known as Shágirdpeshá. They form a regular caste of the usual type and are divided into endogamous groups with reference to the caste of the male parent. Káyasth Shágirdpeshás will not intermarry with Karan Shágirdpeshás nor Rájput Shágirdpeshás (their number is very small) with those of Káyasth origin, but intermarriage between the Shágirdpeshás of Karan and of Khandáit descent sometimes takes place, just as such marriages sometimes occur between persons belonging to the castes to which they owe their origin. The caste of the mother makes no difference in the rank of the children, but those who can count several generations from their original progenitor rank higher than those in whose case the stigma of illegitimacy is more recent.

The word Shágirdpeshá, which is commonly pronounced Ságarpeshá, means servant, and is applied with reference to the traditional occupation, which is domestic service. It is said that the word should properly be confined to the offspring of Bengali Káyasths, and that the illegitimate children of Karans and other castes of Orissa should be called Krishnapakshi or Antarpuá or again Antarkaran, Antarkhandáit, etc. This distinction however, is not observed in practice. The relationship between the legitimate children of a man of good caste and their bastard brothers and sisters is recognised, but the latter cannot eat with the former, hence they are called *Bhátántar*, or separated by rice. They are entitled to maintenance, but cannot inherit their father's property so long as there are any legitimate heirs. They usually serve in their father's house until they grow up and marry; male children are then usually given a house and a few bighas of land for their support. The Shágirdpeshás are also sometimes known as Golám (slave), a term which is also applied to the Sudras of Eastern Bengal who appear in several respects to be an analogous caste. Another appellation is Kotha po (own son), as distinguished from Prajá po (tenant son) which formerly denoted a purchased slave. Their family name is usually Singh or Dás. Some of them have taken to cultivation, but they will not themselves handle the plough. They usually live in great poverty. It is said to be impossible for a Shágirdpeshá under any circumstances to obtain admission to his father's caste. If a man of that caste were to marry a Shágirdpeshá woman he would be outcasted and his children would become Shágirdpeshás. Persons of higher rank (usually outcastes) are admitted to the



caste. A feast is given by the applicant for admission, and he is then formally acknowledged as a caste-fellow.

In their social observances the Shágirdpeshás follow the practices of the higher castes. They forbid the re-marriage of widows and do not allow divorce. Polygamy is only permitted when good cause is shown, *e.g.*, if the first wife is barren or diseased. They belong to the Vaishnava sect, worship the ordinary Hindu gods and employ good Bráhmans. The binding portion of the marriage ceremony is the joining of the hands of bride and bridegroom by the officiating priest. Shágirdpeshás of the first generation, being illegitimate, cannot perform their father's *srádth*. They usually cremate their dead.

In spite of their number (about 47,000), the caste is said to be of quite recent origin, and it is asserted that it did not exist a century and-a-half ago. However this may be, Shágirdpeshá is an Urdu and not a native Oriyá word.

789. Shámri or Shámvari is a small Baniyá caste of Patna, Shahabad and Saran. They are grocers and salt-sellers.\* Some trade in grain with pack ponies or bullocks and some are cultivators; a few have become landholders. There is a tradition in Saran that they derive their name from a salt lake named Shambhar in the neighbourhood of which they formerly lived. In Shahabad and Patna it is said that they come from Sambalgarh, Moradabad. There are no sub-castes, and the usual prohibited degrees of relationship constitute the only bar on marriage within the caste. Child-marriage is practised by those who can afford it, but the poorer members of the community marry as adults. The binding part of the ceremony, which is of the usual type, is the painting of the bride's forehead with vermilion. Two wives are allowed, but according to some this is permitted only in case of barrenness on the part of the first wife. Widows may marry again by the Sagái rite. The reports differ as to whether the first husband's younger brother has a preferential claim or not. The majority of the caste, in Saran at least, belong to the Nánaksháhi sect. They venerate Satya Náráyan who is worshipped especially before marriage. Bándi, the seven sisters and Sitalá are also worshipped, chiefly by the women, who also adore a mound of earth called Devákur, which is set up inside the house. The better classes burn their dead and throw the ashes into a river or lake. Amongst the poor burial is the rule; usually fire is first placed in the mouth (*Mukhagni*). The *srádth* is performed on the 13th day in Shahabad and on the 17th day in Saran. In Shahabad it is said that the whole caste is strictly vegetarian, but in Saran only those who are Nánaksháhis abstain from flesh; others have but few scruples and will eat even field mice. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance, except that a brother or brother's son, even if of a separate mess, succeeds to the exclusion of a sister or sister's son. They are served by good Bráhmans, and the highest castes will take *pakki* from their hands.

790. The Sinduriás are sellers of the red powder called *sindur*. They are common throughout Bihar, but are found chiefly in Darbhanga. Their existence as a separate caste is uncertain. They themselves often claim to be Káyasths; but the genuine Káyasths deny all connection with them. In the Sonthal Parganas they are now usually grocers and are said to be descended from the Gandhabanik caste.

791. Sitalá or Sitaliyá is a small caste of brass workers in the Tributary States of Orissa. They are nomadic in their habits. Their usual title is Padhán. They are reported to be a separate caste unconnected with any other community; but further enquiry may possibly result in their identification with the Malárs of Ranchi who have already been described.

792. The Siyals are toddy-drawers in Orissa. They are sometimes said to be a sub-caste of Chamár, but the more general view is that they are an entirely distinct group. They

\* It is sometimes said that they are a sub-caste of Rauniár, but this seems improbable. The latter are traders in grain and cloth and money-lenders.



trace their origin to a Vaisya father and Chandál mother. The Jyotish serve as their priests. Widows are allowed to re-marry. They abstain from pork and fowls, and profess not to drink wine, but are said to do so secretly. They will neither eat, drink, nor smoke with any other caste.

793. The Siyalgirs are a small community, who reside in the Mohanpur out-post of Dantan thana in Midnapore. They speak a dialect of Gujaráti, and are supposed to have immi-

SİYALGIR.

grated from the west some five or six generations ago, but nothing is known regarding the precise time of the settlement or the reasons which led to it. They are said to have thievish proclivities, and may possibly be the descendants of some wandering Bhil tribe which found its way to Midnapore and stayed there. They now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. They profess the Hindu religion, but have no Bráhmans to perform their ceremonies. Their priests are men of the tribe called Paramániks, who have picked up a smattering of religious lore. Widows are allowed to marry again by the Sánga rite. The dead are buried, not burnt.

794. Sokiyár is a small caste found only in Hazaribagh. Most are cultivators, but some are gardeners or day-labourers. A few are zamindars, tenure-holders, and money-lenders.

SOKIYÁR.

The origin of the caste is unknown, beyond a vague tradition that it came from Janakpur, on account of which Janakpuria is sometimes used as a synonym for the ordinary caste name. Chásiyár is another synonym. There are three divisions, Gandoriya, Chehaur and Basaria. Members of the first and third groups may intermarry and eat with each other, but not with the Chehaur, which forms a true sub-caste. The favourite title is Mahton. The Sokiyárs employ Jyotish Bráhmans as their priests. Widow marriage is allowed, as also divorce and polygamy. There is little in their religious observances to distinguish them from other Hindus of the middle class. It should, however, be noted that the Falgu and Barákar rivers are considered sacred, especially the former, in which the ashes of their dead are deposited by those who can afford the journey. They specially venerate the sun which they look on as the great manifestation of God's power on earth. They also worship Bhagabati. They rank on about the same level as the Kahárs. Their water, however, is not taken by the higher castes.

795. The Sudha or Sud is a tribe of Orissa with traditions of having formerly been the dominant power in Baud, with whose chief they still claim relationship. Though

SUDHA.

now cultivators, they believe that they were formerly soldiers, and adore guns in consequence. They worship the Bakul tree and will on no account fell it. They are divided into various exogamous septs. There is no intermarriage between the Sudhas of Baud and Athmallik and those residing in the other Orissa States. They practise infant marriage. When a girl is about to attain puberty and no suitable bridegroom is forthcoming, she undergoes a mock marriage to an arrow, and can then remain single without blame until a suitor appears. They tried to have themselves recorded in the census schedules as Sudra-Maháláik.\* In 1891 they seem to have been confused with Sudra.

796. There is a good deal of confusion regarding the sweeper castes. They are all known generally to outsiders as Mehtar, but this word in its strict sense refers only to the

SWEEPER CASTES.

sub-castes of Hári who remove night-soil.† The following are the main scavenger castes of Bengal:—Hári and Bhuinmáli, Dom, Lálbegi, Sek or Sekra, and Hela or Halálkhor. In Ranchi Báuris, and in Singhbhum and Angul, Ghásis act as sweepers. In Jessore the work is done by a degraded section of Chota Bhágia Muchis. The Magistrate of Rajshahi reports another sweeper caste called Kharakpuria or Kángnia (from *kangan* a comb) who make combs and other articles from bone. The latter, however, seem to be only a section of the Hári caste with whom they intermarry. Two other terms, Raut and Bhángi, are also used by scavengers as caste names. The former is a title of many castes, including Kurmi, Dhánuk and Goálá, and it is probably used

\* For further details see "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," Volume II, page 267.

† In Monghyr and Dacca there is said to be a separate caste called Mehtar, but this seems doubtful.



only as a title by some of the sweeper fraternity. In some districts the term is said to be synonymous with Halálkhor, while elsewhere it is applied to Doms who work as scavengers. Bhángi is sometimes said to be a general term applied by Hindus to all who remove night-soil, including Dom, Hári, Bhuinmáli, Halálkhor and Lálbegi, and it appears to be used in this sense in the United Provinces. In Rajshahi the term is said to refer to an upcountry caste that only removes night-soil when away from home. A Dom again who becomes a *Sadhu* is said to be called Bhángi. In Ranchi the word is reported to be equivalent to Lálbegi, and in Saran to Halálkhor.

797. The Lálbegis are usually held to be Muhammadans, but they often call themselves Hindus. The truth is that they are on the border-land between the two religions, and they worship both Muhammadan *pirs*, such as Pir Jahar and the Páñch Pir, and also Jagadamba and other godlings of the low-caste Hindus around them. Their priests are men of their own community. They eat the leavings of all, whether Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, and also pork, except in Eastern Bengal, where their leaning towards Muhammadanism is most marked. They have no sub-castes and no *gotras*. They practise infant marriage and permit divorce and the re-marriage of widows. They remove night-soil and sweepings, but not the bodies of dead animals. Their women assist in their work. They have no traditions regarding their origin, but their caste name is probably derived from Lál Beg who is described in the Poona Gazetteer as the patron saint of the Halálkhors. This would seem to indicate some link between them and the latter, but in Bengal, no connection is admitted. Their relationship with the Sekras seems closer, and in Rajshahi the two castes are said to intermarry.

798. The above account of the Lálbegis applies in most respects to the Halálkhors. In Hazaribagh a degraded Bráhma is said to act as their priest, while in Champaran the Hajjám officiates at their funeral ceremonies. They reverence the Páñch Pir, and also Jagadamba, Goreiya, Manasá, Hanumán, Báodi and other Hindu godlings. Their name is said to mean 'eaters of lawful food,' in ironical allusion to their want of any scruples as to what they eat.

799. The Sekras (from Shekh ?) have been more completely converted to Muhammadanism than either of the above castes. Their boys are circumcised; they refrain from pork; they worship no Hindu gods; they are married by Muhammadan Kázis, and they observe the Ramazán and offer up prayers like other Muhammadans. They remove night-soil, but not dead bodies. They marry young and allow divorce and widow re-marriage.

800. The Hári is the main Hindu sweeper caste of Bengal Proper and Orissa. It has been fully described by Mr. Risley. The following notes are merely designed to supplement his account. According to the *Brahma Vaivartta Purán*, they are descended from a Let father and Chandál mother. Their own tradition is that after creating the four main castes of Manu, Bráhma found that he had not created any one to keep the world clean. He accordingly rubbed some dust from his arm and with it made the first Hári. The name is said to be derived from 'har,' a bone, and in some places they still make combs and other articles of bone.\*

In Birbhum there are said to be four sub-castes:—

- (1) Bhuinmáli, cultivators.
- (2) Dái or Phul Hári, midwives.
- (3) Kahár Hári, *pálki*-bearers.
- (4) Mehtar Hári. These alone act as sweepers. They are again subdivided into three sections, Bengali, Maghaya, and Bánswári. Four sub-castes are also reported from Bankura and Singhbhum, Birkadmá, Duliá, Khariá and Mehtar in the former, and Kadmá, Nágbansi, Silkátá and Tántkátá in the latter district. In Singhbhum the Kadmá sub-caste alone act as sweepers.

In Balasore there are two sub-castes, Karna and Nalua. They have various exogamous groups, including Ghorá, Bágh, Nág, Sálmách, Mokhiari, Karpuriá,

\* The name may also be due to the fact that they use bones as implements for cleaning privies. The Kadmá sub-caste may possibly prove to be the same as the group known as Kadmá in Midnapore, ante paragraph 727.



Gidhariá and Muthiá. Some of these appear to be totemistic—the Bágh and Muthiá sections worship the tiger, while those of the Ghorá group will on no account touch a dead horse.

The sweeper sub-castes remove night-soil, but are averse to touching the bodies of dead animals. They will, however, do so in some places where Doms are not available. They eat pork and other people's leavings. In Angul the Náori Hári eat ichneumons, frogs, and the flesh of horses. Their priests are usually their own caste men, but in some places the barber officiates, and occasionally a Baishnab performs their ceremonies. They specially reverence Káli to whom they offer goats, swine, fowls and liquor. They also worship the sun with offerings of white goats, milk and *ghí*. Amongst their minor deities are Mangal Chandi, Sitalá and Banadebi. In Angul they have no idea of the greater gods and worship Hingalá, Mangalá and Pitábali.

801. The Bhuinmális are said to belong to the Hári caste, but prefer the former designation, especially when they have given up the work of scavengers and taken to more respectable occupations. In the Sonthal Parganas they are said to be the same as Phul Hári. They profess to remove sweepings only, but in the town of Rampur Boalia and in the Chittagong and Noakhali districts they also carry away night-soil and dead animals. Their women do not usually assist. They sometimes eat pork, but never the leavings of other people. In Noakhali they have two sub-castes, Barabhágia and Chotabhágia. Their *gotras* are Aliman and Káshyapa. They are served by degraded Bráhmans and have begun to give up widow re-marriage.

802. The Doms remove dead bodies, both of human beings and of animals. They remove night-soil only in a few districts. Those who do so are said to belong to the Maghaya sub-caste. Their other sub-castes include Domehi, Domri, Uttariya, Bánsphor, Supra, Dhopra and Turi. The sister's son acts as priest. At marriages a Hajjám attends to advise, and brings the vermilion to be smeared on the bride's forehead, which has been previously consecrated by a Bráhman. They chiefly worship Káli. In sickness they invoke Barani under a large banyan tree which they smear with vermilion. In Eastern Bengal they reverence *pirs*, and in Rajshahi they observe the Muharram. They have the reputation of being very successful sorcerers.

803. The Ghási sweepers of Singhbhum are said to belong to the Karua and Dakhina sub-castes and to have come from Orissa and Mayurbhanj. It may be noted that Karua is also the name of a sub-caste of Hári in Orissa. They eat swine and cattle and the leavings of Hindus. They call themselves Hindus, but their priests are of their own caste. They worship Dharam (Dharmaráj), Barapál (Bar Pahár) and Chatrí Mahábí, and also a goddess called Mangalá.

804. The Chotabhágia Muchis of Jessore who remove night-soil have been outcasted for so doing. They number about a hundred families in all. They worship Káli and Satya Náráyan.

805. A few small colonies of Telingás are scattered about Bengal in various districts, *e.g.*, in Midnapore, Bankura, Kuch Bihar and Rangpur. They appear to be the descendants of mercenaries employed by native rulers, and they are often mentioned in the correspondence which took place in the early days of the Company's rule in Bengal. Thus in 1760 Nawáb Jafar Ali Khán wrote to complain that 300 Telingás had fled from his service to that of the Birbhum Rájá. There were also many Telingás in the East India Company's service. The Telingás of North Bengal are said to eat pork but not beef. They deal in birds, feathers, etc., and some are acrobats. Their pursuits are similar to those of the Bediyás, but they deny all connection with them. They have priests of their own.

806. The Taulá (from *Tulá*, cotton) is a weaving-caste of Orissa. It is found chiefly in Angul and the Orissa Tributary States. Its rank is about the same as that of the Báuri and Ghusuriá. Dead bodies are buried; they are placed on the back



with the head pointing north. The marriage and other ceremonies are performed by a man of the caste. The essential part of the marriage ceremony is the presentation of a piece of thread to the bride and bridegroom. The Táulas will eat the leavings of Bráhmans and Karans, but not those of lower castes. Some of them have taken to cultivation.

807. The Thátári is an Orissa caste of workers in brass and bell-metal. Some have land. They are not regarded as a clean

THÁTÁRI.

caste, but they enjoy the ministrations of good Bráhmans. They worship a brass scale and its weights on the *Dasahára* day. There is nothing else in their customs which calls for notice except that at marriage the *Kanyáddán*, or 'bestowal of the daughter's hand,' is the binding portion of the ceremony. The Thátári is said by some to be the same as Kánsári.

808. Thoriá has already been mentioned in the note regarding Golá, of which it is some times said to be a sub-caste. The evidence of this, however, is not very convincing, and I have, therefore, thought it better to show it as a separate caste.

THORIÁ.

809. The Tipárás are divided into Purán, or Tipará proper, and Jamátia.

TIPÁRÁ.

The Jamátias are said to have come long ago from a place in the south called Achlong, and from them the Tipará kings formerly recruited their fighting men.

There are two other divisions known as Nawátia and Riyáng, who are not yet looked upon as true Tipárás. The Nawátias are said to come from Chittagong. The Riyáangs are of Kuki origin, and their previous home is reputed to be on the upper reaches of the Barák river; they were formerly the *pálki*-bearers of the Tipará kings. In respect of social status the Purán rank highest and then, in order, the Jamátia, Nawátia and Riyáng. These four sections practically form sub-castes. Intermarriage is not absolutely forbidden, but it is not considered proper for a man to give his daughter in marriage outside his own community, and in practice he very seldom does so. There is, however, no such scruple on the man's side, and a Tipará will take a wife from any other section, if he can get her, or even an outsider, *e.g.*, a Hindu or a Manipuri.\* Except the Jamátias, each section is divided into Daphás or exogamous groups, some of which are said to refer to occupation and others to the original place of residence.†

The religion of the Tipárás has already been discussed.‡ Their marriage customs are primitive. When a young man wishes to marry a girl he serves in the house of her father, as Jacob served for Rachel,§ for a period of from one to three years. When he has completed his service, he visits his bride at night by stealth and leaves her before daybreak. He remains absent for three days, and on the fourth day he appears with his people at the bride's house, where a feast is given and the marriage is then complete. In the plains the Hindu marriage customs are coming into vogue, but even here it is the Ojhá or tribal priest who performs the ceremony, and the worship performed on the occasion is in honour of the tribal god Lámpará. Infant marriage is rare. Divorce and the re-marriage of widows are allowed. The Tipárás burn their dead and moarn for a week, at the end of which period offerings are made to the spirit of the departed. Similar offerings are again made after the expiry of a month.

810. The Tulábhiná is the cotton spinning caste of Orissa (*Tulá* means 'cotton' and *bhiná* 'spin'). The Tulábhínás of

TULÁBHINÁ.

Puri intermarry only with their caste-fellows of Rampur and Nayagarh, and not with those of other districts and States. Some have now taken to cultivation. They have a special instrument for spinning

\* According to another account, a person of either sex who marries into a lower sub-tribe becomes *ipso facto* a member of that sub-tribe.

† The following is a list of the Dafás:—(1) *Purán*, *Apaiácha*, *Báchhal*, *Chhatratriryá*, *Daitya Singh*, *Golai*, *Kuwátia*, *Ochái*, *Sink*, *Sáyetiá*, *Gáhin*, *Apiyásá*, *Silotiá*, *Sena*.

(2) *Nawátia*, *Kewá*, *Anak*, *Rukshyum*, *Phadong*, *Garjong*, *Rambuk*, *Mesbung*, *Khaklu*, *Hárbáng*, *Tangtái*, *Mungbái*, *Achlong*, *Náihong*, *Dangro*, *Gagrá*, *Totárám*, *Murásing*, *Kháli*.

(3) *Riyáng*, *Bráihá*, *Ulohai*, *Upáto*, *Chongpring*, *Nokham*, *Mórchá*, *Khaiyángchá*, *Hákóngchá*, *Durangchá*, *Pákhung*, *Ayángchá*, *Banjóchá*, *Háikáchá*, etc.

‡ Ante page 186.

§ The practice is common also among the Kóch, Kachári, Meeh, Santál, &c.



which they call a *láthi*, and which they worship on certain occasions. They are not a clean caste, but are served by good Bráhmans and rank much higher than the weaving castes, Taulá and Pán.

811. The Ujiá caste is found only in Balasore and the adjacent Native States. The traditional occupation is fishing, and the

UJIÁ.

caste name is probably derived from *Ujan*, 'to swim,' as the Ujiás manage their nets while swimming. Some also manufacture lime. There are four exogamous groups called Bakti, Amat, Jhunamara and Dalai. Widows are allowed to re-marry, the only ceremony in their case being the presentation by the bridegroom of a new dress, a garland of flowers, and a bracelet. The social rank of the Ujiás is very low.

## MUHAMMADAN CASTES AND TRIBES.

812. The conventional division of the Muhammadans into four tribes—

MAIN DIVISIONS.

Shekh, Saiad, Moghal and Pathán—has very little application to this Province. In the proper sense of the words the Shekhs should be Arabs and the Saiads the descendants of Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, by his wife Fátima, but in Bengal both groups include a great number of persons of purely local origin. This is especially the case with Shekh, which in many parts, instead of connoting a foreigner, does exactly the reverse, and raises the presumption that the persons who so describe themselves are converts of Indian extraction.

The Muhammadans themselves recognize two main social divisions, (1) Ashráf or Sharíf and (2) Ajláf, which in Bengali has been corrupted to Átráp. The first, which means 'noble' or 'persons of high extraction,' includes all undoubted descendants of foreigners and converts from the higher castes of Hindus.\* All other Muhammadans, including the functional groups to be presently mentioned and all converts of lower rank, are collectively known by the contemptuous term Ajláf, 'wretches' or 'mean people;' they are also called Kamína or Itar, 'base' or Razíl, a corruption of Rizál, 'worthless.' This category includes the various classes of converts who are known as Nao Muslim in Bihar and Nasya in North Bengal, but who in East Bengal, where their numbers are greatest, have usually succeeded in establishing their claim to be called Shekh. It also includes various functional groups such as that of the Joláhá or weaver, Dhuniá or cotton-carder, Kulu or oil-presser, Kunjra or vegetable-seller, Hajjám or barber, Darzi or tailor, and the like. Of these divisions, the Ashráf takes no count. To him all alike are Ajláf. This distinction, which is primarily one between the Muhammadans of foreign birth and those of local origin, corresponds very closely to the Hindu division of the community into Dwijas or castes of twice-born rank, which comprised the various classes of the Aryan invaders, and the Sudras or aborigines whom they subdued. Like the higher Hindu castes, the Ashráf consider it degrading to accept menial service or to handle the plough. The traditional occupation of the Saiads is the priesthood, while the Moghals and Patháns correspond to the Kshattriyas of the Hindu régime.

In some places a third class, called Arzál or 'lowest of all,' is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as the Halálkhor, Lálbegi, Abdál and Bediya, with whom no other Muhammadan would associate, and who are forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground.

813. A striking point of resemblance between the Muhammadan functional groups and Hindu castes is that they have the same system of caste management. The Joláhás, Kunjras, Kulus, Dáis, Darzis, Dhuniás, etc., all have their governing committees. In Bihar this body is called a pancháyat, but in some parts of Bengal the term seems to have gone out of use since its application to the rural police committees. In Dacca they are called Matbar (from mu'tabar 'worthy of confidence'), in Jessore, Pradhán, and in Murshidabad and the 24-Parganas, Mandal. The number of members varies from two to five. They are sometimes elected, and sometimes they attain their position without any formal method of selection; occasionally they are appointed by the zamindar.

\* In some places many of the Moghals and Patháns are regarded as Ajláf.



The post is said to be much coveted by the well-to-do members of the community. Where the election system prevails, it is often the practice for the new member to celebrate his elevation by a banquet. In Murshidabad, on such occasions, the Mandals of all the surrounding villages are feasted and presented with a turban, each senior Mandal being given three yards of cloth, each junior Mandal two yards, and each Piyádá or messenger one yard.

The pancháyat takes cognizance of all breaches of caste custom in respect of trade, religion or morality. No member of a caste is allowed to engage in any occupation which is looked on as degrading; a Joláhá, for instance, may not mend shoes, nor may a Kulu serve as a washerman, nor a Dhuniá act as a midwife. In some cases a caste will not even allow its members to engage in avocations which are generally considered more honourable than its own traditional occupation. No member of a caste may endeavour to oust another from any employment he has obtained, by offering to do the work for a lower wage or otherwise. The pancháyat deals with all breaches of the above rules. It also organizes trade strikes. Among the social offences of which the pancháyat takes cognizance may be mentioned the eating of forbidden food, adultery, divorce without due cause, elopement of wife or daughter, circulating false rumours or making false complaints against a caste fellow, *marrying women of other castes* (whether of higher or lower rank is immaterial), eating with or smoking from the *hukka* of out-castes, etc. They will also determine the expenses to be incurred on the occasion of marriages or other ceremonies. Petty disputes of a civil nature are settled by the pancháyat. It is not the custom to deal with matters that come within the purview of the criminal courts, but an exception is made where the offence is a trifling one and both parties agree to abide by the finding. When a question comes up for adjudication the pancháyat meet, usually in the house of the senior member, and the accused is sent for to appear and explain his conduct. If the facts are disputed, the statements of all persons having knowledge of them are heard and the pancháyat then announces its decision. Possessing as they do an intimate knowledge of the people and of the local conditions, it is said that they seldom fail to arrive at a right decision. If either side is dissatisfied and the case is taken into court, the whole influence of the community is brought to bear to support the decision previously arrived at by the caste authorities.

For venial offences, a small fine is usually imposed. The receipts from this source are allowed to accumulate and are then employed, either for a feast or in meeting the marriage expenses of some poor member of the governing body, in the burial of paupers or the purchase of the mats for the use of the headmen when they meet, or on some object of public utility or amusement. If the offence is more serious or if the offender is contumacious, his *hukka* and water are stopped; in other words he is outcasted. No one may eat with him or smoke in his *hukka*, or visit his house, or marry into his family. In extreme cases the barber, washerman and other village servants are forbidden to work for him. In large towns a man may sometimes disregard the sentence of excommunication and seek new associates elsewhere. But in the country the penalty is too heavy to be borne long, and sooner or later the culprit is fain to acknowledge the error of his ways and to make due reparation; he then tenders his apologies in public, and is usually forgiven and reinstated after he has given a feast to his caste fellows.

In some places, in addition to these special caste committees, there is a general pancháyat whose authority is recognised by all Muhammadans except those of the Ashráf class. In Dacca town, for instance, each ward or quarter has at least one committee of elected sardárs or headmen which deals with local matters. Where a sardár is himself concerned, or where the question at issue affects the whole city, it is referred to a general meeting of all the sardárs of all parts of the city.

814. These pancháyats are found usually only amongst the functional groups,

PREVALENCE OF ENDOGAMY  
AMONGST MUHAMMADANS.

and with them the freedom of action of the individual is greatly restricted in consequence. The authority of the pancháyat extends to social as well as trade matters, and we have seen that marriage with people of other communities is one of the offences of which the governing body takes cognizance. The



result is that these groups are often as strictly endogamous as Hindu castes. The prohibition on intermarriage extends to higher as well as to lower castes, and a Dhuniá, for example, may marry no one but a Dhuniá. If this rule is transgressed, the offender is at once hauled before the pancháyat and ejected ignominiously from his community. A member of one such group cannot ordinarily gain admission to another, and he retains the designation of the community in which he was born even if he abandons its distinctive occupation and takes to other means of livelihood. Thus Mr. Abu A. Ghaznavi, a zamindar of Mymensingh to whom I am indebted for an excellent report on the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, says:—There are thousands of Joláhás who are butchers, yet they are still known as Joláhás. Similarly, there are Kulus who are traders, glaziers, tin-smiths, money-lenders, etc., but they remain Kulus all the same."

815. Amongst the Ashráf and the cultivating Shekhs, on the other hand, there is no standing caste committee, and offences against the general sentiment or prejudices are less universally and less readily dealt with by the community. A man is more his own master and is less answerable to his neighbours. There are thus fewer restrictions upon marriage. The Muhammadan religion recommends a man to avoid taking as his wife a woman of superior rank, but otherwise it places no restriction upon marriage so far as social position is concerned. The pride of blood, however, amongst the Muhammadans of foreign descent is considerable. They keep a careful record of their family traditions and matrimonial connections and are very averse to doing anything which will lower them in the eyes of their fellows. The people, moreover, are very conservative and the general tendency is for a Saiad to marry a Saiad, a Pathán a Pathán and so forth. But so long as both parties belong to the Ashráf community, no slur attaches to mixed marriages and they occasionally take place, chiefly between Saiad families and genuine Shekhs of foreign extraction.\* In most places, however, intermarriage between the Ashráf and Ajláf are not tolerated, and it very seldom happens that a man of the higher class will give his daughter to one of the lower grade. It is not so heinous an offence for an Ashráf man to take a wife from the Ajláf ranks, but if he does so he is still looked on as degraded. The case is somewhat different when a Muhammadan of the higher class is already married to a woman of equal rank. He may then without much loss of prestige take as his second spouse a woman of lower status, but in such cases the Ajláf wife holds an inferior position in the household, and her children take her rank and not that of their father. The relaxation of the general rule in the case of a second marriage may perhaps be ascribed to the fact that a man's first wife is usually selected by his parents, so that full weight is given to social considerations, while if he marries a second time, he makes his own choice, and personal attractiveness plays a more important part. The result is that unequal marriages often take place, and by their occurrence they have gradually come to be looked upon as less inexcusable than a *mésalliance* when marrying for the first time.

816. The above represents the general practice in respect of marriage amongst the Ashráf community, but with them the rules are far less absolute than with the functional castes, and exceptions occasionally occur.† An Ashráf family which has lost its money is occasionally willing, for a consideration, to form an alliance with a wealthy Ajláf family. Similarly, any Muhammadan who is well off, though he cannot go from one caste to another, can gradually enter the ranks of the Ashráf. The proverb "Last year I was a Joláhá, this year I am a Shekh; next year if prices rise I shall be a Saiad" is well known, and it represents what often occurs, though the process of promotion is not quite so rapid in reality as it is in the proverb. A well-to-do man of a functional group, say a Joláhá, will discard the word Joláhá, call himself Shekh and assume a more respectable name,‡ and if he be hospitable he will

\* It is said to be very uncommon for a Saiad to give his daughter to a Shekh. The alliances which take place are usually cases of a Saiad taking a Shekh's daughter as his wife.

† In districts where the foreign element is small, as in most parts of East and North Bengal, the objection on the part of the Ashráf to taking Ajláf wives is not so strong as it is elsewhere. But in no case, unless driven thereto by poverty, will an Ashráf give his daughter to a man who is still admittedly of the Ajláf class.

‡ See Chapter IV, paragraph 311. Thus Chánu Miyán will become in turn Chainuddin, Muhammad Chainuddin, and Maulavi Muhammad Chainuddin Ahmad.



slowly secure for himself a circle of friends from the poorer classes of the Ashráf community. He will then marry into an Ashráf family, probably of doubtful status,\* and his son will be recognised as a true Ashráf. The process is easier in the towns than in the villages, where people are more conservative, and in a distant place than near home, where a man's connections are well known. The greatest difficulty that a *parvenu* has to overcome is to gain recognition for his female belongings from the Ashráf women. The latter are much less easily won over than the men, and will often decline to hold intercourse with women of lower rank, even when very wealthy.

We may conclude, therefore, that while Muhammadans of the higher classes are theoretically free to marry whom they like, they very seldom take wives from amongst the lower classes, and in practice usually confine their matrimonial alliances to their own community. Muhammadans of lower rank, who belong to certain functional groups, are just as strictly endogamous as the members of Hindu castes. Amongst the low class Shekhs, most of whom are the descendants of Hindu converts, the rule is less strict but endogamy exists in practice owing to the scruples of the classes above and below them.

817. The rules regarding commensality are not at present very rigid, and judging from the conflicting reports received from different districts, the practice seems to vary a good deal. It may be stated generally, however, that in the case of the Ashráf, the question is purely a social one, just as it is amongst Europeans. A man of high position will not sit down to eat from the same dish, or in the same place, with a man who is distinctly his inferior, but he has no objection to taking food prepared by an Ajláf any more than a European has. He may also, in special circumstances, *e.g.*, when on a journey, eat with an Ajláf without any loss of respect, but although a man might make an exception of this sort, his wife would under no circumstances do so. In the case of the Ajláf castes, the usual rule appears to be that each caste should eat alone, but on this subject I cannot do better than quote the following remarks from an excellent report by Mr. Muddiman, Subdivisional Officer of Gopalganj:—

With regard to the question of eating with outsiders, I have, after conversation with many Muhammadans of all classes, come to this conclusion. All Muhammadans are in actual practice more or less infected with the Hindu prejudice as to eating with outsiders. Curiously enough, educated Muhammadans, while denying that they have any prejudices on this point, probably infringe their own pronouncement more frequently than others. On the other hand, uneducated men freely protest that they will not eat with certain classes (*e.g.*, Shekhs and Joláhás will not eat with the Muhammadan Teli or Dhobi), but in practice they often do so. I was amused to see a Sheikh peon quietly eating with a Náth (*sic*) just after denying that he would do anything of the kind. There is no doubt that the vast majority of the Muhammadans of this subdivision look upon eating with outsiders of lower status as a thing which, if not forbidden, is to be kept quiet on social grounds, if no other.

818. No useful purpose would be served by comparing the distribution of Muhammadan castes, as shown by the present enumeration, with that on previous occasions, as this is the first time that attention has been prominently directed to the subject and an effort made to secure a proper return. The caste tables of 1881 show no Muhammadan castes, and in 1872 and 1891, the information was very incomplete. At the present census, for instance, 1,241,961 Joláhás have been returned compared with 725,627, in 1891 and 119,749 in 1872, and there are 124,528 Kulus against 31,314 in 1891 and none in 1872. The great majority of Muhammadan castes were not returned at all at either of these censuses. Even now the figures are not complete, and the amorphous ranks of the Sheikh not only include large crowds of converts from Hinduism, but also many Joláhás and others who had a strong objection to being returned under their functional designations and claimed to be entered under this head. I shall therefore pass on to note briefly on the meaning of the various designations under which Muhammadans were entered in the caste column of the

\* Owing to the Muhammadan law of inheritance, there is a tendency for all Muhammadan families to gradually become impoverished, and many of the Ashráf have thus been merged in the ranks of the Ajláf. This is a serious matter which is now attracting the attention of the leaders of the Muhammadan community, who hold that the law of inheritance laid down in the Hedaya was intended for a pastoral people, and is not applicable to the present state of society in India. It is very undesirable that the ancient families should disappear, and yet this is what must happen sooner or later unless something is done to prevent it.



schedule and to indicate how far they represent true castes of the Hindu pattern.

819. The Abdáls or Dokláas are found in North Bengal, Purnea and Mymensingh. They form a true caste whose occupations are much the same as those of the Hindu Hári.

ABDÁL.

They sweep homestead lands, throw up the plinths on which houses are built, carry torches at processions and play the drum. They castrate animals and circumcise Muhammadan boys, and their women act as midwives. They are regarded as degraded, and other Muhammadans will not eat with them. They may enter the mosque, but are not permitted to worship in company with the better classes, nor are they allowed to be buried in the public cemetery. They are sometimes considered to be a branch of the Bediyá fraternity.

820. Afghán has as much the same signification as Pathán, but I have treated it separately, as it is used more particularly of the persons who come from Afghánistan for trading

AFGHÁN.

purposes and eventually return thither, whereas most of the so-called Patháns, even if foreigners, have been domiciled in Bengal for many generations.

821. Out-castes are called Aját. They are Muhammadans whose social

AJÁT, AJLÁF, NASYA AND NAO MUSLIM.

position is very low, but who do not belong to any of the recognised functional groups. Ajláf, in its more general sense, includes all Muhammadans of the lower class, but it is used more specifically in the south of Bengal Proper to designate low caste converts from Hinduism who are not included in any of the functional groups. Most of them were probably Pods and Chandáls before they attorned to the faith of Islám. In North Bengal the word Nasya, meaning 'a thing of nothing,' is used in a similar way to describe the Muhammadan converts from the ranks of the Rájbanis and Meches. It corresponds to the Nao Muslim of Bihar, which is the name there given to recent converts from amongst the lower castes.

822. The term Akhundji is applied to teachers and others who know the Persian alphabet, as a token of respect. It does not

AKHUNDJI AND KHWÁNDKÁR.

in any way indicate race or caste. Most persons so called are probably Saiads. Khwándkár is a similar word. It means a Muhammadan teacher or school-master irrespective of his race.

823. The firework-makers or Atashbáz are reported to form an endogamous group, but the total number returned is so small that it would seem that many of them must have

ATASHBÁZ.

been entered as Shekh.

824. Báklá, is derived from *bakali* 'a pot-herb,' and means a vegetable seller. At the present day most Bákális deal in grain.

BÁKÁLI AND BAKHO.

They are said to form a true caste in Bihar where most of them are found. The Bakhos are beggars and drummers. Their wives are called Bakhayan. They are found mainly in Bihar.

825. In Champaran the Muhammadan carpenters or Barhis are said to constitute a separate endogamous group. It is not clear

BARHI AND KHARÁDI.

if they are the same as the Kharádis or turners who make the legs of bedsteads, and who are also reported to form a true caste.

826. Bediya is a generic term for gipsy in Bengal Proper and Nat in Bihar.

BEDIYÁ AND NAT.

Some call themselves Hindus and some Muhammadans, but the majority now claim to belong to the latter religion. They are, however, far from orthodox. They are not allowed the use of the mosque or burial-ground and are regarded by Muhammadans in much the same light as are Chamárs by Hindus. They are fully described in 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal.'

827. The Muhammadan *pálki*-bearers are known as Behára. In some districts they appear to form a separate caste, but they

BEHÁRÁ AND BELDÁR.

have not been very fully reported on, and in some places it is probable that the word merely indicates the occupation of the persons so returned. The Beldárs dig earth. They were returned mainly from Eastern Bengal, where it is said that they are converts from the ranks of the Chandáls. I have no information as to whether they are endogamous or not.



828. The Bisáti is a pedlar of any caste, and the term is merely a functional designation. Bhagawáni is a term which refers to sect and not to caste.\*

BISÁTI AND BHAGAWÁNÍ.

829. The Bháns and Páwariás seem to be allied, though separate, castes. The former who are also known as Bhárwa, go to parties, where both men and women dance and act. The men are often pimps. The Páwariás are also players, but their speciality is to play and sing outside the house when a male child is born, and so obtain presents from the parents. It is sometimes said that the women sing and dance in male costume, but so far as my information goes, it is the men who occasionally perform in female attire, and not the women in the garb of men.

BHÁNS AND PÁWARIÁ.

830. The Muhammadan Bháts who are fairly numerous in some parts of Bihar, are converts from Hinduism. Their title is Rái, and they still have Hindu names. They form a true caste of very low rank. They compose verses and go round singing them, and will accept presents even from the lowest classes. At marriages they sometimes run beside the bridegroom's *pálki* reciting what they consider to be suitable verses. They also appear at the *śrádh* ceremonies of Hindus. Their songs are usually in praise of the Prophet and of Ali and Fatima, but the diction is vulgar and the language a mixture of different dialects.

BHÁT.

831. The Bhathiárás or inn-keepers are found chiefly in Bihar. Their women cut grass, do syces' work and cook for Muhammadan travellers. They form a true caste, but their social position is very low. They have been fully described by Mr. Crooke.†

BHATHIÁRÁ.

832. Bhátiyá was returned as the caste of more than 1,700 persons in Rangpur, and also by about 1,000 persons in the adjoining part of Assam. It is there said to be the name of down-country Muhammadans who visit Assam for purposes of trade, but in Rangpur it is the designation of Muhammadans who come from Serajganj and other places further down the stream of the Brahmaputra to settle on new alluvial formations. They are not endogamous, but the Rangpur Muhammadans look down on them and will not readily intermarry with them.

BHÁTIYÁ.

They are not the same as the low mendicant caste of the same name described by Mr. Risley who live by dancing, juggling and singing.

833. Fishing and fish-selling is the occupation of several groups, and it is not quite clear how far each is distinct from the other. The Cháklái, Chaudáli, Dátiyá, Doháriya, Máhifarosh, Máhimal, Nikári, Pájhra. The Máhifarosh (*máhi* 'fish' and *farosh* 'selling') both catches and sells fish. The Nikári sells fish but does not catch them, and so claims a somewhat

higher status.‡ The Cháklái is a small community in Jessore of higher origin which has been degraded for selling fish. The Chaudáli is a small group of fish-vendors in the 24-Parganas, also known as Musalmán Bágdí. It is reported to be endogamous. I have treated it as a sub-caste of Nikári. I have included under the same head the Doháriya and Pájhra, two small communities of Muhammadan fish-vendors in Murshidabad.

The Dátiyá, who is found only in Rangpur and Mymensingh, and the adjoining districts of Assam, catches fish, and so also does the Máhimal whose head-quarters is in Assam. The Dhawá is another fishing caste which will be separately mentioned further on.

834. The word Chambá generally indicates a tribe of beggars, usually Muhammadans, who extort alms by cutting or scaring the skin. They are also known as Máskátá. But in Darbhanga where nearly all the persons so returned at the census were enumerated, the term is applied to an endogamous group of Muhammadans, found chiefly in the Banipati thana, who castrate animals, chiefly bulls. They are also cultivators.

CHAMBÁ.

835. The Chatkis are a small endogamous community in Tippera who make lac ornaments. They also sell fancy articles and eatables. They do not appear to have been entered

CHATKI AND CHATNA.

\* For an account of the Bhagawánis, see Chapter IV, paragraph 333.

† 'Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh,' Vol. II, page 34.

‡ In Bogra he is said to have given up fish selling and is now a dealer in vegetables.



under this name at the census. The Chatna is an allied group returned only from Backergunge. The occupation is very similar to that of the Hindu Kapáli, viz., the making of jute thread and the weaving of gunny-bags.

836. Chaudhuri or Chaudhári is merely a functional appellation of a class of land-owners corresponding to zamindar, which has become the family title of many Hindus as well as of Muhammadans. Chhipigar is a somewhat uncertain term. It refers to persons who dye cloths, cushions, quilts, etc. Sometimes it means caste and sometimes function only.

837. The Chik and Kasai (Kassab) are butchers, but the former deals only in the meat of sheep and goats, while the latter sells beef; he also sometimes trades in hides. Both communities are strictly endogamous. They rank very low, and the more respectable classes will not associate or eat with them.

838. The Churihár and Laheri are allied castes. The former makes bangles of glass and the latter of lac. The men prepare the bangles and the women sell them. The Laheris sometimes also paint flower-vases. Both groups are true castes and both rank low.

839. The Dafádár and Naliyá or Nalua are mat-making castes of East Bengal. The Dafádár is considered the more respectable of the two, and will not eat or intermarry with the Naliyá. He crushes the reed on a stone, whereas the Naliyá cuts it into strips with a knife. Both form regular castes of the Hindu pattern.

840. The Dafális, who are somewhat numerous in Bihar, are beggars and musicians, and their name is derived from the 'daf' or drum on which they play. They perform chiefly at marriages, and on the occasions when goats are sacrificed to Shekh Sádu. They often take a prominent part in the less orthodox forms of Muhammadan worship. Sometimes they sell trinkets and prepare the tape called Newár. They form a true caste of very low status.\*

The Nagarchi is the Muhammadan drummer caste of Bengal Proper, whose instrument is the drum called *nagra*. They believe that they were originally employed in military service, but their present rank is very low, owing, it is said, to the fact that their women take part in their performances. They have no objection to attending at Hindu ceremonies, and many of them are semi-Hindus. I have included under this head the Dhuli or Bádyakar,† and also the Dagari whose drum, called *dagar*, differs but very slightly from that of the Nagarchi.

841. In Bengal Proper where more than 20,000 persons were returned as Dái, the term means midwife.‡ In most districts the profession is the occupation of a special caste, but in some the work is done by the wife of the Abdál or of some other man of low social status. The equality of the sexes in the census figures shows that, where the word was found in the schedules, it usually referred to the caste and not merely to the occupation. Páthua is a synonym for the Dái caste in Chittagong. The term is derived from Páthá a he-goat, the castration of these animals and of oxen being the main employment of the men, while their wives act as navel-string cutters. In this district the professional Dái merely severs the cord, and does not, as elsewhere, assist in the delivery of the child. This is done by the other females of the family or by midwives of the proper sort who are locally known, not as Dái but as Dharani. I have shown separately a few persons returned as Meháná, but their true caste is probably Dái. The men were usually returned as drummers, and the women as navel-string cutters. Meháná seems to be a title of Dái, and often, where persons were returned as Dái by caste, the word Meháná was found added to the name as a sort of title.

842. The Darzi is a Bihar caste of tailors. Patháns and Joláhás occasionally take to the same occupation, but they do not thereby gain admission to the tailor caste, and the Darzis properly so-called will not intermarry with them.§ The Darzi ranks above most of the other functional groups.

\* See also Crooke. Op cit, Vol. II, p. 240.

† It has been suggested that they are of Muchí origin.

‡ In Bihar it generally means 'ayah' or 'maid.'

§ In Saran there is said to be a tendency for Joláhás who are tailors to pass by slow degrees into the Darzi caste, but this cannot occur at once; it is a matter of years and sometimes of more than one generation.



843. The Dháwá is a palki-bearing and fish-catching caste of Northern, Central, and Western Bengal. Its members cannot intermarry with any other group. Its reported strength exceeds 18,000, but the real number, as in other cases, is probably greater.

DHÁWÁ.

844. The Muhammadan washerman is called Dhobi, while his Hindu rival spells his caste Dhobá. He serves even sweepers and Chamárs, and his social rank is therefore very low. No other class of Muhammadans will eat in his house.

DHOBÍ.

845. The Dhuniá or cotton-carder, also known as Nadáf, with nearly 200,000 representatives, is one of the largest Muhammadan functional groups, but it is almost wholly confined to Bihar, and is most numerous north of the Ganges. It is strictly endogamous. It ranks below the Joláhá.

DHUNÍÁ.

846. The word Fakir or Sáin (from Swámi) was originally applied to religious mendicants, and especially to the descendants of the Khádims, *i.e.*, custodians of Dargahs (tombs of saints), who were supported by voluntary gifts, but it has now come to mean any beggar. In a narrower sense it refers to the low class of Muhammadans in Bihar who bury dead bodies and keep the winding sheet as their reward. The latter form a true caste. Their status, it is needless to remark, is very low.\*

FAKÍR.

847. The Gaddi, or Ghosi as it is called in Sasaram, is a caste of converts from the ranks of the Hindu Goálás, who keep cows and buffaloes and live by dealing in milk and butter. As a rule they bear Hindu names and observe Hindu superstitions. In Champaran they are still known as Goálás. I have included under this head persons returned as Jat.

GADDÍ.

848. The Hajjám, or Turk Naia, shaves all classes and so ranks very low. He is less respectable than the Hindu barber, as he does not, like the latter, attend on ceremonial occasions. In addition to shaving, the Hajjám is quack doctor and circumcise Muhammadan boys. It is believed that they are converts from Hinduism, and many still live like Hindus and are known by Hindu names. They are a true caste.

HAIJÁM.

849. The word Hijra means, 'eunuch,' and the excess of males shows that the word was often used in this sense in the census schedules. But it is also employed to indicate people who sing and play at the birth of a child, and may possibly, when used with this meaning be a synonym for Páwariá.

HIJRA.

850. The Joláhás or weavers, with nearly one and a quarter million representatives, are the most important functional group amongst the Muhammadans. The name is commonly supposed to be a corruption of Johálá the plural of Jáhil, 'ignorant,' and is therefore much disliked by the persons concerned, who begged to be permitted to return themselves as Shekh. This could not be agreed to, as it would have vitiated the returns, but they were allowed, as a compromise, to call themselves Momin (faithful or orthodox), Nurbáf (a weaver), or Kárigar (a workman). The latter word is not altogether unexceptionable, as it may be used of any

JOLÁHÁ.



workman, but it is generally understood as referring to the Joláhá in particular.

\* In Bihar the word, fakir, is often used with reference to Hindu mendicants also.



and persons so returned were classed accordingly. Momin and Nurbáf are generally said to be applicable to the Muhammadan weavers and to no other class. The Joláhás form a regular caste, and their organisation is as strict as that of any functional group amongst the Hindus. In Darbhanga they are divided into two endogamous sub-castes, Tirhutia and Dakhneya, each with its own pancháyat. They are one of the most respectable of the functional groups, and a Nasya or low class Shekh will eat with them without objection. Some, who have become rich, call themselves Maulavi and are allowed to mix with the Ashráf classes. In Faridpur they usually belong to Dudhu Miyán's sect. Some have given up weaving and taken to cultivation, and others hold clerical appointments or work as bookbinders. Many have become khitmatgars in European households; but, with the exception of tailoring and dyeing, the rules of the caste forbid them to gain a livelihood by other handicrafts. They are most numerous in the Patna Division. From the excess of females, it would appear that the men who go away from home for work elsewhere usually describe themselves as Shekhs.

851. The Kághazis are paper-makers. The total number thus returned is small, and the word probably merely refers to occupation.

KÁGHAZI.

852. The Kalál or Muhammadan distiller is also known as Ránki, probably from 'araki, a dealer in 'arak (the sap of the date-palm). They correspond to the Hindu Kalwárs from whom they are probably descended. Some now carry *pálkis*. They are practically confined to Bihar and the north of Chota Nagpur.

KALÁL.

853. Kalandar is the name of a class of Muhammadan fakirs. Many are jugglers. They were returned only from Bihar and Midnapore. They are probably the same as, or very closely allied to, the Madárias, another group of fakirs, many of whom are jugglers, monkey-leaders and snake-charmers.

KALANDAR AND MADÁRIA.

854. The Káns who are found only in Bengal Proper are probably allied to one of the groups included under the general term Bediyá. They repair umbrellas, make fish-hooks, and deal in *hukkas*, wooden combs, cotton waistbands, etc.

KÁN.

855. Kasbi means a prostitute. It is not a caste but a profession. I have included under this head other terms having the same meaning, such as Peshákar, Málzádi, Besyá, and Tawáif. The last-mentioned is a dancing girl as well as a prostitute, and is regarded as holding a less degraded position.

KASBI.

856. The word Kázi is used as a title by the descendants of Muhammadan Magistrates. It has no reference to caste or tribe. Khán is a title of Patháns, but I have thought it better to show the persons thus returned under a separate head, as in Mymensingh, where they are chiefly found, it is used as the designation of the descendants of converts from respectable Hindu castes.\*

KÁZI AND KHÁN.

857. There is some danger of confusion between Khojá and Khwájá. The latter simply means merchant, while the former may be either a eunuch, or a tribe of Sunni Muhammadans in Jhelum and Jhang in the Punjab, or it may refer to the followers of the Aga Khán, whom they regard as their *Imám* or religious leader, descended in direct line from the Óld Man of the Mountain, Shekh-al-Jabal, the founder of their faith and the converter of their ancestors, the terrible assassins of Alamut. It is doubtful if many of the persons returned as Khojás in Bengal belong to this community.

KHOJÁ.

858. Kulu, Khulu or Kalu is the name of the Muhammadan oil-pressing caste. It is strictly endogamous, and is found chiefly in the districts west of the Bhágirathi. Its strength is about an eighth of a million.

KULU.

859. The Kunjras or green-grocers, have their head-quarters in Bihar, where their number exceeds 170,000. In addition to selling vegetables, some sell fish and draw toddy.

KUNJRA.

\* These Mymensingh converts usually take as their surname the words Mozumdar, Thákur, Biswás, Chaudhari and Ráj. The last mentioned claim descent from some line of Hindu Kings.



Many earn a livelihood as boatmen. They are a regular caste, and occupy about the same status as the Dhuniás. Sabji or Sabjifarosh is, in some places, a synonym for this caste.

860. Musalman Mális or gardeners and flower-sellers were returned only in two or three districts. It is not certain if they form a separate caste or not.

MÁLI.

861. Mulláh is an Arabic word meaning boatman. It is applied to Hindus as well as to Muhammadans, and is equivalent to the Hindu word Mánjhi. It probably represents a caste amongst the followers of the prophet.

MALLÁH.

862. There was no entry regarding which so many divergent reports were received as Mallik. It was reported from Champaran that the persons known by this name are the descendants of Saiads, and from Shahabad that they are a low caste of singers. In Mymensingh it is said that the Joláhás use the word as a title. In South Bihar again, where the Malliks are most numerous, it is stated that they are the descendants of Saiad Ibrahim and his soldiers, mostly his own tribesmen and relations. He was a general of Aláuddin Ghorí, and was deputed to put down an insurrection in this part of the country. He planted garrisons in various Hindu villages, and his soldiers took Hindu women as their wives and settled there. Ibrahim's tomb is still to be seen in the town of Bihar. He was given the title of Málik on account of his brilliant victories, and the word was subsequently applied to the whole community of which he and his soldiers were the founders. Whatever their origin may be, the present status of the Malliks of Bihar is generally regarded as respectable, and in some parts they freely intermarry with Shekhs.

MÁNGTÁ.

863. The Mángtás are usually beggars, but some are cultivators. Very few were returned under this head at the census.

864. The home of the Manipuris is in Assam, but there are colonies of them in Dacca and Hill Tippera. The majority are Hindus. Those who returned themselves at the census as Muhammadans were enumerated (with one solitary exception) in Hill Tippera.

MANIPURI.

865. The traditional occupation of the Masalchis is torch-bearing, but at the present day nearly all of them are cultivators. They form an endogamous group. They are found only in Jessore and Faridpur and belong to Dudhu Miyán's sect.

MASALCHI.

866. Mir is a contraction of Amir, 'a chief or leader,' and is usually a title of Saiads, but it is not confined to them, and is sometimes used by Shekhs, while in Saran a case of a wealthy Joláhá having assumed the title recently came to notice. In Champaran the word is said to be the title given to Hindu converts of the Shiah sect of Islám.\*

MIR.

867. Mirdhá simply means a village overseer or head of peons, and does not denote caste. Mirzá means son of a Mir, and is really a title, but in some parts of Bihar it is said to be the name given to children of Saiads or of dignitaries of Muhammadan times by women of lower rank.

MIRDHÁ AND MIRZÁ.

868. The Miriásin or Dom Miriásin has been described by Mr. Nesfield.† He is a musician, and sings at marriages and other ceremonies. He plays on the *tom-tom* and *tabla*. He also deals in, and applies, leeches. The group is endogamous. Its rank is very low.

MIRIÁSIN.

869. Miyán simply corresponds to 'Mister.' It is a title of respect claimed chiefly by persons who are not sufficiently educated or well placed to be able to claim such titles as Munshi, Maulavi or Chaudhuri, and is often applied to the junior members of a Muhammadan family.

MIYÁN.

\* There is a Saiad family in one of the Bihar districts known as Mir Gadabia, one of whose ancestors was Nawáb at Patna and earned the soubriquet by bringing bricks for his house on asses' backs.

† Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, page 43.



870. Whether the persons usually known as Moghals are really Turks or not is not a question which need be discussed here.\* It will suffice to say that the persons who call themselves by this name mean thereby to assert that they are the descendants of the foreigners who came to India with Baber or were subsequently attracted thither by his successors. I have included under this head Beg which is a title used almost exclusively by the Moghals. The return of this race is probably far more correct than that of Shekh or even of Saiad and Pathán, as very few of the converts from Hinduism or upstarts from the lower ranks of Islám affect the name.

871. Muchi includes Chamár. The number of persons of this caste who have become Muhammadans and who still retain their old distinctive name is very small, but it is probable that there are many converts from amongst the Chamárs who are now known by other names such as Abdál, Bádyakar or Dhuli.

872. The Mukeris (from *Muker* 'a flour merchant') sell grain and wood. In some places they are tobaccoists or hide-merchants. Sometimes they drive hackney carriages.

873. The Náik lives by singing, dancing and the prostitution of his women. It is not clear whether he forms a separate caste or whether the term merely denotes occupation. The Nalband, or farrier, may be of any caste and the term is merely a functional designation. Nánbái and Pániéri are other terms of the same category. The former simply means a man who follows the trade of a baker, and the latter any one who sells betel leaves.

874. The Patháns are properly the descendants of the Ghaznivites, Ghorians and other more recent comers from Afghanistan. In Bengal, however, the term includes not only the descendants of persons of this stock by local women, but also many converted Hindus of the higher castes, and especially those of a Rájput or Bábhán origin. In Mymensingh all converts from the higher castes take the title Khán (which has been shown separately), and many doubtless gradually come to call themselves Patháns. In Orissa Pathán is often used like Shekh in Bengal Proper, and Turk in parts of Bihar as description of Musalmans generally.

875. The Patwás are embroiderers and are reported to be a true caste. Rangrez like Darzi seems to be the name, not only of persons of various castes who have taken to dyeing, but also of an endogamous group of which this is the traditional occupation.

The Sábangars or soap-makers are reported to form a true caste; but only 34 persons were returned under this designation at the census. Sárdar means 'a headman' and Sikalgar 'an armourer,' or a person who cleans swords. It is doubtful if these terms refer to caste.

876. The origin of the Pirális has already been referred to. Some of them managed to regain their original Hindu castes, while others became Muhammadans. The latter have retained many of their Hindu usages and superstitions, and do not intermarry with other Muhammadans; they hold a respectable position in Muhammadan society. Most of them are found in Jessore and Khulna, but they do not appear to have been returned separately at the census.

877. The true Saiad is a direct descendant of Ali, the fourth, or as the Shíahs say the first, Khalífa by Muhammad's daughter, Fátima. They are divided into Hasani and Husaini, according as they claim descent from one or other of these famous martyrs. By sect they are usually Shíahs. They hold the highest rank amongst the followers of Islám. The number of persons who call themselves Saiad in Bengal alone exceeds 236,000, and it is obvious that these cannot all be the descendants of Ali. The fact is that the rank of Saiad is much coveted and is frequently claimed by persons of other branches of the community who have

\* The usual name for all Muhammadans in Bihar and Chota Nagpur is Turk, and the Musalman barber is called Turk Nain. It is only in Orissa that we find traces of the word Moghal as a general term in the expression "Moghalbandi" which refers to the tract administered by the Moghals as distinguished from the hilly country which they did not enter. The generic term for Muslims in Orissa is, however, not Moghal but Pathán.



raised themselves to a high position in other respects. When a Sunni becomes a Shiah, he often calls himself Saiad, and in this sense the word simply means that the person in question accepts the superior authority of the first Khalifa. It is also a title given to Hindn converts of high caste, and there is a tradition that in Akbar's time numerous high caste converts were allowed to call themselves Saiad. I have included under this head a small number of persons returned as Maulavi.

878. The Shámunis are a small class of Muhammadan fishermen in the Cox's Bazar subdivision of Chittagong. They are

SHÁMUNI.

looked down on by other Muhammadans, and can only marry amongst themselves. They are a hardy race. They have no traditions as to their origin, but their appearance gives rise to the supposition that they are of mixed descent, half Bengali and half Magh. They closely resemble the Maghs in respect of the fishing nets they use, the huts they live in, and the clothes they wear. Many speak the Magh language, while those who profess to talk Bengali speak it so corruptly that they are barely intelligible even to their immediate neighbours. They do not appear to have been separately returned at the census.

879. The word Shekh is still more ambiguous. In its strict sense it means 'an elder' or 'a chief' and should connote an

SHEKH.

Arabic descent. There are various divisions, which I have not attempted to show separately, such as Koreishi, the members of Muhammad's own tribe; Abbási, the descendants of Muhammad's uncle Abbás; Siddiki (the true), the descendants of Abu Bakr, the first Khalifa, of whom this was the title; and Faruki (distinguisher of right and wrong), the descendants of Omár, the second Khalifa who was so called by his followers. In Bengal the word is commonly appropriated by all converts to Muhammadanism, especially in East Bengal, where the proportion of such converts is large and the number of Muhammadans of foreign origin is relatively small. In Bogra, for example, the Magistrate reports that most Muhammadans who did not claim to be Saiads were entered in the census schedules as Shekh. In Bihar it is less easy for a new convert of low caste to take this title,\* and he must be content to pass for some time as a Nao Muslim, but even here no objection is made to its assumption by converts of good caste, such as Bráhmans and Káyasths.

Not only do new converts often call themselves Shekh, but it is also the title assumed by well-to-do members of the various functional groups, when desirous of hiding their humble origin and entering the Ashraf class. Amongst the uneducated the greatest ignorance prevails regarding the meaning of this and kindred terms, and the idea that all Muhammadans must necessarily belong to one or other of the four classes, Shekh, Saiad, Moghal and Pathán, is quite as deep-rooted as the belief amongst Hindus in their four-fold division into Bráhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. In Dinajpur it is reported that the common people hold that all priests are Saiads; the police and peons, Patháns; woollen cloth dealers, Moghals; and cultivators, Shekhs.

The true Shekhs will not ordinarily intermarry with those of local origin, but a good deal depends on their relative material position. In some places there are regular sub-castes, *e.g.*, in Malda, where there is a small settlement of immigrants who came from Darbhanga some fifty years ago; they are known as Darbhanga Shekhs and marry only within their own community. There is another endogamous community in the same district known as Shershábádia who are said to be very good cultivators. In Purnea the Shekhs are divided into four sub-castes, Bengali, Kalaiya, Habalyar and Khotta. The first mentioned are found east of the Mahánandá and speak a mongrel dialect, partly Bengali and partly Hindi. They are probably converts from the Ráj-bansis and Koches, and many still worship Bishahari. The Kalaiyas who inhabit the centre of the district are also of Hindu origin and derive their name from the Hindu practice observed by them of not marrying in the same family or *kul*. The Habalyar, who formerly inhabited the Haveli Pargana, and the Khotta, who come from the West Bank of the Kosi, present no special characteristics.

\* It has already been mentioned that in parts of Bengal Proper low caste converts are known as Nasya or Átraf. But they are gradually shaking off these distinctive appellations and gaining recognition of their claim to rank as Shekh.



The more enlightened members of these four groups are now beginning to associate freely with each other but the feeling against intermarriage is still strong amongst the ignorant.

880. The number of Muhammadans returned as Sonár or goldsmith, Tikulihár or spangle-maker, and Thawái or mason is very small. These terms apparently indicate profession rather than caste, but in one district the Thawáis are reported to be an endogamous community.

881. The Thákráis are found only in Champaran. They are mostly cultivators of Hindu origin. They claim to have been Rájputs prior to their conversion to Muhammadanism. They observe the Hindu custom of *gaund* or second marriage, and use brass vessels like Hindus instead of copper ones like the Muhammadans. Most of them refrain from beef and are still subject to many Hindu superstitions. They are the most respectable of the Ajláf class.

882. The Tantias or Tutias are a Muhammadan caste of Western Bengal whose traditional occupation is the cultivation of the mulberry tree (*tunt*) for feeding silkworms. Of late years this occupation has become less profitable and many have taken to ordinary cultivation and field labour, while some twist ropes from a reed called *sar*. As a community they have a bad reputation, and many of them are professional thieves and dacoits. They are regarded as a degraded class, and other Muhammadans will not give them their daughters in marriage, though they have no objection to receiving Tuntia girls as wives. Males of the ordinary Ajláf class will usually eat with Tantias, but their wives will not associate in any way with the women. There seem to be no distinctive features in their religious beliefs and social practices. At the census they tried to return themselves as Shekh.

883. For the purpose of social precedence the Muhammadans may be divided into three main groups as follows. I have omitted the minor functional castes from the scheme, as it is often difficult to say precisely what their rank is. I have divided group (b) into four sub-groups with reference to the relative position of the various castes included in it. The castes in each group or sub-group other than group (a) are arranged alphabetically:—

(a) *Ashráf* or better class Muhammadans—

- (1) Saiad.—The true Saiad holds the first place in the Muhammadan social system, just as does the Bráhmaṇ amongst the Hindus.
- (2) Shekh.—This head includes only the genuine Shekhs of foreign extraction and converts of good social position, but not those who are converts from low Hindu castes.
- (3) Pathán. } In some places many of these two races are regarded as Ajláf. A great deal seems to depend on the extent to which their females observe the *parda*.
- (4) Moghal. }
- (5) Mallik.
- (6) Mirza.

(b) *Ajláf* or lower class Muhammadans—

- (1) Cultivating Shekhs and others who were originally Hindus but who do not belong to any functional group, and have not gained admittance to the Ashráf community, *e.g.*, Piráli and Thákrái. These stand at the top of the Ajláf community.
- (2) Darzi, Joláhá, Fakir and Rangrez.
- (3) Barhi, Bhatihára, Chik, Churihár, Dái, Dhawá, Dhuniá, Gaddi, Kalál, Kasáí, Kulu, Kunjra, Laheri, Máhifarosh, Malláh, Naliyá, Nikári.
- (4) Abdál, Bákho, Bediyá, Bhát, Chamba, Dafáli, Dhobi, Hajjám, Muchi, Nagarchi, Nat, Pánwariá, Madária, Tuntia.

(c) *Arzá* or degraded class—

Bhánr, Halálkhor, Hijra, Kasbi, Lálbegi, Mángtá, Mehtar.



## NEPALESE CASTES AND TRIBES.

884. Before dealing with the tribes and castes of Nepal, it is advisable to give a brief outline of the history of the country. Until the close of the 10th century the kingdom of Nepal was confined practically to the Valley of Nepal Proper. It was bounded on the east by the Dud Kosi river, beyond which lay the independent country of the Kirátas or Kirántis. Its western limit was the Trisulganga which divided it from the territory of Gorkha. Its inhabitants were known as Newárs, a mixed race formed by a fusion of Mongolian and Aryan blood, who were divided into various castes. The ancient traditions mention a conquest of the country by a Kiránti chief, named Yellang or Yalambara, but the majority of the kings were Rájputs. In 1322 A.D. Hari Singha Deva, Rájá of Mithila or North Bihar, having been driven from his dominions by the Muhammadans, took refuge in Nepal and ultimately wrested it from a Rájput dynasty, whose family name was Varma, which is said to have ruled without interruption for forty-five generations or 2,000 years. Hari Singh's descendants continued in power until 1769,\* when the Gorkha king, Prithi Náráyan, conquered and annexed the country. Prithi Náráyan claimed descent from the Rájput princes of Udaipur, one of whom fled at the time of the Muhammadan invasion in the 12th century and occupied Palpa or the submontane country north of the modern district of Gorakhpur, whence he gradually obtained possession of the kingdom of Gorkha or the north-eastern portion of the basin of the Gandak between the Marsiangdi and the Trisulganga rivers. After annexing Nepal, Prithi Náráyan crossed the Dud Kosi and conquered the country of the Kirántis, thus extending the frontier of Nepal to the Mechi river which formed the western boundary of Sikkim.

885. It will appear from the foregoing sketch that the terms Nepali, Gorkha and Kiránti, which are often used with the object of denoting caste, are merely terms indicating locality. Nepali means an inhabitant of Nepal, and a person so described may belong to any one of the numerous castes and tribes of that country. In its strict sense Gorkha means an inhabitant of the province of that name, but as the present ruling family comes from it, the term has acquired a wider meaning. Amongst Europeans it is usually applied to the classes from which our Nepalese regiments are recruited, such as Khas, Gurung, and Mangar. Kiránti, which in early Sanskrit literature was a term applied to any border tribe, means an inhabitant of the country between the Dud Kosi river and the Singilela range, *i.e.*, to the Khambu, Limbu and Yákbá tribes. The name of the drug Chiretta is said to be a corruption of Kiráta, and the goddess Umá is often called Kiráti.

886. Newár is the name of a nationality rather than of a caste, and the term simply means a member of the community that inhabited Nepal proper prior to the Gorkha conquest in 1768, just as Bengali means an inhabitant of Bengal.†

The Newárs are divided into Hindus and Buddhists, known respectively as *Sivamárgi* and *Bauddhamárgi*, the proportion of Hindus being from one-third to one-half of the total. Occasionally Hindu Newárs become Buddhists and *vice versa*, but on the whole the tendency is for the Hindu section to increase at the expense of the Buddhistic. Converts to Buddhism from the ranks of other tribes are rare. The Gurungs who still profess that religion have no connection with their Newár co-religionists, and their priests are Tibetan Lámás. The Buddhist Newárs come but little to British territory. They find a more profitable field for their energies in Tibet, and as they have no religious scruples about eating with the Tibetans, there are not the same obstacles to residence in that country that prevent Hindus from travelling there. I am told that some of the wealthiest merchants in Lhasá belong to this community.

\* In 1668 the kingdom had been divided into four parts—Bhátgon, from the Bághmáti to the Kosi; Banepá, east of the Nepal Valley as far as the Dud Kosi; Káthmándu, between the Bághmáti and the Trisulganga, and Patan south of Káthmándu.

† As noted elsewhere Nepal and Newár are really the same word.



887. Owing to the absence of intelligent men amongst the few Buddhist Newárs who have settled in British territory and to the ignorance of all the affairs of this branch of their community which is professed by Hindu Newárs, it is very difficult to get reliable information regarding them. It appears, however, that they are subject to a modified caste system.\* Their three primary divisions of caste are :—

**BUDDHISTIC NEWÁRS.**

- (1) Bánhra or priests, corresponding to Bráhmans. These are, or ought to be, clean shaven.
- (2) Udás, comprising the mercantile and trading community and corresponding to Vaisya. These are clean shaven except for the top knot. They are orthodox Buddhists.
- (3) All others, including Jápús or agriculturists, and all lower classes who are engaged in domestic service and the inferior handicrafts. These have mixed Hinduism with their old religion and are far from being pure Buddhists.

888. The Bánhras inhabit the monasteries and are the descendants of monks who, while abandoning the rule of celibacy, still continued to reside in the Viháras or monasteries provided for them. Originally the Bánhras were divided into four orders—(a) Arhan, (b) Bhikshu, (c) Śráwaka, and (d) Chailaka. They were all strict ascetics. These divisions are obsolete, and the name of Bhikshu alone survives. According to Oldfield the modern divisions of the Bánhras are nine in number. The highest is Gubháju (from Gurubháju). These are priests by traditional occupation, but many follow other avocations. Those who act as priests are called Vajra Achárya or teachers of the mysteries of the Vajra. Every Gubháju is initiated into the duties of a Vajra Achárya before he attains manhood, failing which he sinks to the rank of Bhikshu. After initiation he is free to follow any occupation he chooses. The Bhikshus are goldsmiths, but at certain religious ceremonies they perform the inferior duties which are beneath the dignity of the Vajra Achárya, such as washing, clothing and carrying the image, and superintending the minor details of the ceremony. The only outsiders who can now become Gubhájus are Bráhman lads adopted by members of this group and duly initiated in the duties of a Vajra Achárya. The seven other classes of Bánhras follow various handicrafts, but are excluded from the priesthood.† Socially they are on an equality with the Gubhájus and Bhikshus; they eat together and intermarry, and live in the same monastery or Vihár. Owing to this settlement from time immemorial in a particular Vihár, a secondary division into fraternities or corporations has sprung up, and the inhabitants of each Vihár have their own organisation and rules.

**BÁNHRAS.**

889. The second main division, or Udás, consists of seven classes, but all can eat together and intermarry.‡ The bulk of the trade is in their hands. A Bánhra may become an Udás, but an Udás can never become a Bánhra. An Udás will take food from a Bánhra, but a Bánhra will not do so from an Udás. The Udás are orthodox, and the only priest whom they employ is the Buddhist Vajra Achárya.

**UDÁS.**

\* Pandit Hara Prasád Sástri derives Bánhra from 'Pandit' which is known to be the original form of the Bráhman title Pátré and also of Pándá, the name for a pilgrim conductor. Most of what follows regarding the Buddhist Newárs is taken from Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal.

† These classes, says Oldfield, include (1) *Barrhaju*, (2) *Bikhu*, (3) *Nebhar*, all of whom, like the Bhikshus, are gold and silver-smiths; (4) *Nebharbharhi*, workers in brass and iron; (5) *Tankarmi*, makers of cannon and guns; (6) *Gangsabharhi*, and (7) *Chiwarbharhi*, carpenters. I am unable to confirm the above classification from the enquiries I have been able to make, but this may be due largely to the fact that since the Gorkha conquest, caste distinctions are dying out amongst the Newárs. The Gorkhas treat them all as Newárs and do not regard minor caste distinctions. I discussed Oldfield's account of the Buddhist Newárs with a Gubháju of Khátmandu who contradicted it on many points. According to him the Bhikshuk is the highest of all. He is celibate and a recluse. If a Bhikshuk breaks his vows and has a family, his children are called Bikhu and take the rank assigned by Oldfield to Bhikshu. Bánhra says my informant, comes from Bándya and Barrhaju or Banderu is simply a synonym for Bánhra and not, as Oldfield would have it, a separate caste. Moreover, Nebharbharhi, Tankarmi, Gangsabharhi, Chiwarbharhi are all terms indicating professions, which may be followed by any caste and not only by Bánhras.

‡ The seven classes are (1) *Udás*, strictly so-called. They are merchants and trade chiefly in Tibet; (2) *Kansar*, workers in alloys; (3) *Lohakarmi*, masons; (4) *Sikarmi*, carpenters; (5) *Tumautá*, workers in brass, copper and zinc; (6) *Awa*, tile-makers, and (7) *Márikarmi*, bakers. *Udái* is a Newári synonym for Udás. According to my informant these terms merely indicate profession, and the *Awás* are usually Jápús.



890. The third or lowest class is the most numerous. They are not strict Buddhists. They avowedly combine the worship of Siva and other Hindu gods with that of Buddha and attend services in Hindu temples. At marriages and other ceremonies they employ a Bráhmaṇ priest as well as their own Buddhist Vajra Achárya. There are 30 different classes with special hereditary callings. Six form a special division, Jápu, whose main occupation is agriculture.\* These are at the head of this class, and they constitute at least half of the entire Buddhist population. The remaining 24 castes have various occupations.† The caste called Sálmī or Sawmī, whose traditional occupation is oil-pressing, is now the wealthiest in the whole Newár community, and its members trade as merchants like the Udás. These castes intermarry to a very limited extent.

From all the above a Hindu may take water without losing caste.

891. There is a fourth class comprising eight castes who follow menial and degrading occupations, and who are looked on as impure both by Hindus and by Buddhists.‡ These, however, are just as exclusive among themselves as the pure castes. According to Oldfield all caste questions amongst the Newárs, Buddhistic as well as Hindu, are decided by the Bráhmaṇs.§ Questions of religion are settled by a convocation of Bánhras, and matters connected with social practices by the *gatti* or pancháyat. The Buddhist Newárs burn and do not bury their dead.

892. As already stated, the Hindu Newárs form an entirely distinct community and have no dealings with those who are Buddhists. I am indebted to Mr. Earle for the following list of Hindu Newár castes.|| They are arranged in the order of social precedence. Their relative rank was fixed by the Newár kings who themselves decided all caste questions of this sort. It will be noticed that some of the castes named have already been enumerated in the list of Buddhist castes. This is because some of their members are Buddhists and some are Hindus :—

#### A.—HIGH CASTES.

1. Devabháju, Bráhmaṇ and spiritual teacher.
2. Suryabansi Mull, Royal family of Newárs.
3. Srestha, Ministers and other officials.
4. Karmáchárya, officiating priest.
5. Joshi, astrologer.
6. Jápu, cultivator. Newár synonyms are Bali and Doka-kawmī.
7. Tiniáchá, officiating priest at death ceremonies.

#### B.—INTERMEDIATE CASTES.

8. Áwá, mason.
9. Kawmī, carpenter and sweet-meat maker. Si-kawmī is the Newár name of the carpenters' occupation, while Lohár-kawmī is that of the workers in iron. These terms are not used to indicate the caste, which is Kawmī. Chunára is the Khas name of a carpenter.
10. Cheátá, burner of bodies of high caste people.

\* These six classes are (1) *Mu*, cultivators of an aromatic herb; (2) *Danghu*, land measurers; (3) *Kumhd*, potters; (4) *Kábháñja*, cultivators and musicians at funerals; (5) *Jápu* or *Kisínai*, cultivators; (6) *Boni*, cultivators. They are all closely connected with the land. The Jápus, who are the most numerous class, have given their name to the whole group.

† (1) *Chitrakár*, painters; (2) *Bádt*, dyers of red colour to all cloth except linen; (3) *Chippa*, dyers of blue colour to all materials; (4) *Kawa* or *Nekarmi*, blacksmiths; (5) *Nau*, barbers and surgeons; (6) *Sálmī*, oil-pressers; (7) *Tippu*, vegetable-growers; (8) *Pulpul*, torch-bearers at funerals; (9) *Kausa*, inoculators for small-pox; (10) *Konar*, spinning-wheel makers; (11) *Gathá*, gardeners; (12) *Kathá*, Savel-cord cutters; (13) *Táti*, weavers of shrouds; (14) *Balháji*, makers of wheels for sacred car; (15) *Yungwar*, makers of sacred car; (16) *Ballah* and (17) *Lamu*, páiki-bearers for persons of high rank; (18) *Dalli*, sepoy; (19) *Píhi*, basket-makers; (20) *Gáowa*; (21) *Nanda Gáowa*, cowherds; (22) *Ballahari*, wood-cutters; (23) *Gaukan*, drag the sacred car; (24) *Nalli*, paint the eyes of the idol of Bhairab. The Gubháju with whom I discussed the subject declared that the groups numbered (2), (4), (5), (12), (13) are *Sivamárgi*; he had never heard of groups (7), (8), (16), (17), (18), (20) and (21), and he said that (10) and (14) are the same as *Sikarmi*.

‡ (1) *Nai* or *Kassai*, butchers; (2) *Jugi*, musicians at festivals; (3) *Dánta*, ditto, (4) *Dhówi*, charcoal-burners; (5) *Kálv*, leather-workers; (6) *Pariya*, fishermen and executioners; (7) *Chamákhald*, sweepers, and (8) *Sanghar*, washermen. My informant says that these are now all *Sivamárgi*.

§ This requires further enquiry. The Gubháju whom I consulted denies that the Bráhmaṇs have anything to do with Buddhist Newárs.

|| I have omitted from the list several Buddhist castes which Mr. Earle had included, as these have been separately dealt with, and I am informed that it is impossible to arrange Buddhists and Hindus in the same precedence list.



11. Chhipi, dyer of cloth.
12. Kumbhá, potter. Kumbhá is the Khas name.
13. Chalan, musicians who attend when dead bodies are taken to be buried.
14. Khusál, small-pox inoculator. A Newár synonym is Sawá.
15. Duitá, collector and seller of wood and fuel.
16. Gathá, gardener.
17. Támutá, metal utensil maker. A Newár synonym is Dhusi.
18. Káu, blacksmith.
19. Náu, barber.
20. Bhát, religious caste, receivers of gift at funerals.
21. Táti, weavers of winding sheets.
22. Kathá, cut the cord at birth.

## C.—LOW CASTES.

23. Pási, washerman. A Newár synonym is Sangat.
24. Nái, butcher. The Khas name for this caste is Kasái.
25. Jugi, tailor and musician. Kusulliah and Suchikár are Khas names for this caste.
26. Dáutá, musicians. Newár synonyms are Dung, Duni and Dong.
27. Po, Sweepers and burners of dead bodies, not night-soil removers. Also executioners and workers in bamboo. Pore and Porya are the Khas names for this caste.
28. Chamá Khalá, mehtar, i.e., remover of night-soil.
29. Kula, drum-maker and currier.
893. Most of the above castes are divided into various subdivisions. The

## NEWÁR SUB-CASTES.

Sreshtas, for example, have the following among other groups:—Maiké, Bhanil, Achár, Palu, Banja, Biju, Tájábhári, Kuseta, Lailatá, Chhátar, Pukwán, Gangatá, Máhájutá, Kuché, Thaku Khulé, Khasa. I have been unable to get full information regarding these subdivisions but am informed that they constitute no bar on marriage. This, however, may be owing to the fact that many of the Newárs who have settled in British territory have forgotten the caste distinctions in force in Nepal and have intermarried, not only with other sub-castes, but also with other castes, and even with other tribes. They have thus lost caste in their own country, and would not be re-admitted to their original community if they returned to Nepal.\*

894. Special pains were taken in Darjeeling to have all the Newárs entered according to their proper castes instead of under the general term Newár. The details thus obtained are given in the margin. The great excess of Hindus amongst the Darjeeling

Hindus.		Buddhists.	
Devabháju ...	88	Bánhra ...	26
Surjyabansi Mal ...	34	Udás ...	46
Sreshta ...	1,904	Chippá ...	24
Karmácharya ...	42	Buddhists	28
Joshi ...	243	(unspecified)	
Jápu ...	21	Total ...	118
Kumbhá ...	106		
Kawmi ...	40		
Chhipi ...	1,431		
Bánhra ...	3		
Udás ...	9		
Káu ...	13		
Náu ...	4		
Táti ...	4		
Nai ...	127		
Chamákhálá ...	8		
Unspecified			
Hindus	1,693		
Total ...	5,770		

Newárs is due mainly to the fact, already adverted to, that the Buddhist Newárs who leave their own country find Tibet a more profitable field for their enterprise, and partly to the superior strength of Hindu influences. Cut off from his home ties and associations, the Buddhist Newár soon adopts the religious belief of his neighbours, and, in the absence of his own Vajra Achárya, is fain to accept the ministrations of the Bráhmans and to enroll himself, nominally at least, in the ranks of Hinduism. The returns show that several members even of the orthodox Buddhist castes, Bánhra and Udás, returned themselves as Hindus. The figures showing the number of each caste are not to be relied upon as indicating the relative strength of the

\* This is doubtless a modern illustration of the reason for caste differentiation in early times when the Hindus who settled in Bengal were cut off from communion with their caste-fellows in Upper India.



different castes in Nepal, partly because the extent to which the castes come to the British territory is not uniform, and partly on account of the great laxity which prevails amongst the emigrants. As noted above, they intermarry freely with other communities and they are probably equally free in claiming to belong to castes of good social standing. It seems very improbable that the Sreshtas in Darjeeling should really outnumber the Japus, a far more numerous caste in Nepal, very nearly in the ratio of 100 to 1. One of the Darjeeling census officers informed me that when inspecting schedules he often found that Chhipis and other low caste Newárs had returned themselves as Sreshtas.

In concluding this notice of the Newárs, the following extract is quoted from Wright's History of Nepal:—

The marriage-tie is by no means so binding among the Newárs as among the Gorkhas. Every Newár girl, while a child, is married to a *bet*-fruit, which after the ceremony is thrown into some sacred river. When she arrives at puberty, a husband is selected for her, but should the marriage prove unpleasant, she can divorce herself by the simple process of placing a betel-nut under her husband's pillow and walking off. Of late years, however, this license has been somewhat restricted, and a divorce cannot now be effected in so simple a manner. Widows are allowed to remarry. In fact, a Newárin is never a widow, as the *bet*-fruit to which she was first married is presumed to be always in existence. Adultery is but lightly punished among the Newárs. The woman is divorced, and her partner in guilt has to make good the money expended by the husband on the marriage, or, failing this, he is imprisoned.

The Newárs burn their dead, and widows may, if they please, immolate themselves as *satis*, but it is very seldom that they avail themselves of this privilege.

895. The Khas, Mangar and Gurung are the three dominant tribes of Nepal (known as Mukhia) who overthrew the Newár dynasty in 1769. The Mangars and Gurungs are described in the Tribes and Castes of Bengal. Both tribes are of a well marked Mongoloid type, and speak their own non-Aryan dialects. The Khas, on the other hand, have received a considerable admixture of Aryan blood; they speak an Aryan language, and in all respects have come to a much greater extent under Hindu influences. To show how this came about, I cannot do better than quote the following extract from Hodgson's Essay on the Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes of Nepal\* :—

From the twelfth century downwards, the tide of Musalman conquest and bigotry continued to sweep multitudes of the Bráhmans of the plains from Hindustan into the proximate hills, which now compose the western territories of the kingdom of Nepál. There the Bráhmans soon located themselves. They found the natives illiterate, and without faith, but fierce and proud.

Their object was to make them converts to Hinduism, and so to confirm the fleeting influence derived from their learning and politeness. They saw that the barbarians had vacant minds, ready to receive their doctrines, but spirits not apt to stoop to degradation, and they acted accordingly. To the earliest and most distinguished of their converts they communicated, in defiance of the creed they taught, the lofty rank and honours of the Kshatriya order. But the Bráhmans had sensual passions to gratify, as well as ambition. They found the native females—even the most distinguished—nothing loath, but still of a temper, like that of the males, prompt to repel indignities. These females would indeed welcome the polished Bráhmans to their embraces, but their offspring must not be stigmatised as the infamous progeny of a Bráhman and a Mlechha—must, on the contrary, be raised to eminence in the new order of things proposed to be introduced by their fathers. To this progeny also, then, the Bráhmans, in still greater defiance of their creed, communicated the rank of the second order of Hinduism; and from these two roots, mainly, sprung the now numerous, predominant, and extensively ramified, tribe of the *Khas*—originally the name of a small clan of creedless barbarians, now the proud title of the Kshatriya, or military order of the Kingdom of Nepal. The offspring of original Khas females and of Bráhmans, with the honours and rank of the second order of Hinduism, got the patronymic titles of the first order, and hence the key to the anomalous nomenclature of so many stirpes of the military tribes of Nepal is to be sought in the nomenclature of the sacred order. It may be added, as remarkably illustrative of the lofty spirit of the *Parbattias*, that in spite of the yearly increasing sway of Hinduism in Nepal, and of the various attempts of the Bráhmans in high office to procure the abolition of a custom so radically opposed to the creed both parties now profess, the Khas still insist that the fruit of commerce (marriage is out of the question) between their females and males of the sacred order shall be ranked as Kshatriyas, wear the thread, and assume the patronymic title.

\* J. A. S. B. 1833, page 217. The Gurungs are divided into two endogamous sub-castes *Cháriját* and *Solabját*.



The Khasas are one of the tribes mentioned by Manu as having become outcastes from the extinction of sacred rites and from having no intercourse with Bráhmans. From a very early period they were recognised as an important tribe in Upper India. According to Atkinson the tribe originally came from Central Asia and has left its name in Kashgar, Kashmir and Hindu-Kush. The Khasiyas of Kumaon are said to be of the same race.\*

Allied to the Khas are the Ekthária and Thakuri. These are the descendants, more or less pure, of the original Rájput refugees, and the only difference between them is due to the circumstance that the ancestors of the Thakuris at one time or another were rulers of one or other of the numerous petty States that were once scattered throughout Nepal.† The Thakuris, whose title is Bábu, are divided into two sub-castes, Sáhi and Hamál, of which the former is the higher. They do not assume the sacred thread until they marry. Prior to that date they have no caste restrictions and can eat anything, and in any company, except that of degraded castes. Ráná, Thápá, and Burhathoki are clan names common to Khas and Mangar. The Mangar have taken to the use of high-sounding titles such as Surajbansi and Chandrabansi, but these are purely fictitious. So also is the word Chettri which the Khas are beginning to assume as a caste name.

896. The Khambu, Limbu or Yákthumbá, Jimdár or Rai, and Yákhá tribes form the group generally known as Kiránti, and the Kiránti country is said to be the tract lying between the Dud Kosi river and the Singilela range. This extended use of the word is, however, objected to by the Jimdárs and Yákhás who inhabit the country between the Dud Kosi and Támbor rivers and claim that this tract alone is properly called Kiránt desh. These two tribes intermarry. The Khambus and Limbus are found in the country east of the Támbor.

The Khambus inhabit the southern spurs of the Himalayas, and their country is known as Solah Khambu, probably in connotation of the fact that there are sixteen sub-tribes, each with its own peculiar dialect. In British territory the Khambus claim to be Jimdárs and assume the Kiránti title Rái, but in Nepal their pretensions are ridiculed and they are excluded from all social intercourse with the Kirántis proper. They have much intermixed with the trans-Himalayan tribe known as Khámbá Bhotia; they eat beef—an abomination in the eyes of the real Kirántis, and their religion is partly Lámáist Buddhism and partly Hinduism. In the eyes of the more orthodox Hindus of Nepal, the Khambus and Gurungs stand on much the same footing, so far as ceremonial purity is concerned. In Table XIII, I have followed the general view prevailing in Darjeeling and have treated Khambu and Jimdár as synonymous terms; if I had kept them separate, the details would have been of little value, owing to the fact that Khambus here usually call themselves Jimdár.

South of the Khambus are the Limbus, who adjoin the Ráis on the west and the Lepchas on the east. Some of the Limbus eat beef and have intermarried with Lepchas, and these are looked down upon by their own people and by the Kirántis. The better class of Limbus, however, abstain from beef and have no dealings with the Lepchas; these are admitted to social intercourse and nuptial relations with the Kirántis.

The Jimdárs will eat food cooked by Limbus, but not that cooked by Khambus. The taking of water is no test of social rank in Nepal. A man of

\* The patronymics of the Khas are borrowed from the Bráhmans rather than the Rájputs. The Khasas are constantly mentioned in the Mahábhárata, the Vishnu Purán and other early writings, and are named in the Ceylon archives as one of the tribes that submitted to Asoka. For a full review of their early history see Atkinson's Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. II, pages 376, *et seq.* See also Wilford As. Res. VI, page 455. The common derivation of Khas from Khas-*nu* "to fall," seems purely imaginary.

Amongst the Newárs the offspring of Bráhmans and low caste women other than those of the Kámi and Damái castes are called Khatri and rank with the Sreshta.

† It is curious to note how many Nepalese tribal names have come down from very early times. The Yákhás (Yakshas) were employed by Asoka to build his chaityas. The Kirátas and Kichaks are constantly referred to in the Mahábhárata, and in the Dipavansa the names are given of the Thárus who converted the multitude of Yakkhas in the Himavat. The signification of the words, however, is not the same as it was then. Kiráta, for instance, meant any border tribe, and Khasa seems to have been used to include numerous Himalayan tribes.



any caste, even a Bráhmaṇ, will take water from a new earthen pot or from a brass vessel belonging to any one, even a Bhotia.

The Khambus and Limbus have been fully described in the Tribes and Castes of Bengal. The following brief account of the Yákhás is based on information received through the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling.

There are numerous exogamous groups, the members of each of which are supposed to be descended from a common ancestor.\* A man may not marry in his own group, neither may he marry an aunt or a niece. Outsiders are admitted, only if of higher social rank and on condition that they marry a girl of the tribe and eat from her hand. Marriage may be either infant or adult. Widows may marry again, and the first husband's younger brother has the first claim to his sister-in-law's hand. There is no special ceremony for the marriage of widows. Wives can be divorced for adultery, but they are not outcasted and there is nothing to prevent any one else from marrying them. The religion is said to be of the ordinary Hindu type, but this point requires further inquiry. Bráhmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. The dead are sometimes burnt and sometimes buried in a horizontal position. When burnt the ashes are thrown into the nearest river. Pork and fowls are eaten, but not beef or vermin.

897. Mánjhi is not really the name of a tribe; it is a functional designation originally given by the Khas to the Kúswár and Botia tribes, whose traditional occupation is fishing,

#### OTHER TRIBES.

but is now accepted by the persons concerned as their proper caste name, a striking illustration of the way in which caste sometimes replaces tribe. The Kámis or blacksmiths and goldsmiths, and the Sárkis or cobblers, are now looked upon as castes, but it is possible that they too were once tribal and not functional groups. The Kámis, in spite of their degraded position, have a more Aryan type of face than most of the other castes of Nepal. Their common title, however, is Mijhar which reminds one forcibly of the root *mi*, meaning 'man' in many of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the frontier. The other tribes and castes of Nepal, other than those of the Terni, have been enumerated in paragraph 607.

\* The total number given me is 29, viz., Linkhim Háng, Pullu Háng, Máren Háng, Iyok Háng (these four are of royal descent), Língbu Khim, Koyungbá, Kongreng, Thomphára, Chángwáren, Sámyáng, Mángkhárok, Hung, Juwá, Chitláng, Hengwá, Kokwá, Tambá, Tánli, Pángphu, Lammá, Rogu, Kháyá Chong, Khong Chhá, Ulambáng, Kháyá Khim, Songreng, Yáimbá, Lábyeng. I was unable to ascertain the meaning of any of these words.

### SUBSIDIARY TABLES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER XI—CASTE.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. I.—Absolute and relative strength of each group in the Table of Social Precedence.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. II.—Variation in caste, tribe, and race since 1872.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE STRENGTH OF EACH GROUP IN THE TABLES OF SOCIAL PRECEDENCE.

## BENGAL PROPER.

CASTE, ETC.	Number of Persons.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OF—		CASTE, ETC.	Number of Persons.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OF—	
		Groups.	All groups.			Groups.	All groups.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
<b>ALL GROUPS</b>	<b>19,174,509</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>GROUP V.—Castes lower than the above, whose water is not usually taken.</b>	<b>1,682,675</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>8.8</b>
<b>GROUP I.—Brahmans</b>	<b>1,162,547</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6.0</b>	Beldam	468,767	28	2.4
Brahman	1,162,547	100	6.0	Jugi	342,142	20	1.8
				Sarak	18,977	1	0.1
<b>GROUP II.—Other castes ranking above clean Sudras.</b>	<b>1,302,953</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6.8</b>	Subarnabanih	142,083	8	0.8
Rajput	113,469	9	0.6	Sunri or Shaha	425,566	25	2.2
Baidya	84,080	7	0.5	Sutradhar	172,890	10	0.8
Kayastha	982,098	75	5.1	Others	113,950	7	0.6
Others	122,003	9	0.6	<b>GROUP VI.—Low castes who abstain from beef, pork and fowls.</b>	<b>7,609,750</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39.7</b>
<b>GROUP III.—Clean Sudras</b>	<b>3,141,863</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16.4</b>	Bagdi	1,032,004	13	5.4
Barui	102,137	3	0.3	Chashti	42,623	1	0.2
Gandhabanik	131,431	4	0.7	Dhoba	220,851	3	1.2
Kumar	288,474	9	1.5	Jaitiya Kalbarita	447,257	6	2.3
Kumhar	375,891	12	1.4	Kalu	151,907	2	0.8
Mahakar	30,840	1	0.2	Kapali	140,741	2	0.6
Mayra and Kuri	147,813	5	0.3	Malo	227,983	3	1.2
Nepit	463,540	15	2.5	Namasudra	1,900,914	24	9.8
Sadgop	578,473	18	3.0	Paliya	250,571	4	1.5
Sudra	184,780	6	0.9	Patni	43,637	1	0.3
Tambuli	25,450	3	0.3	Pod	464,041	6	2.4
Tanti	306,300	10	1.6	Rajbans and Koch	2,063,982	27	10.8
Teli and Tili	305,093	12	2.1	Sukh	38,678	1	0.2
Others	121,979	4	0.6	Tipara	101,292	1	0.5
<b>GROUP IV.—Clean Castes with degraded Brahmins.</b>	<b>2,563,167</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13.4</b>	Tigar	260,563	3	1.0
Chasi Kalbarita	1,038,584	75	10.1	Others	354,754	3	1.3
Guala	634,583	25	3.3	<b>GROUP VII.—Unclean feeders</b>	<b>1,712,474</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>8.9</b>

## BIHAR.

<b>ALL GROUPS</b>	<b>19,888,137</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>Sub Group (b)</b>	<b>1,578,893</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7.9</b>
<b>GROUP I.—Brahmans</b>	<b>1,083,701</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>5.5</b>	Borhi	217,753	3	1.1
Brahman	1,083,701	100	5.5	Hajjam	380,386	4	1.9
<b>GROUP II.—Other castes of twice-born rank.</b>	<b>2,690,402</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13.5</b>	Kumhar	381,736	3	1.4
Babhan	1,144,102	43	5.8	Lohar	238,927	3	1.4
Kayastha	288,403	12	1.6	Senar	175,498	2	0.9
Rajput	1,168,175	40	5.8	Others	239,633	3	1.2
Khatris	22,404	1	0.1	<b>GROUP IV.—Inferior Sudras</b>	<b>2,592,468</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13.0</b>
Others	32,108	1	0.2	Hind	158,794	6	0.7
<b>GROUP III.—Clean Sudras</b>	<b>9,972,636</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46.6</b>	Gonrhi	148,247	6	0.7
<b>Sub group (a)</b>	<b>7,693,353</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>38.7</b>	Kalwar	238,821	9	1.2
Atith and Jogi	67,927	1	0.3	Kawat	153,065	7	0.6
Ahr (Guala)	2,832,815	31	14.3	Mallah	330,298	13	2.0
Bais	40,834	1	0.2	Nuniya	343,379	13	1.7
Barui	117,343	1	0.6	Sunri	108,530	4	0.6
Dhanuk	593,630	6	3.0	Teli	671,887	26	3.4
Gangauta	82,870	1	0.4	Others	378,908	15	1.9
Gareri	100,150	1	0.5	<b>GROUP V.—Unclean castes</b>	<b>4,098,472</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20.6</b>
Gonr	71,670	1	0.4	Bhulya	366,333	9	1.4
Hulwal	152,699	2	0.6	Chamar	341,322	8	4.7
Kahar	685,155	7	2.9	Dhoba	104,076	3	1.0
Kaudin	807,693	8	2.5	Dowad	1,175,871	29	6.9
Kori	1,267,000	14	6.4	Khatwa	169,906	2	0.6
Kurmi	978,111	10	4.9	Mumhat	603,401	15	3.0
Others	229,494	3	1.5	Pasi	151,007	4	0.8
				Tatwa	424,889	10	2.1
				Others	231,058	6	1.2
				<b>GROUP VI.—Scavengers and filth eaters.</b>	<b>150,458</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>0.8</b>
				Dom	124,977	83	0.7
				Others	25,481	17	0.1

## ORISSA.

<b>ALL GROUPS</b>	<b>5,146,640</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>GROUP V.—Castes whose touch defiles.</b>	<b>550,645</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11.3</b>
<b>GROUP I.—Brahmans</b>	<b>494,681</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>9.6</b>	Teli	309,004	56	4.1
Brahman	494,681	100	9.6	Kumhar	80,630	14	1.6
<b>GROUP II.—Castes of twice born rank.</b>	<b>950,370</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18.5</b>	Barhi	31,048	5	0.6
Karan	189,496	20	3.7	Kawat	154,302	27	3.0
Rhandait	718,848	76	14.0	Jyotish	27,896	5	0.6
Others	42,026	4	0.8	Others	77,136	13	1.5
<b>GROUP III.—Clean Sudras</b>	<b>1,827,784</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35.5</b>	<b>GROUP VI.—Castes that eat fowls and drink spirits.</b>	<b>549,139</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10.7</b>
<b>Sub Group (a)</b>	<b>999,367</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>19.4</b>	<b>Sub Group (a)</b>	<b>36,328</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>0.7</b>
Chasa	845,773	46.3	16.4	Chamar	29,922	6	0.6
Mali	94,875	1.9	0.7	Others	6,406	1	0.1
Raju	50,290	9.3	1.0	<b>Sub Group (b)</b>	<b>350,578</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>6.3</b>
Sudha	67,709	3.7	1.3	Dhoba	108,808	20	2.1
<b>Sub Group (b)</b>	<b>828,417</b>	<b>45.3</b>	<b>16.1</b>	Bauri	100,474	29	3.1
Guria	130,714	7.8	2.7	Gokha	48,291	9	0.8
Barhi	51,024	2.8	1.0	Others	33,005	6	0.7
Kamar	61,177	3.3	1.2	<b>Sub Group (c)</b>	<b>169,253</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>3.3</b>
Gaura	439,637	23.6	8.3	Kandra	151,360	27	3.0
Patra	40,870	2.3	0.8	Others	10,875	2	0.2
Bhandari	101,879	5.6	2.0	<b>GROUP VII.—Beef eaters and scavengers.</b>	<b>438,765</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>8.5</b>
Others	3,025	0.2	0.1	Pan	573,565	83	7.3
<b>GROUP IV.—Unclean Sudras</b>	<b>506,266</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>5.9</b>	Hari	47,420	11	0.9
Tanti	168,748	55	3.5	Others	17,940	4	0.5
Gola	61,717	20	1.2				
Others	74,791	25	1.4				

NOTE.—Minor castes not shown in the caste precedence list have been left out of account altogether.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—VARIATION IN CASTE, TRIBE, ETC., SINCE 1872.

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	PERSONS.				PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION (INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-))			PERCENT- AGE OF NET VARIATION (INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-))
	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.	1901-1901.	1881-91.	1872-81.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ahir and Goala	3,888,038	3,836,105	3,579,416	3,171,793	- 0.16	+ 7.14	+ 13.35	+ 20.71
Babhan	1,144,122	1,232,674	1,031,501	1,013,324	- 0.43	+ 15.53	+ 1.77	+ 12.98
Bagri	1,033,063	804,360	756,870	695,250	+ 23.21	+ 6.43	+ 8.96	+ 46.44
Bairahab (Bairagi)	466,757	464,067	568,032	522,756	+ 0.57	- 18.90	+ 8.06	- 10.71
Baniya*	509,321	333,387	904,686	190,691	- 7.15	- 63.14	+ 332.96	+ 4.02
Barhi	306,463	291,028	484,454	544,288	+ 0.30	- 39.02	+ 46.02	+ 23.33
Barai	225,763	246,841	218,312	256,540	+ 17.18	+ 14.19	- 23.71	+ 2.06
Barri...	594,590	550,397	421,493	403,945	+ 7.29	+ 14.41	+ 18.01	+ 48.54
Bhandari*	161,970	94,402	...	75,406	+ 8.06	...	...	+ 35.13
Bhoiya	663,371	506,516	433,656	447,319	+ 22.53	+ 7.94	+ 3.67	+ 46.30
Bhunj	328,446	306,473	236,147	500,133	+ 7.16	+ 36.50	+ 13.01	+ 64.11
Bind	133,794	136,336	136,512	121,925	+ 1.80	+ 0.34	+ 12.92	+ 14.46
Brahman	2,576,063	2,301,118	2,754,100	2,430,003	+ 3.67	+ 1.79	+ 13.21	+ 17.91
Chain	139,092	116,098	95,316	109,086	+ 11.14	+ 21.77	+ 13.54	+ 18.36
Chamar and Machi	1,626,737	1,497,267	1,408,037	1,177,354	+ 8.35	+ 8.23	+ 10.60	+ 36.18
Chasa	846,773	670,757	534,001	482,493	+ 26.09	+ 25.69	+ 10.46	+ 74.22
Dhanuk	593,530	578,156	541,028	491,804	+ 3.01	+ 6.31	+ 10.19	+ 20.08
Dhoba	566,371	573,463	533,453	473,268	- 1.23	+ 3.63	+ 16.72	+ 18.42
Dom	353,747	347,782	343,242	330,915	+ 3.15	+ 1.32	+ 6.95	+ 11.75
Doudh	1,176,871	1,103,878	1,134,388	961,693	- 1.50	+ 3.94	+ 19.19	+ 23.55
Gandhabani*	130,500	122,722	...	140,324	+ 13.64	...	...	- 0.58
Gareti	109,166	106,424	112,400	91,308	- 5.88	- 3.31	+ 22.97	+ 9.28
Gaur*	431,474	430,070	413,633	334,402	+ 0.11	+ 4.21	+ 25.66	+ 39.08
Gond	302,593	149,498	130,722	67,364	+ 55.21	- 0.96	+ 83.06	+ 131.56
Gonri	142,347	201,400	98,217	101,066	- 22.93	+ 204.23	- 34.47	+ 40.76
Guria	139,714	131,656	...	...	+ 0.50	...	...	...
Hajjam and Napit	541,826	891,754	941,032	732,264	+ 2.31	- 8.42	+ 28.31	+ 14.96
Halwai*	152,029	160,832	...	144,438	- 5.11	...	...	+ 5.84
Hari	371,616	284,666	256,100	258,971	+ 5.80	- 0.45	+ 16.47	+ 16.46
Ho	385,022	150,229	...	...	+ 156.29	...	...	...
Jogi and Jugi*	374,906	406,473	340,342	358,394	- 7.76	+ 10.03	- 11.18	- 2.45
Kahar	585,366	621,170	654,938	466,010	- 5.79	+ 3.70	+ 29.78	+ 25.01
Kaibarta	2,434,655	2,531,360	2,481,919	2,357,765	+ 11.34	- 10.09	+ 5.26	+ 5.28
Kala	154,937	140,641	170,739	151,113	- 3.18	- 0.23	+ 13.01	+ 2.53
Kalwar*	238,521	401,799	100,068	...	+ 40.08	+ 111.39	...	...
Kamar and Lohar	707,157	739,738	672,947	696,906	+ 3.05	+ 9.08	+ 13.35	+ 26.41
Kandh	124,338	103,893	36,911	...	+ 13.67	+ 151.40	...	...
Kandra	151,335	140,950	130,306	102,449	+ 7.41	+ 16.27	+ 13.01	+ 47.77
Kandua	507,689	590,409	608,919	473,680	- 2.85	- 14.33	+ 27.23	+ 5.95
Kaora	111,673	106,377	96,667	...	+ 0.05	...	...	+ 13.34
Kapali	143,741	134,009	127,008	130,769	+ 7.86	+ 5.46	- 2.83	+ 0.98
Karan	189,490	130,220	106,333	113,434	+ 45.51	+ 22.46	- 6.28	+ 67.04
Kayasth	1,247,831	1,460,748	1,450,843	1,403,113	+ 8.10	+ 1.09	+ 3.41	- 3.90
Kewat	372,648	363,476	294,573	292,370	+ 3.08	+ 40.68	- 12.79	+ 27.50
Khandait	718,846	681,272	617,017	457,780	+ 5.51	+ 10.41	+ 34.78	+ 37.62
Kheria	164,732	55,531	32,230	52,960	+ 68.63	+ 148.36	- 132.41	+ 97.78
Kharwar	191,809	93,712	189,242	73,106	+ 6.35	+ 31.97	+ 170.77	+ 40.91
Khatwa	108,900	81,136	47,082	81,406	+ 26.83	+ 72.45	- 6.57	+ 99.94
Koiri	1,207,009	1,150,190	1,204,984	1,091,015	+ 6.99	- 0.90	+ 10.34	+ 16.03
Kora	82,261	73,496	43,563	37,096	+ 11.94	+ 23.77	+ 14.06	+ 116.40
Kumhar	745,337	740,084	608,347	607,497	- 0.10	+ 2.90	+ 14.06	+ 20.70
Kurmi	1,036,400	1,321,028	1,213,423	987,889	+ 5.65	+ 8.91	+ 26.68	+ 45.76
Magh	100,508	96,518	...	56,616	+ 13.88	...	...	+ 24.11
Mal	145,677	97,774	125,238	125,305	+ 48.93	- 31.02	- 0.84	+ 15.33
Malakar (Mali)	132,106	151,903	216,106	153,376	+ 13.96	- 29.66	+ 40.00	+ 13.87
Mallah	289,296	282,029	470,078	412,092	+ 1.74	- 16.70	+ 13.86	- 5.73
Malo	227,985	88,443	19,454	9,416	+ 107.70	+ 334.03	+ 106.60	+ 2,331.25
Mayra	147,215	127,363	308,321	92,156	+ 16.04	- 53.75	+ 235.10	+ 60.39
Munda	331,628	302,687	94,537	190,006	+ 5.22	+ 279.45	- 40.71	+ 180.76
Musahar	605,797	563,698	545,073	431,250	+ 7.49	+ 3.27	+ 26.63	+ 40.47
Namasudra (Chandal)	1,800,914	1,768,119	1,576,076	1,660,518	+ 5.19	+ 12.19	+ 4.83	+ 23.77
Naniya	343,370	318,441	279,861	226,236	+ 7.63	+ 13.78	+ 28.20	+ 51.77
Orson	890,657	492,138	45,639	240,780	+ 22.40	+ 896.47	- 81.04	+ 145.31
Pan (Panika)	446,527	341,740	241,478	253,273	+ 30.04	+ 41.69	- 3.51	+ 78.41
Pasi	151,007	147,651	164,536	134,607	+ 2.67	- 10.20	+ 22.82	+ 13.13
Pod	464,981	418,667	323,735	226,974	+ 11.90	+ 38.40	+ 11.18	+ 58.69
Rajbani (Koch)	2,665,953	1,660,338	1,644,422	1,348,082	+ 3.90	+ 30.51	+ 38.67	+ 62.53
Rajput (Chhatri)	1,397,090	1,809,354	1,490,354	1,231,645	- 7.44	+ 7.09	+ 14.42	+ 13.32
Raja	110,595	101,728	73,569	35,480	+ 8.42	+ 38.30	+ 107.16	+ 210.87
Rajwar	109,698	131,840	130,448	70,364	+ 21.13	+ 1.06	+ 64.36	+ 101.22
Sadgop	378,473	671,336	557,047	658,777	+ 1.34	+ 9.30	- 13.30	- 13.90
Santal	1,330,143	1,470,825	203,264	922,816	+ 24.43	+ 131.63	+ 77.07	+ 66.22
Sonar	245,517	273,203	341,222	258,313	- 10.16	+ 13.24	+ 4.73	- 3.07
Subarnabanik*	165,707	97,540	...	136,477	+ 39.00	...	...	+ 33.11
Sudra	126,780	204,335	190,407	50,060	+ 30.70	+ 35.76	+ 73.15	+ 271.11
Sunri or Shaha	616,322	425,406	528,021	706,546	+ 45.70	- 33.11	- 29.12	- 23.42
Sutradhar (Chhatri)*	172,200	475,554	...	164,422	- 1.21	...	...	+ 4.73
Tanti and Tatwa	946,463	801,376	912,247	876,451	+ 13.07	- 12.79	+ 4.86	+ 7.96
Teli and Tili	1,395,339	1,363,091	1,293,022	1,211,298	+ 2.34	+ 4.94	+ 7.23	+ 13.19
Tipara	101,508	90,736	16,149	12,306	+ 11.87	+ 462.19	+ 6.34	+ 561.69
Tiyar	267,200	183,331	346,117	365,106	+ 38.90	- 44.06	- 9.35	- 30.61

\* Baniya.—Appears to have included Gandhabani and Subarnabanik in 1881.

Bhandari.—Included with Napit in 1881.

Gandhabani.—See "Baniya."

Gaur.—Classed with Goala in 1881 and 1891. The persons so shown in Orissa and the Orissa States have been assumed to be Gaur for the purpose of this statement.

Hakul.—Not shown separately in 1881. Probably classed with Mayra.

Jugi.—Included in Patwa in 1872.

Kahar.—Was not shown in 1872 when it was probably amalgamated with Sunri.

Subarnabanik.—See "Baniya."

Sudra.—There are none of this caste in Orissa. The 92,783 persons shown there in 1891 refer partly to Sudha and partly to Chama.

Sutradhar.—Not shown in 1881. Probably added to Barhi.



## Chapter XII.

### OCCUPATIONS.

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

898. The statistics regarding occupations will be found in Tables XV and XVI. The former table is divided into four parts, REFERENCE TO STATISTICS.  
VIZ:—

A.—General summary, showing the number of persons following each occupation shown in the classified scheme of occupations to be presently referred to, in the Province, as a whole (British Territory only), in the Feudatory States, and in cities.

B.—Details for districts and states for all occupations which form the means of subsistence of more than 1,000 persons in any district.

C.—Distribution of occupations by religion.

D.—Subsidiary occupations followed by persons who are mainly dependent on agriculture.

In Table XVI occupation is combined with caste. Only the more numerous castes are dealt with, and for each of these the actual workers are distributed according to the 24 Orders, or main groups of occupations, shown in the classified scheme. The number of persons following the actual traditional occupation of the caste is shown in notes at the foot of the Table, and an Appendix is added showing the distribution by caste of the persons who follow certain important pursuits.

At the end of this chapter will be found the following Subsidiary Tables, in which the more important features of the statistics are presented in a more readable form than in the voluminous tables above referred to, which occupy 198 closely printed pages or two-thirds of the total space taken up by all the other tables put together:—

*Subsidiary Table I.*—General distribution by occupation.

*Subsidiary Table II.*—Distribution of the Agricultural, Industrial, Commercial and Professional population by natural divisions and districts.

*Subsidiary Table III.*—Selected occupations, 1901 and 1891.

*Subsidiary Table IV.*—Occupations of females by Orders, and certain selected Sub-orders and Groups.

*Subsidiary Table V.*—Occupations combined with Agriculture.

*Subsidiary Table VI.*—Occupations by religion for Sub-orders and selected Groups.

*Subsidiary Table VII.*—Occupations of certain selected castes.

*Subsidiary Table VIII.*—Distribution by Caste or Race of Government officers of certain Departments.

899. The classified scheme of occupations prescribed by the Census Commissioner is a very elaborate one. All occupations are divided into eight main Classes; these classes are subdivided into 24 Orders and 79 Sub-orders, and the sub-orders are further subdivided into 520 Groups. The general features of the scheme differ but very slightly from those of the previous census. An attempt has been made to distinguish makers from sellers, and persons who work in factories from those who work at home, but it is doubtful whether the results obtained are of much value. So far as village occupations are concerned, their most characteristic feature is that the same person both makes and sells. The confectioner, for example, makes his sweets and sells them; the potter retails the earthen vessels which he moulds; the person who makes bangles is the same as the person who sells them, and the fisherman usually himself sells the fish which he catches. The principle which I followed was to class as 'makers' all persons who were entered in the schedules, either as making, or as both making and selling, any article, and to show as 'sellers' only those who were entered merely as selling it, but it is probable that many of the latter were also in reality makers of the



thing sold, and were described merely as sellers owing to the want of accuracy on the part of the enumerators. It was still more difficult to apply in practice the distinction between factories and home industries, easy as it may seem in theory. Special instructions were issued to the enumerators to note clearly whether the persons engaged in each industry worked at home or in factories, but, in spite of this, the entries were often so vague that it was impossible to say which was meant.

900. The vagueness of the return of occupations was unfortunately by no means confined to cases of the kind noted above, and entries such as *isuraddar* (farmer), peon, contractor, *mistri* (artificer), coolie and *chakari* (service) were unfortunately very common. There were numerous other entries which, though not so vague as the above, could still be classed under several different heads of the scheme, such as railway coolie, doctor (unspecified), mendicancy (unspecified), engineer, service in mill, cloth-seller, *krishi majur*, *go-rakshyak*, *kaila-bikroy* (*kaila* means 'charcoal' as well as 'coal'), wood-seller and the like. Many of these were most difficult to deal with, and although a clue was often furnished by the locality where the person was enumerated, or by the caste, sex and other entries on the slip relating to him, it was inevitable that there should be a considerable amount of guessing, and it would be absurd to pretend that in every case the persons concerned were assigned to the right groups in the occupation scheme. All that can be said is that we did the best we could, and that, considering the large numbers dealt with, it may be hoped that the mistakes which occurred to some extent cancelled one another.

There were other entries which, though vague in themselves, could usually be classified aright with reference to the caste column. Thus in Bihar the word *jajmankar* was frequently shown as the occupation of Bráhmans, Hajjáms, Dhobis, Mehtars, Chamárs and Doms. The term indicates that the person concerned carries on his traditional caste occupation and has the right to be employed by certain persons and to receive from them the customary fees. Consequently all that was necessary was to refer to the caste column in order to find out whether the person concerned was a priest or a barber or a washerman, etc., as the case might be. *Brit* is another term very similar to *jajmankur*, with this difference, that it connotes a small grant of land held rent-free from the landlord as a consideration for services rendered. *Basti kámaná* or *mahalladdri* has a somewhat similar meaning, but this term is applied more specially to the Doms, who remove dead bodies, and their females, who act as midwives. There were again other entries which at first sight seemed quite incomprehensible, but which in the end we were often able to find the meaning of. Some of these were merely English words in a vernacular dress, such as '*buchar*' (butcher), but others gave much trouble and it was not always that the proper meaning could be traced. *Sáriján sáheber márkáwádlá* is an instance of an entry which required a good deal of puzzling over before it was discovered to refer to a marker on a rifle range. So also *rel brikmyán* which proved to stand for 'brakesman' and *nayentri* (no entry) which an officious copyist had noted on a slip for a person whose means of subsistence had not been recorded by the enumerator.

901. But our difficulties did not end here. The occupation scheme deals with a number of special occupations, but it does not, as a rule, provide for cases where, as often happens in practice, the occupations are of a mixed character, and these had to be assigned, more or less arbitrarily, to one or other of several special heads shown in the scheme under each of which they might be classed with almost equal propriety.\* A grain-dealer, for example, finds a place in one group of the occupation scheme and a cloth-dealer in another, but nothing is more common than to find a man combining the two occupations. The *máli* or gardener often combines with his traditional occupation the making of flowers from pith and of fireworks. So also, money-lending and cloth-dealing generally go together. The persons employed in the rural police force have usually some other

\* The same difficulty exists in England also, and Dr. Longstaff has suggested that it should be met by entering the person under both headings, making the requisite correction when totalling the occupations (Studies in Statistics, page 224). This, however, would involve an amount of elaboration which would not be possible in the time allowed.



employment as well, but in the main occupation table only the principal one is shown. The result is, as will be seen in paragraph 907, that the number of persons, returned as village watchmen at the census, is far smaller than the number actually employed, as shown in the police returns. There are also certain recognised shops which have no corresponding equivalent in English and which are not provided for in the occupation scheme. Of these, the most important in this Province is that known as a *manohāri dokān*. In 1891 the keepers of such shops appear to have been treated as stationers; but although stationery is sold, this is by no means the only, or indeed the most important, class of goods dealt in. Amongst other articles may be mentioned clocks, chairs, glass, glass bangles, looking-glasses, enamelled plates, toys, biscuits, caps, buttons, stockings, handkerchiefs, shoes, brushes, woollen goods, tobacco, soap, perfumery, tin boxes, walking-sticks, and *hukkār*. This sort of shop is so common that I opened a special head for it and *parchun dokān*, its Bihar equivalent. Another well-known class of shop in Bengal Proper is that known as *tel labaner dokān* (salt and oil shop). In these shops, in addition to salt and oil, rice, pulse, and treacle are often sold. The shop does not exactly correspond to a grocer's, but the resemblance is sufficiently close, and I accordingly classed the people who own such shops as grocers. I also treated as grocers the keepers of the shops known in Bihar as *pansāri dokān*, where salt, pepper, turmeric, spices, dyes, tea, and medicines are exposed for sale, and the *khichari farosh*, or vendor of rice, *dāl*, fuel, oil, salt, tobacco, and molasses.

Not only was there much uncertainty in assigning to a particular group persons returned as living by these mixed occupations not provided for in the scheme, but it was often clear that the occupation named by the enumerator was only one of several actually followed. Thus a Dom is a scavenger and a drummer as well as a basket-maker, and his wife is a midwife, but he would usually be entered under only one of these heads. Many persons who deal in various kinds of goods and also lend money were often returned either as money-lenders or as dealers in some special article. Moreover, the census refers to a man's occupation on a particular day. There are separate heads in the occupation scheme for agricultural labourers, *pālki*-bearers, earth-workers, porters, tank-diggers, paddy-huskers, road and railway labourers, etc. The same man may, and often does, at different seasons, follow all these forms of employment in turn, but only one of them will find a place in the census returns.

902. We had to classify as best we could the various occupations returned which were not covered by any of the entries in the occupation scheme, such as umbrella-repairers, torch-bearers in marriage processions, vendors of Fuller's earth, castrators of animals, makers of wooden sandals, catchers and sellers of snakes, collectors and sellers of the water-weed used for refining sugar, cleaners, sellers of oil-cake and of *pātkholā* (earth-cakes eaten by pregnant women), electrical engineers and workmen, sycophants,\* devil-drivers, mica miners, *gāriwāls'* touts,† etc. In a few cases, where the occupation was important, or the number of persons returned was considerable, a new group was opened, but, as a rule, the items were classed under the most appropriate head available in the prescribed scheme.‡ The makers of wooden sandals, for example, were treated as carpenters.

903. It will thus appear that, in spite of the elaborate nature of the classified scheme of occupations, there was ample scope for differences of opinion; and if the head of each census office had been left to deal finally with

OCCUPATIONS NOT SHOWN IN  
SCHEME.

METHOD OF CLASSIFYING OCCU-  
PATIONS.

\* The *muzakib*, or sycophant, is a hanger-on of wealthy zamindars, whose business it is to flatter his patron and land his various good qualities.

† The *gāriwāl's* tout, or *dālāligāri*, is the boy who frequents railway stations and tries to get people to go in particular hackney carriages, for which, if not rewarded by the traveller, he receives a small commission from the driver.

‡ When the occupation scheme for the next census is issued, it would be advisable to give a complete list in the vernacular of all the occupations actually found in the schedules on the present occasion, and not merely of the items specially provided for in the scheme, with the number of the heading under which each should be grouped. This should be done by the Provincial Superintendents, each for his own Province; and to allow of its timely preparation, the general scheme should be prescribed at least six months before the census is taken.



the various questions that came up regarding the classification of the entries found in the schedules, there might have been marked variations in the procedure followed in different parts of the Province. In order to preserve uniformity as far as possible, I passed orders myself on every doubtful point. The Deputy Superintendents submitted for my decision all cases which were not absolutely clear, and their references, with my replies, were circulated to all the offices in a series of 'Questions and Answers.\*' In addition to this, alphabetical lists of the actual entries found in the schedules were prepared in each census office and submitted for my inspection, with the number of the group selected for each occupation noted against it. After I had passed these lists, they were lithographed or printed, and circulated to other offices in the same language for information. From time to time, as fresh occupations came to light, supplementary lists were prepared and submitted to me, after which they were incorporated in the original index of the office concerned. These indices have been carefully preserved, and should be of great use at the next census.†

904. But in spite of all the care taken to ensure accuracy and uniformity, there was still a loop-hole for serious mistakes.

#### ERRORS IN COMPILATION.

I myself decided on the number of the group to be given to each occupation, but the practical application of the orders was necessarily left to subordinates, who examined the sorters' tickets and marked against each occupation the number of the group shown against it in the index. Items bearing the same group-number were then added together, and the entries in each ticket were added up to obtain the district total. The possibilities of error were threefold. In the first place, the sorter might neglect the rule requiring each occupation to be entered on his ticket exactly as it was found in the schedules, and add together items which, though apparently very similar, yet belonged to different groups in the scheme. Secondly, the men who affixed the group-numbers might rely on their memory and so make mistakes, and, thirdly, the process of compiling such a vast array of separate items was a very elaborate one, and there was a great danger of mispostings. Thanks to the slip system, it is believed that the errors due to these causes were fewer than ever before. In spite of the fact that 520 distinct occupations were shown in the classified scheme, the great bulk of the population was returned under a few simple heads, and it was arranged that these should be dealt with first. The ordinary sorters were given a list of the more common occupations and told to sort only those slips the occupations shown on which belonged to one or other of these heads, and to place all other slips in a separate heap. In this way more than four-fifths of the total population were finally dealt with. For the sorting of the remaining slips, selected men were employed on better pay under specially-chosen supervisors. The attention of the Deputy Superintendents was concentrated mainly on this part of the work, and it was checked as carefully as possible. The male and female slips were sorted separately, and a comparison of the results for each afforded a valuable means of detecting mistakes. When the district totals had been prepared, they were sent with the sorters' tickets and tabulation registers to my office, where the figures were again examined in as much detail as was possible in the time available. In addition to the check in my office, I examined the entries myself with special reference to the corresponding details for 1891, and where marked discrepancies were noticed, or where the results for any reason seemed improbable, the figures on which

\* The classification in respect of the districts dealt with in the Bhagalpur Census office was not always in accordance with the general standard. Instances came to my notice when passing the tables for compilation, where occupations had been classified without reference to me, and it was not always possible at that stage to remove the consequent differences in procedure.

† This system of centralising the classification was found in some cases to present difficulties due to the varying meaning of the same word in different parts of the Province. Thus *beḍḍari* was found to mean in one place a general merchant, in another an itinerant dealer in grain, and in a third, a shopkeeper of any kind. *Mahājān* usually means a money-lender, but it is occasionally used with special reference to people who advance money for the purchase of grain, and who should therefore be more correctly classed as grain-dealers. The word *tejdrati* has a similar dual meaning. An *dratdar* is usually a warehouseman, who charges a commission for the storage of goods, but sometimes he himself is the dealer. *Pujāri* generally means a priest, but when used with reference to Oriyā Brāhmans, it means a cook.

As a check on errors in classification due to these local differences in meaning, the Deputy Superintendents were asked to bring to my notice all cases where the classification sanctioned by me appeared to them to be open to question.



they were based were traced back to the tickets.\* In this way many mistakes were removed, but although everything possible was done to ensure accuracy, it is impossible to be confident that the tables are absolutely free from mistakes.† All that can be asserted is that, so far as errors in tabulating the results are concerned, they are probably far fewer than they must have been under the system of compilation in vogue before the present census; that they are confined to the smaller items, and that, so far as the main heads which were separately dealt with are concerned, there has been no appreciable inaccuracy. Some allowance must, however, be made for errors due to the vagueness of many of the original entries in the schedules, the incompleteness of many other entries, and the necessity of assigning mixed occupations, covering several distinct groups in the scheme, to one group in particular.

905. This brings me to a point on which it is necessary to lay special stress, *viz.*, the desirability of greatly simplifying the scheme of classification at future censuses. In his General Report on the Census of India in 1891, (page 87) Mr. Baines wrote:

It may be gathered from these remarks that a high value is not attached to the results of the census of occupation. This is true, and the opinion is not confined to those who have had the administration of the operation in India alone. In some of the countries in Europe the subject is excluded altogether from the enumeration, and in one at least, which need not be named, much forethought and many elaborate instructions were rewarded by results which the census authorities thought it advisable not to mislead the public, by including with the rest. In Germany, as well as in the United States, it has been decided that a comprehensive industrial survey, obtained by dint of detailed enquiry, spread over a considerable time, is preferable to the rough and ready return which is all that it falls within the capacity of a synchronous census to furnish.

Similarly, in the report on the Census of England and Wales in 1891 (page 35) it is said that:—

A census . . . does not supply data which are suitable for minute classification or admit of profitable examination in detail. The most that it is reasonable to expect from data so collected is that they shall give the means of drawing such a picture of the occupational distribution of the people as shall be fairly true in its main lines, though little value can be attached to the detailed features. It is not wise to demand from a material a result for the production of which it is unsuited.

In a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society‡ Mr. Baines repeated the opinion that detailed information as to the industrial organisation of a country cannot be obtained by the machinery of the general census, and in the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, Sir Robert Giffen expressed agreement with Mr. Baines as to the undesirability of attempting to do much regarding occupations in an ordinary census and admitted that, if an elaborate enquiry were desired, it could only be carried out by a separate proceeding, quite outside the census and conducted by a different staff.

If such is the case in Europe it seems obvious that in India a detailed

Group.	Number of persons.
27. Hardamen	590,517
36. Rent receivers	1,475,411
37. Rent payers	40,105,429
38. Farm servants	901,073
39. Field labourers	4,340,635
40. Barbers	440,522
64. Indoor servants	409,603
78. Cow and buffalo keepers	418,802
79. Fishermen and fishcurers	540,641
80. Fish dealers	673,614
102. Rice pounders and huskers	422,346
124. Grocers, etc.	654,106
272. Cotton weavers	901,989
445. Priests	450,359
504. General Labour	5,346,543
512. Mendicancy	479,067
Total	63,640,753

classification of occupations is even less likely to furnish satisfactory results, while it tends to obscure the main facts which a less elaborate method would bring out. At the same time it adds enormously to the expense of the undertaking, and it would certainly be no exaggeration to say that from one-third to a quarter of the entire expenditure on the census operations was incurred on the compilation of the occupation tables. An analysis of the figures shows that

about six-sevenths of the total population (British Territory only) has been classed under one or other of 16 groups as noted in the margin. The number

\* In some cases re-sorting was ordered, but it was impossible at this stage to have recourse to this checking on a very extended scale.

† One such mistake came to notice in connection with an enquiry made by Mr. L. P. Shirres, I.C.S. In Table XV, 147 persons had been shown as working in Match Factories, but it was found that they belonged properly to another group, *viz.*, "Match, candle, torch, lamp, lantern-makers and sellers, etc."

‡ Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Volume LXIII, Part I.



of these groups would be still smaller, and the population contained in them would be even greater, if we added together items which are not really distinct. For example fishermen and fish-dealers cannot properly be treated as distinct occupations\* and it would be better to amalgamate them, and also boat and barge men, under which head 247,255 persons have been shown. Similarly it is inadvisable to attempt to distinguish between the different classes

Group.				Number of persons.
38.	Farm servants	...	...	401,673
39.	Field labourers	...	...	2,546,688
102.	Rice-pounders	...	...	422,340
420.	Palki-bearers	...	...	184,151
441.	Porters	...	...	46,000
74.	(Sub-order) earth-work	...	...	210,965
304.	General labour	...	...	5,346,843
Total				10,931,390

of landless labourers. It was found in practice very difficult to say whether any particular entry referred to a farm servant or field labourer, and it has already been stated that the same person may be, and often is, at different times a farm labourer, a rice pounder, a *palki*-bearer, an earth-worker, etc. Moreover many, who were returned simply as 'coolie' and so had to be relegated to the category of 'general labourers,' were doubtless, at the time of the enumeration, working in the fields, or on some kind of earth-work or the like, for which a special head is provided in the scheme, and the figures recorded against these special heads are, therefore, incorrect. It would be better to show all classes of landless labourers together, in which case this group alone would account for about 11 millions of the total population. It seems to me that if the occupation scheme were limited to about 30 heads (which might be printed on the sorters' tickets) we should obtain, at a tithe of the cost, a far more accurate distribution of the population according to the main heads of occupation, and this is all which can reasonably be expected from a synchronous census. It has already been shown that accurate detailed statistics are not to be expected, and if they are required for any particular occupation, the information should be sought elsewhere,† or made the subject of a separate enquiry on different lines.

## COMPARISON WITH 1891.

906. In previous chapters the statistics have been treated, first from the statical, and then from the dynamical point of view, *i.e.*, the results of the present census have in

the first instance been examined by themselves, and the changes which have taken place since previous enumerations have been dealt with afterwards. In the present chapter the procedure will be reversed, partly because the discussion of the comparative results will lend support to the plea set up for a simplification of the occupation scheme, and partly because it will throw light on the system of classification adopted, which it is desirable should be clearly understood before any conclusions are drawn from the figures for the present census.

The classification of occupations previous to the last census was based on such a different system that it is quite impossible to institute any comparison of the results, and although the general scheme at the present census follows that of 1891 closely in most respects, there have been several important alterations, both in the scheme and in the method of classification adopted, which make it impossible to draw many definite conclusions from the variations disclosed by the figures. This should be borne in mind when comparing the number of persons shown against each group at the two censuses in Subsidiary Table No. III. The following notes on the comparative statistics will show that the differences disclosed by such a comparison are due to artificial causes almost as frequently as to genuine changes in the actual conditions.

The most important change of system in dealing with the results is in connection with occupations combined with agriculture. In 1891 all such

\* A few sections of the fishing community catch fish but do not retail them, and a few others expose them for sale, but do not catch them; but the majority of the fishing fraternity both catch and sell.

† For factories, coal-mines, tea gardens and other large industries, full information will be found in various special returns and in the annual reports of the Director-General of Statistics. The strength of the Civil and Military Services can be ascertained from the Civil and Army lists and other official publications. Similarly the number of persons employed in the post office, telegraph, forest and other departments of the State could be gleaned far more accurately from special returns prepared departmentally. Information regarding village *chaulkidars* should be obtained from the police, and regarding services under local bodies, including sanitary service, from statements prepared by the local bodies concerned. The income tax report affords a good deal of information regarding the more important commercial occupations. Statistics of this kind might well be collected in connection with the census, but they should be obtained in the manner here indicated and not through the agency of the enumerators.



occupations were tabulated for the general occupation table under the non-agricultural head, and a separate table was prepared of all occupations combined with agriculture, whereas, at the present census, they have been tabulated according to the principal occupation, whether agricultural or otherwise, and columns have been added to show the number of persons whose chief means of livelihood is non-agricultural but who depend partly on agriculture as a subsidiary occupation, while the separate table of occupations combined with agriculture deals only with the subsidiary pursuits of those of whom agriculture is the chief source of income. In other words the persons shown at the present census as rent-payers and rent-receivers represent the total number who returned these occupations as their principal means of support, whereas, in 1891, the corresponding groups included only those who subsisted on these pursuits and nothing else. The result is that more than a million and a half persons have been classed under these two heads who, according to the system in vogue in 1891, would have been entered in the main occupation table under other heads.

907. The result of this change of system is apparent in all parts of the

Occupation Table. In Order I there has been a

ORDER I.—ADMINISTRATION.

marked increase in the number of officers of Government and clerks under Government and District Boards and Municipalities and their families, and a heavy falling off under the heads 'village accountants' and 'watchmen and other village servants.' Many, if not most, of the patwáris and rural police have some second occupation, and where the latter has been returned as their principal means of support, they have, at the present

DIVISION.	POLICE FIGURES.	CENSUS FIGURES.
Burdwan ...	21,227	13,546
Presidency ...	16,290	9,619
Rajshahi ...	17,610	8,890
Dacca ...	20,317	9,974
Chittagong ...	7,317	3,844
Patna ...	27,265	15,496
Bhagalpur ...	17,079	10,197
Orissa ...	7,525	6,360
Chota Nagpur ...	12,246	4,769
Total ...	154,257	85,571

census, been tabulated under that head. In 1891, on the other hand, when the second occupation was agricultural, they were shown in Order I in the main occupation table. It will be seen from the statement in the margin that the number of persons who returned their employment in the rural police force as their principal means of support is far smaller than the number actually entertained. The difference is due, in a great measure, to the fact that in many cases agriculture was entered as the

principal means of subsistence, and it will be seen from Table XVD that the number of cultivators and field labourers who were shown as partially dependent on their earnings as village watchmen was not less than 36,434. If these be added the discrepancy between the two sets of figures is greatly reduced. There would of course be others whose main occupation was returned as something else, such as fishing, *pálki*-bearing, or general labour, but of such dual occupations no record was kept. I have entered into this particular discrepancy at some length, partly because the police statistics are available with which to compare the census figures, and partly because in Table XVD, which was not compiled according to the full scheme, a separate head was reserved for village watchmen.

908. In Order IV there are several noticeable variations between the results

ORDER IV.—PROVISION AND CARE OF ANIMALS.

The difference is due in part to the ambiguity of the terms used in the schedules. The word *go-rakshyak*, for example, may mean either a cattle-breeder or a herdsman. It probably refers more

DIVISION.	NUMBER OF CATTLE-BREEDERS.	
	1891.	1901.
Burdwan ...	17,628	9,767
Presidency ...	29,927	1,861
Orissa ...	28,480	8,050
Total ...	76,035	9,678

often to the latter and was treated accordingly at the present census, but in 1891 it was, apparently, in some districts at least, taken as the equivalent of cattle-breeder. The majority of the persons shown as cattle-breeders in 1891 were returned in the Presidency, Orissa and Burdwan divisions, where the occupation is comparatively rare,\* and it is here that the greater part of the difference

between the two sets of figures is found. But even if cattle-breeders and

\* Of the 29,927 persons shown as cattle-breeders in the Presidency Division, Nadia alone contributed no less than 24,165.



herdsmen be taken together the present figures are far in excess of those of 1891. This is owing to the stress which was laid on the rule that "women and children who work at any occupation, of whatever kind, not being merely an amusement or of a purely domestic character, such as cooking, must be entered accordingly, whether they earn wages or not." Boys who herded their parents' cattle were consequently often shown as herdsmen, whereas at the previous census they were probably entered as dependent on their parents' occupation.

909. The great increase under the two main heads of Order V—Agriculture, *viz.*, rent-receivers and rent-payers, has already been explained. On the present occasion these heads include all persons who returned them as their chief means of livelihood, whereas, in 1891, they included only those of whom they formed the sole occupation.\* It is also due in part to the greater care which is taken at each succeeding census, to secure correct entries in the schedules. The natural inclination of the people is to return their traditional caste occupation, *i.e.*, the Dhobá, when asked what his occupation is, says 'Dhobá' or washerman, the Barhi says 'Barhi' or carpenter, and so on, although in fact they may live mainly by cultivation. The extent to which such mistakes are eliminated varies with the amount of supervision exercised, and this was certainly greater at the present census than on any previous occasion. The removal of such mistakes was further facilitated by the provision of separate columns in the schedule for principal and subsidiary occupation, and by the more detailed enquiries which this change of procedure necessitated.

The persons shown as farm servants and field labourers aggregate nearly 5 millions, compared with rather more than a million and a half in 1891, but the difference is wholly due to the transfer to these heads of persons returned as general labourers at the previous census; the number of the latter is now well under 6 millions compared with nearly 9 millions ten years earlier. I have already pointed out that the distinction between these two heads is a fallacious one, and that amongst the landless labourers the same person at different seasons of the year earns his livelihood in different ways.

The number of tea-garden coolies has risen from 50,639 to 208,727, but here again the result is due to a more accurate return rather than to an actual increase, although this, too, has been considerable. In his report on the last census Mr. O'Donnell stated that the figures then returned were far less than the truth. Speaking of the statistics for Jalpaiguri he wrote:—

"Only 12,822 persons out of a population of 681,352 in Jalpaiguri district have been returned as tea cultivators, but they must be supplemented by very many amongst the 57,623 general labourers and 5,504 farm hands. Indeed even the grand total of these three occupations most probably falls short of the reality."

There were 35,683 acres under tea in this district in 1891 and the present area is 76,158. At a rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  coolies per acre the number employed in 1891 should have been 53,524, and the present number 114,237. The occupation table of the present census gives the number as 113,685, while, according to the village tables, the total population of all kinds enumerated on the tea estates is 133,207. The number of betel vine growers exceeds that returned in 1891 by more than 40,000, but the person who cultivates the betel vine frequently sells the leaf himself, and it is difficult to distinguish between the two occupations. The number of sellers of the betel leaf, who are shown in another part of the classified scheme (Order VII), has decreased considerably. The present returns disclose only 14,117 fruit and vegetable-growers compared with 174,604 in 1891, but, on the other hand, the number of vegetable and fruit-sellers, who are shown in Order VII, has risen from 8,718 to 154,921. These fluctuations afford a vivid illustration of the impossibility, in this country, of drawing a distinction between makers (or growers) and sellers, except only in a few special cases where selling forms a separate, well-defined occupation. The decrease in the number of fruit-sellers and fruit-growers taken together is not greater than would be expected from the change of system, already more than once alluded to, in dealing with occupations combined with agriculture. The distinction

\* Table XVD shows that of the rent-payers (male actual workers), 1,263,553 or 9 per cent combine agriculture with some other occupation. If the total population returned under the head 'rent-payers' be reduced by 9 per cent., the number falls to about 44½ million, or only about 6 per cent. more than in 1891.



between agents and managers of landed estates and clerks, bailiffs, etc., though sufficiently clear in theory, is not always easy to apply in practice, and the fluctuations compared with 1891 are due in a great measure to changes in procedure. I reserved the former head for persons in authority, but at the previous census it must have included many petty zamindári officials. The two heads combined show a decrease, due to the fact that many with dual occupations have been treated as agriculturists at the present census.

910. Barbers and washermen appear to be less numerous than in 1891, but the explanation is, to a great extent, the same as that just given, *i.e.*, it is due to a different method of manipulating the results, and also, it may be, to greater success in securing correct entries in the schedules, and in combating the tendency of functional castes to return as their actual occupation that with which they are credited by tradition. The head "Miscellaneous and Unspecified" accounts for only 139,839 persons compared with 1,062,919 in 1891. As far as possible, we avoided classifying occupations under vague terms like this. Whenever the caste, or the birth-place, or the word used\* gave a fairly reliable clue to the precise kind of service followed, the classification was made accordingly. This probably accounts for an increase of nearly 200,000 under the head 'indoor servants,' and for the greater number of cooks. Moreover, in 1891 the important distinction between *chákar* and *chákari* appears to have been overlooked. The former refers to domestic service, but the latter is more commonly employed with reference to more respectable forms of employment, usually clerical, either under Government or under some private employer. Instead, therefore, of entering persons thus returned in the Miscellaneous Group of Order VI, which refers to domestic and personal service, I opened a fresh head in Order XXIII for 'unspecified service,' and this includes 215,754 persons, most of whom, in 1891, would have been shown in Order VI.

911. The general slight decline in the number of persons following the avocations included in Order VII is attributable to the transfer of a certain number, who combine these occupations with agriculture, to the agricultural head. There are also some fluctuations due to changes of classification. Those under the heads 'betel-leaf-sellers' and 'fruit-sellers' have already been dealt with. The falling off under 'rice-pounders' has been met, to a great extent, by an increase under 'flour-grinders.'

912. In Order VIII there has been a marked increase in the number of coal-miners, which is two and-a-half times as great as it was ten years ago. The number of brick- and tile-makers and of masons and builders in Order IX is also considerably greater than it was in 1891, owing to the growing prosperity of the people and the gradual replacing of wood and mud buildings by houses of bricks and mortar.

913. There has been an apparent shrinkage of about 43,000 in Order XI, but this is because the keepers of the shops known as *Manohári Dokán*, who number 53,742, have been shown in Order XVIII and not as stationers. The reason for this change of classification has already been given (paragraph 901). Printing presses afford employment to one and-a-half times as many persons as they did ten years ago, and the number of book-binders has risen by about 30 per cent. These changes are probably genuine, but under some of the other groups the variations are, to a great extent, artificial.

914. There has been but little apparent change in the total number of persons employed on textile fabrics and dress, but the details differ considerably. This is owing partly to the opening of new heads, but there have also been a few genuine changes, amongst which the decline in the number of workers in wool and cotton deserves special mention.

\* For instance, *chákar* means a servant, but, except in East Bengal, it connotes indoor service, corresponding to that of a 'bearer' in European households, and so was classed under the head 'Indoor service.' In Dacca, on the other hand, the meaning is wider, and there was no alternative but to relegate persons entered merely as '*chákar*' to the head provided for unspecified domestic service.



915. Most of the village industries show a falling-off. It is slight in respect of brass, copper, and bell-metal workers, but in the case of potters, carpenters, and shoe-makers it is very considerable. There is not much room for difference of opinion as to the proper classification of these occupations, but there is another factor which has probably resulted in making the difference in the figures more marked than it really is. I refer to the tendency of functional groups to return their traditional caste occupation to which reference has already been made. A man of a weaving caste will often call himself a weaver, even when his main source of income is derived from agriculture or some other employment, and there are reasons for believing that this source of error was removed to a greater extent on this than on previous occasions. The change of system in dealing with occupations combined with agriculture has also affected the figures to a considerable extent. At the same time it seems certain that machine-made goods are gradually replacing those made by hand in the villages. Shoes of English manufacture\* are rapidly displacing the country-made article, at least amongst the better classes; cheap cotton cloth from Manchester, known as *márkin*, is supplanting the stronger but more costly country cloth; amongst Muhammadans Chinaware is being used instead of the local potter's earthen vessels, and knives, axes, etc., from Sheffield and the Continent are ousting the rougher implements made by the village blacksmith. The brass- and copper-smith holds his own, because the domestic cooking and other utensils of these materials have not yet been, and are not likely to be, replaced by enamelled saucepans or other imported substitutes, and the growing prosperity of the country leads to a constantly growing demand for them. I am unable to explain the great decrease in the number of persons returned as saltpetre-refiners and sellers. The quantity of saltpetre extracted is very little less than it was ten years ago, and an independent enquiry indicates that there, at least, the number of persons working as saltpetre refiners approximates more nearly to the figures of the last census than to those now returned. The persons who follow this employment are usually partially agriculturists, and it is possible that the change of system in tabulating occupations combined with agriculture is responsible for the apparent decline under this head.

916. There is a remarkable decline in the number of persons shown in Order XVIII—Commerce, chiefly under the heads 'General merchants' and 'Shop-keepers unspecified.' Here, again, the result is in the main artificial. Greater care was taken to eliminate vague entries, such as *Dokándari* from the enumeration schedules, and in the course of tabulation no items were relegated to these general heads for which any suitable special place could be found in the occupation scheme.† The change of system in dealing with occupations connected with land must also have greatly affected the number of persons shown in this Order. Table XVD shows, for example, that amongst rent-payers (males, actual workers), 108,885 returned shop-keeping as a subsidiary means of livelihood. In Order XIX—Transport and Storage, there has been a net increase of 8 per cent., but the details again disclose variations due, in the main, to changes in classification.

917. The same remark applies to Order XX—Learned and Artistic Professions. The decrease under the head 'Priests, Ministers, etc.,' is, to a great extent, counterbalanced by the entry of a larger number of persons as catechists, church and temple servants, etc. The number shown as religious mendicants is much larger than in 1891, when it would seem that many persons of this class must have been treated as ordinary beggars and shown in Order XXIV. The distinction between religious mendicants and ordinary beggars was seldom shown at all clearly in the entries in the occupation column of the schedules, and it was often necessary to refer to the caste column, in order to decide which was

\* In 1900-1901 the number of pairs of boots and shoes imported was 324,798 compared with 166,715 in 1890-91. The value of cutlery and hardware imported during the same period rose from 32 to 77 lakhs of rupees, and of glass and glassware from 21 to 29 lakhs. The value of imported cotton piece-goods, etc., have risen during the decade from 1,365 to 1,617 lakhs.

† Thus 'Bopári' was in most parts of the Province treated as meaning grain-dealer, whereas, in 1891, it was probably, in many districts, shown as shop-keeper unspecified.



probably meant. It would be better in future to abandon the distinction between the two classes.

918. The variations in respect of the remaining occupations may be summarily dealt with. The decrease of more than

#### OTHER OCCUPATIONS.

three millions under the head of general labour has already been explained. It is due to the transfer of about this number to the cognate head of 'field-labourers' in Order V. Order XXIII is swollen by the entry of the new group 'Service unspecified,' which was classed in 1891 with unspecified domestic service. As already stated, there has been some confusion between ordinary and religious mendicancy; and the two heads combined include only 689,892 persons compared with 771,581 in 1891. This satisfactory result is due in part to greater material prosperity, but it is also largely attributable to the fact that alms are less freely given to the begging fraternity than was formerly the case. With the spread of education, the loafer finds it less easy than it was formerly to unloose the purse strings of the villagers.

## GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY OCCUPATION.

919. It will be seen from the preceding discussion that the classification

of occupations under a large number of special heads is beset with numerous difficulties, due to—

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

(1) the vagueness of many of the original entries, (2) the existence of dual occupations of which only the principal one is shown in the main occupation table, (3) the fact that the census refers to the state of affairs on a particular day, and (4) the errors which, in spite of every precaution, must unavoidably creep into the preparation of such an elaborate table. So far as dual occupations are concerned, the errors probably cancel each other to a great extent. If X represents the number of persons returned as following main occupation A and subsidiary occupation B, and Y, the number following main occupation B and subsidiary occupation A, it may be assumed that the error, due to the entry against occupation A of the whole of X, is cancelled by the exclusion of the whole of Y, *i.e.*, that the loss, sustained by occupation A, owing to the return of some of the people who partly subsist by it under occupation B, is made good by the excess number returned as solely dependent on A, who in reality are partly dependent on B.\*

The vagueness of some of the entries has affected only a few heads, and, except in the case of 'general labour,' where the number runs into millions, it is not likely to have been sufficient to vitiate the general accuracy of the return. The same observation applies to the circumstance that a census deals with the occupations of the people on a particular date. It is only the landless labourer who is constantly changing his means of livelihood, working in the fields at one time and at other time carrying a *pālki*, or digging earth, or working in a jute press or a brick-field. The mistakes which occurred in compiling the results may sometimes have affected particular heads of occupation in individual districts; but it is hoped that the number of such mistakes is small, and in any case they cannot affect the main features of the occupation statistics in the Province as a whole.

In the following discussion, unless the contrary is expressly stated, the figures should be taken to refer to the total number of persons who subsist by each occupation, *i.e.*, the actual workers and the persons dependent on them.

920. The most striking feature of the return is the large proportion of the population who are dependent on agriculture.

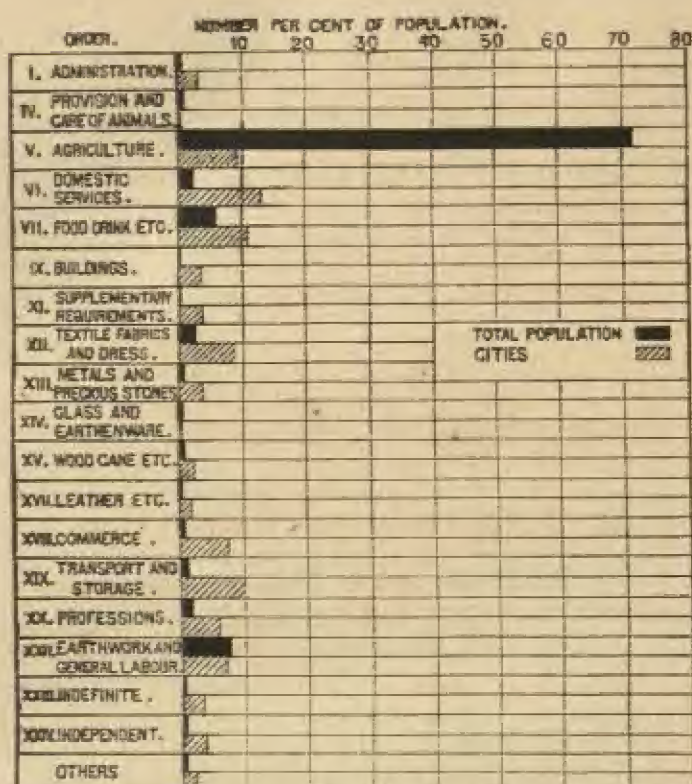
#### GENERAL FEATURES OF THE OCCUPATION RETURN.

Nearly two-thirds of the people are either landlords or tenants; six per cent. have been returned as agricultural labourers, and of the seven per cent. shown as general labourers, the great majority must also be mainly dependent on agriculture. About twelve per cent. of the total population (including dependents) are engaged in the preparation and supply of material substances, and of these half find a

\* It cannot be too often repeated that the Occupation Table merely shows the number of persons dependent on each occupation as their principal means of support, and not the total number who pursue it, either alone or in combination with other avocations. Thus if there are X *chaukidars* in a district, of whom Y are primarily dependent on other means of subsistence, the number returned as *chaukidars* at the census will be  $X - Y$ .



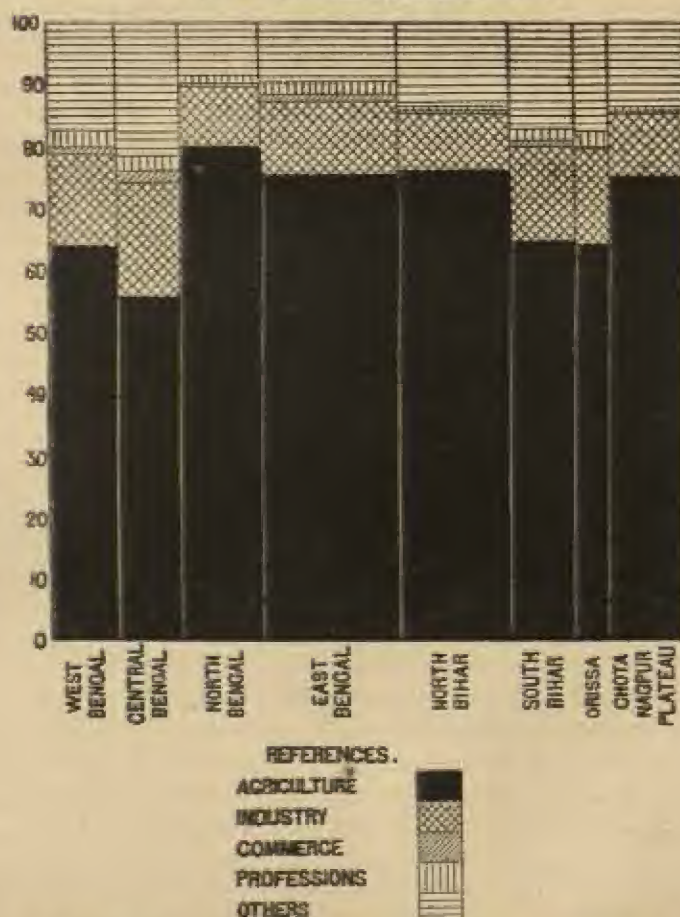
Diagram showing the general distribution of the population by occupation (Orders).



livelihood by the provision of food and drink, and a fifth by making and dealing in textile fabrics and dress. Domestic and sanitary services provide employment for very few, and the number of persons who subsist by this means is barely two per cent. of the population, or less than a third of the number so employed in England and Wales. Commerce, transport, and storage provide employment for two persons in every hundred, of whom rather more than half are engaged on transport and storage and slightly less than half on commerce. In spite of Bráhma priests, the professions are the means of subsistence of less than two persons per cent.

921. The diagram in the margin has been prepared to indicate the general distribution of the population of each Natural Division between agriculture, industries, commerce, and professions. The proportions are

Diagram showing the distribution of the population by occupation (Classes) in each Natural Division.



NOTE.—The base of each rectangle is proportional to the population of each Natural Division. The height shows the percentage of the population of each Natural Division which is employed on each Class of occupation.

to some extent disturbed by the tendency, already more than alluded to, of persons who belong to functional groups to return their traditional caste occupation, if they follow it at all, even though they derive their support mainly from some other employment. A weaver will still call himself a weaver even though he has only one loom for his whole family, and derives the greater part of his earnings from cultivation. This tendency has been counteracted with more success on the present, than on previous, occasions, but it still affects the figures, especially in Orissa and South Bihar. So far as the figures go, North Bengal contains a larger proportion of persons dependent on agriculture than any other part of the Province, and this is very possibly the case; but it



must also be remembered that this is the tract where the number of the functional (non-agricultural) castes is smallest, and the population is composed mainly of Muhammadans and race castes who would be under no temptation to profess to live by non-agricultural occupation; the tendency in fact is here in the other direction, and a man is more likely than not to say that he lives by agriculture, even when the greater part of his time is devoted to some craft, such as carpentry. Then come North Bihar and East Bengal, followed closely by Chota Nagpur. The industrial population is, of course, largest in Central Bengal, and next come Orissa, South Bihar, and West Bengal. The position of West Bengal would be much higher, but for the inclusion of Midnapore and Birbhum, where the industrial population is relatively very small. The commercial and professional communities, like the industrial, are most strongly represented in Central Bengal.

922. Another method of viewing the return from a general standpoint is by taking the occupations commonly followed in every

#### VILLAGE INDUSTRIES.

village, i.e., those which, taken together, meet all the requirements of ordinary village life. The figures for these simple pursuits

OCCUPATION.	Groups included.	Number per 10,000 of total population.
Landlords and tenants	36, 37, 40, 42, 50, 51, 52	6,459
Agricultural labourers	38, 39, 30(a), 30(b)	636
General labourers	96, 102, 100, 420, 441 500 to 504.	900
Stock-owners and herdsmen	22, 27, 30, 31, 34, 79, 82	147
Cotton workers (not in mills)	271, 272, 273, 274	131
Goldsmiths and blacksmiths	317, 323	73
Brass, copper and bell-metal workers.	329 to 333	14
Carpenters	344, 346	43
Fishermen and boatmen	79, 80, 429	190
Oil-pressers	100, 101	62
Barbers	60	59
Washermen	63	42
Toddy-drawers	131, 132	13
Grain-parchers	88	39
Leather-workers	387 to 390	40
Basket-makers, scavengers and drummers.	74, 347 to 349 and 454	67
Priests	444, 447	69
Potters	150, 336, 337	61
Mendicants	446, 513	88
Village quacks and midwives	465, 473	19
Grocers and confectioners	103, 104, 134	79
Grain-dealers and money-lenders	97, 392-395	70
Tailors	396	33
Vegetable and fruit sellers	105	26
Piece-goods dealers	394	25
Other shopkeepers	398, 399(a), 399, 400	41
Total	—	9,333

are given in the margin. The occupations, as here entered, are to be understood in the widest sense, and not merely in the restricted meaning assigned to them in the classified scheme. The head 'general labourer', for example, includes not only the ordinary coolie, but also flour-grinders, paddy-huskers, tank-diggers and other earth-workers, *pālki*-bearers, firewood collectors, etc. More than 93 per cent. of the population are dependent on these village occupations. Most of them are hereditary, and the barber's son becomes a barber and the weaver's son a weaver,\* and we have already seen in the Chapter on Caste that the affairs of each are regulated by a standing Committee, or *panchayat*. The duties and remuneration of each group are fixed by custom, and the caste rules strictly prohibit a man

from entering into competition with another of the same caste. In many districts, the barber, washerman, blacksmith, etc., each has his own defined circle (*brīt* or *sarhan*), within which he works, and no one else may attempt to filch his customers, or *jajmāns*, from him on pain of severe punishment at the hands of the caste committee. The exclusive right to employment by the people in the circle constituting a man's *brīt* is often so well established, that it is regarded as hereditary property and, with Muhammadans, is often granted as dower. The method of payment often consists of a fixed fee for regular services, e.g. to the blacksmith for keeping the plough in order, to the barber for shaving and hair cutting, to the leather-dresser for supplying country shoes and leather straps for plough-yokes and the like, and a special payment on particular occasions, such as to the village midwife, who is usually the wife of the cobbler or drummer, for the delivery of a child, and to the barber on the occasion of marriages.

923. Much curious information on this subject is given by Dr. Grierson in his little book on the Gaya district, where the old customs have been preserved to a greater degree than in most other parts of the Province. The custom is there for each artisan to take his recognised share of grain when the crop has been reaped and brought to the threshing-floor. The carpenter and blacksmith each are given about a maund of grain (half being rice) yearly for

\* It has already been pointed out that the introduction of foreign articles is forcing many of the weavers and other artisans to turn to agricultural pursuits.



each plough,\* while the Chamár gets 12 seers. The Dom or basket-maker receives no regular income. He is paid for what he does, and his only perquisite is the right to take the table leavings of all castes, except the Dhobá, whose remains he scorns to touch.† The Teli also draws no fixed stipend, but receives 4 seers of oilseed for every seer of oil he is required to supply. In addition to these regular payments from the villagers, the artisan or village servant often holds a small plot of land rent free, in return for which he supplies the zamindár with earthenware, or shaves him and his family and cuts their hair, &c., as the case may be.

The same system is in vogue in Bengal Proper, but to a more limited extent. The Dhobá and Nápit usually enjoy small grants of rent-free land from the zamindárs, and the *pálki*-bearers and Háris also do so occasionally. They receive fixed remuneration, in cash or grain, from the villagers; but the present tendency is towards payment by the job. The village carpenters and blacksmiths are usually paid in cash for the actual work done. The Nápit often enjoys the exclusive right to work for people in a recognised circle, but this is not usually the case with the other village servants and artisans. The village organization, with its complete outfit of servants and artisans, who render it independent of all outside help, which is so common in other parts of India, never seems to have been fully developed in the greater part of Bengal Proper, and there is often a great dearth of local craftsmen, which is now being met by the settlement of immigrants from Bihar. The up-country Dhobá, for example, is now to be found in almost all parts of Bengal.

In Orissa, on the other hand, the system in vogue in Bihar, is in full force. Whenever a new village is formed, the first care of the settlers is to secure their own staff of village servants, who are induced to come by small grants of land known as *chákrán jaigir*, averaging about an acre in area, which they enjoy in addition to the customary remuneration from the villagers whom they serve. The washerman and barber serve a fixed circle of from 30 to 50 families and receive small monthly payments of grain or money. The barber also gets presents of cloth and rice, on the occasion of marriages, varying in value from Re. 1 to Rs. 5, while the washerman receives the old cloths in which dead bodies are carried to the pyre, and also the cloths discarded at the *srádh* by the relatives, who are given new ones on that occasion. His wife also receives small presents from well-to-do people when a child is born. The carpenter and blacksmith receive from 12 seers to 15 seers of paddy per plough and are paid by the job for other work; they, too, enjoy a monopoly of the work in a fixed circle of *jajmáns*, who are partitioned amongst their heirs like other property. The Jyotish, or astrologer, has no fixed circle, but he usually serves about 100 families, and also acts as the priest of the Chamár and Siyal castes. He attends at all ceremonial observances and shares the offerings with the Bráhmaṇ, taking from a quarter to three-eighths of the total amount given.

924. The detailed figures in the table of occupation may now be reviewed very briefly. The number of officers of Government (actual workers) shown in group 3 is only 1,988, but it must be remembered that this group includes only officers who are directly concerned in the administration. Engineers and officers of the education, postal and medical departments, and the like, find a place in other parts of the scheme. The same remark applies also, to some extent, to clerks, some of whom, moreover, may have been classed under the head of 'writers unspecified', owing to the vagueness of the entries in the schedules. The number of constables and village watchmen shown in the scheme represents, as already explained, only those who returned these occupations as their principal means of support, and does not represent the total number borne on the books of the police department.

925. Bengal is not a pastoral country, and very little stock is bred beyond such as is required locally. The only important entry in Order IV is, therefore, that of the herdsmen who look after the village cattle kept either for grazing or for the supply of milk. Of these there are about three-fifths of a

\* The carpenter also gets from 4 to 6 pice a day and his food (*Siddá*) when employed on other work by cultivators, or 3 to 4 annas a day, when his employer is not a cultivator.

† The Dom's antipathy to the Dhobá is so pronounced that his most binding promise is clenched by saying:—"If I fail, may I become like a man who has eaten from a Dhobá."



million. About 20,000 persons have been returned as cattle-breeders, but the distinction between them and the cow keepers and milk and butter sellers, of whom there are 430,000 (Order VII, Group 78), is a very fine one, and much reliance cannot be placed on the figures for each taken separately. Of the shepherds and goatherds and breeders of sheep and goats (31,000), the majority are in South Bihar and Chota Nagpur. This occupation is frequently combined with blanket weaving under which head 19,000 persons are shown (Order XII, Group 251).

926. We have already seen that more than three-quarters of the popula-

ORDER V.—AGRICULTURE.

tion are dependent on agriculture, and in these circumstances it may be asked why no attempt should have been made to subdivide Group 37—rent-payers, which alone contains more than 46 millions. The answer is that any attempt to do so would have been misleading, owing to the impossibility of securing entries in the schedules sufficiently clear to permit of the necessary differentiation. The terms used in describing the different kinds of interest in land are so numerous, and their meaning in different localities varies so greatly, that any attempt to particularise would have been foredoomed to failure. I consulted district officers on the subject, but the general opinion was strongly against any attempt to complicate matters by the detailed instructions which would have been necessary, especially as it would have been quite impossible, with the agency available, to ensure their being carried out.\* It has already been pointed out that the census is not the means by which detailed information of this kind can be collected.†

An attempt has been made to distinguish between farm servants and field-labourers, *i.e.*, between permanent and temporary hands, but much importance should not be attached to the figures for each taken separately, and it must be remembered that of the  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions shown under the head of 'General Labour' (Order XXII, Group 504), the great majority derive the major part of their earnings from work in the fields. The field-labourer is employed only when necessity arises, at the time of ploughing, weeding or harvesting. The farm servant, on the other hand, is provided with work all the year round; he is found chiefly on the zamindár's private land or on the holdings of persons of the higher castes, who will not handle the plough themselves. In Gaya the farm servant or *kamiyá*‡ takes a loan from his employer and binds himself to work for him for 100 years or until the loan is repaid. He receives less pay than temporary hands, but this is counterbalanced by the fact that he is kept on all the year round.

In Bengal Proper there is usually no local supply of field-labourers, and the persons so employed are usually immigrants from Bihar. The dearth of hired labourers is often met by a system called *badlá* or *gántá* under which the actual cultivators combine to plough, hoe or weed each other's fields in turn.§ So far as the returns go, the cultivators on the *jhum* system, which has already been described,|| are practically confined to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera. A kind of rice called *dáhi dhán* is cultivated by *jhuming* in parts of Chota Nagpur, but the persons who there resort to this form of agriculture have not been distinguished from other cultivators.

The figures for indigo refer only to the establishments on the factories, which are practically empty, at the time of year when the Census is taken. The persons who grow the plant have been shown as ordinary cultivators. In the case of tea, the other great exotic crop, the Census statistics are more complete, and the figure shown in Table XV (about 209,000) represents a very

\* In Bombay Mr. Enthoven endeavoured to distinguish lessees of villages, tenants and sharers not cultivating, and tenants and sharers cultivating, but he had to give up the attempt. He says:—"The entries in the schedules were so carelessly made that the statistics could not be compiled for a sufficient number of cases to be of any value, and the attempt was therefore abandoned." Bombay Census Report, 1901, page 233.

† A great deal of valuable information on this subject is to be found in the recent Settlement Reports for Orissa, Chittagong and Muzaffarpur, and other similar publications.

‡ The same system is in force elsewhere, *e.g.*, in the north of Chota Nagpur. The farm servant is called *Kámat* in North Bengal and *Krishán* in Nadia.

§ This practice is common in Nadia when the fields have to be deep hoed (*korpáni*) which, with the light ploughs in use, is necessary every 3 or 4 years. About 20 *raiyats* join together and work their way in line from one end of the field to the other, making each stroke of the hoe in unison and turning up the soil to the depth of about a foot.

|| Ante paragraph 163.



close approximation to the number of persons actually employed on the tea gardens. To the 88,000 persons returned as cultivating the betel-vine, the 211,000 shown in Order VII, Group 123, as selling betel-leaf, must be added in order to obtain the true number who live by the cultivation and sale of this article.

927. The most numerous item in Order VI is that of indoor servants, who aggregate about half a million. Then come barbers and washermen. The number of cooks is very small, being less than one to every 1,200 of the population. In an agricultural community, where the women of the family perform this duty themselves, the number is naturally not very great: but it is probable that some of those shown as indoor servants, or under the head 'miscellaneous,' also serve as cooks. The 73,000 sweepers and scavengers are to be found chiefly in municipalities; nearly 22,000 of them were enumerated in the 16 places treated as cities.

928. The largest entry in Order VII is that of fishermen and fish-sellers, who together aggregate 1,239,000. They are most numerous in Central and East Bengal. There are various fishing castes. Some will only catch fish and others will only sell it, but the majority do both. Those who catch fish, again, often have prejudices against employing certain methods. Some will only use nets, and others only bamboo fishing contrivances or fishing rods, &c. Next to the fishing community, the most numerous groups are those of the oil pressers and sellers, and the grocers, numbering 485,000 and 497,000, respectively, the rice pounders with 431,000, the cow-keepers and milk-sellers with 430,000, and the grain and pulse-dealers with 350,000. The latter figure represents only those of whom grain dealing is the main occupation. The total number of persons who trade in such staples is much greater, and every money-lender and considerable shop-keeper deals in grain to a greater or less extent. Grain parchers, sweetmeat makers and sellers, and flour grinders are also numerous, and so are the betel-leaf sellers who have already been mentioned.

929. The figures relating to light, firing and forage call for no detailed comment. Firewood, charcoal and cowdung sellers number 142,000, while the rapidly growing coal-mines support about 83,000 persons.

930. Passing over Orders IX and X, which present no special features, we come to a miscellaneous collection of occupations grouped under the heading "Supplementary Requirements." The mills in which paper is manufactured afford a livelihood to about 4,500 persons, and the manufacture of paper by hand to about half that number. Printing presses support 20,000 persons, and nearly 12,000 are book-binders. Over 15,000 persons obtain a livelihood from employment in machinery and engineering workshops, and over 21,900 from the making of ploughs and other agricultural implements. There are also nearly 10,000 mechanics, not included in the above heads, exclusive of railway mechanics. Amongst other occupations which support a fair number of persons may be mentioned the making and selling of glass and other kinds of bangles, and of flower garlands. The number of sugar-press owners and agents is small; but the occupation deserves mention, as it is one which has completely changed the old system of extracting the juice of the sugarcane. Formerly the cane was squeezed by being passed between two revolving wooden cylinders, but the pressure thus obtained was weak and uneven, and the operation had to be repeated several times, and even then the juice was not wholly extracted. This archaic mill has been superseded by one of iron, by means of which not only is the work done much more expeditiously, but far less juice is left in the cane. The new machine is expensive, and very few cultivators could afford to buy one, but this difficulty has been got over by the introduction of the hire system. Local agents have been appointed all over Bengal, and a number of the mills are sent to each to be hired out at so much a day. This method has proved most successful; they have come into use almost everywhere, and the raucous creaking of the old wooden mills, once so characteristic of the early spring in many parts of the Bengal *mufassil*, is now rarely to be heard. The history



of the introduction of this machine is of interest, not only on its own account, nor because of the novel system under which its use has been extended, but also because it shows that the *raiya* is quite ready to adopt new methods or means, when they are really an improvement, and that his refusal to adopt certain "improved" ploughs and other implements provided for his benefit is due, probably, not so much to his conservative prejudices, as to the fact that they are not in reality so suitable for the work to be done as their advocates believe them to be.

931. The silk industry is shown as supporting only 142,000 persons, chiefly in Rajshahi, Malda and Murshidabad, but these figures do not include all persons who derive part of their income from this source. In Jalpaiguri and elsewhere the Mech women rear the Endi silkworms, and spin and weave the rough silk, which is now greatly in demand amongst Europeans as a dress-material for hot weather wear. The fact that they do so, however, has not been recorded at the Census: they are in the main cultivators, and silk weaving is only an employment for their leisure hours, but it ought none the less to have been entered in the schedules. In spite of European competition, cotton cleaners, spinners and weavers still number about a million, but with people such as these the traditional occupation dies hard and many of the so-called weavers are in reality mainly cultivators. The number of looms in use amongst a given number of persons returned as weavers is far smaller than of old, when the craft was a more profitable one. The cotton mills of Bengal are overshadowed by those of Bombay, but they support upwards of 8,000 persons. The chief manufacture of Bengal is jute; no fewer than 130,000 persons are maintained by the jute mills, and another 13,000 by the jute presses. The rapid growth of this industry is one of the most striking features of recent years, and the banks of the Hooghly for many miles above and below Calcutta are now studded with jute factories.\* Piece-goods dealers and tailors with their families number about 184,000 and 183,000 persons, respectively. The former of these occupations, like the wholesale trade in grain and the money-lending business, is in many parts largely in the hands of the enterprising Márwáris.

932. The workers in gold, silver and precious stones (320,000) form the most numerous item in Order XIII, and next to them come the blacksmiths (257,000). Iron foundries are shown as furnishing employment to about 4,000 persons, but this industry has probably been confused occasionally with machinery works (Groups 225 and 226 of Order XI). Brass, copper and bell-metal workers and sellers number about 112,000.

933. The potters are the only people of importance in Order XIV. Including persons who sell earthenware they number 467,000. The industry has suffered slightly from the extended use of China-ware by Muhammadans, and of metal utensils by all classes of the people; but, on the other hand, the demand for tiles is growing, and this to some extent makes up for a loss in other directions.†

934. The makers of baskets, mats, etc., aggregate about 329,000. The basket-maker is often also a scavenger, and the line of demarcation between the two groups is not very reliable. Including woodcutters and sawyers, there are 339,000 carpenters.

935. There are two important entries in Order XVII—shoe, boot and sandal makers (158,000) and sellers of hides, etc., (113,000). The latter occupation is sometimes followed by Muhammadans, but, as a rule, both are the speciality of the cobbling and leather dressing caste (Chámár and Muchi), and there is no real distinction between them.

\* The extension of jute cultivation to meet the growing demand for this staple is one of the main factors in the growing prosperity of East and North Bengal.

† There is a separate head in Order IX for brick and tile-makers, but the potter, who usually makes tiles, would always describe himself as a Kumbhár.



936. About 152,000 persons have been shown under the head of bankers and money-lenders. Most of these belong to the latter category, but the occupation is seldom practised alone. The money-lender is often a piece-goods dealer or a general merchant, and he usually also trades in grain. It would be better to combine at least the figures for general merchants (25,000) and "shop-keepers otherwise unspecified" (183,000) with those for money-lenders. The assistants and clerks of merchants, money-lenders and shop-keepers, taken together, number about 137,000.

937. In spite of the great extension of railway communications, the occupation under the head "Transport and Storage," which affords support to the greatest number of persons is that of boatmen (248,000). The number of persons shown as engaged on railways is, roughly, 116,000; but this includes only those employed on open line. Persons working on the construction of railway embankments are included in Order XXII.—Earthwork, and those engaged in the manufacture of railway carriages and the like in Order X.—Vehicles and Vessels. There are about 186,000 *pálki*-bearers and 105,000 cart owners and drivers. The postal and telegraph departments support about 33,000 persons. Porters number 46,000 and weighmen and measurers 22,000.

In respect of porters it may be mentioned that loads can be carried in three ways, *vis.*, on the back, on the head, and on the shoulder. The Himalayan tribes carry their loads on the back, supporting them by a strap which passes over the top of the forehead. The *pálki*-bearing castes usually carry things on the shoulder, suspended at each end of a split bamboo, called a *bhángi* or *bhár*. Other castes accustomed to labour, such as the Nuniyás, generally carry loads on the head, and they often have a prejudice against the use of the *bhár*. Others, again, such as the Sokiyárs of Hazaribagh, will on no account carry a load in any other way. Amongst the Chota Nagpur aborigines the practice is that women carry loads on the head and men on the shoulder, and with the Santáls a common way of enquiring as to the sex of a new born child is by means of the question:—"Is it a head carrier or a shoulder carrier?"

938. The priests, with 462,000, form by far the largest group in Order XX; but it is probable that a great many persons returned as priests were merely so entered because they belonged to the Bráhma caste. The number of persons who are actually supported by the occupation must be much smaller. Religious mendicants are shown as numbering 191,000, but it was often very difficult to say if a particular entry in the schedules referred to a religious mendicant or to an ordinary beggar. The latter, who are included in Order XXIV, aggregate 498,000, but it would be safer to take the two items together, which gives 690,000, or nearly 9 per 1,000 as the number of persons who live by mendicancy. About 3,000 persons, were returned as circumcisers, chiefly in East and North Bengal. Elsewhere this operation is usually performed by the Musalmán Hajjás.

There are 117,000 teachers of various kinds, and 30,000 writers unspecified. In addition to the last mentioned there are no less than 216,000 persons who returned their occupation merely as "service" and have, therefore, been classed in Order XXIII.—Indefinite; most of these are probably engaged in various clerical avocations. Pleaders, mukhtars and other limbs of the law aggregate some 52,000, and their clerks 22,000. Touts and petition-writers usually preferred to describe their means of support by some other name, and the number of persons thus returned is only 2,000. An attempt was made to distinguish between medical practitioners with and without a diploma, but with doubtful success. Taken together they number 132,000, of whom only 15,000 have been shown as possessing a diploma, license or certificate. There are only 33,000 persons returned as midwives or *dháís*, but the real number is much greater. The *dhái* is usually the wife of the village Chamár, Hári, or Dom, and she seems usually to have been returned under her husband's occupation. In a few instances males were returned as actual workers. It was generally found, on enquiry, that the entry was a mistake, and the males in question were then shown as dependents. In Dacca, however, it is reported that men



some times assist in this operation. They take no part in the actual delivery of the child, but are merely called in to sever the umbilical cord.

939. Special enquiries were made, at the request of the Census Commissioner, regarding the methods followed by the indigenous midwives, and much curious information was obtained, of which a short analysis is given

METHODS OF THE INDIGENOUS  
MIDWIFE.

below. When the pains begin the patient is either made to kneel down on all fours and to hold a basket, pillow or some similar article to her breast, or she sits on the lap of the *dhái* who presses her knees against her loins and kneads her abdomen with her hands. A string is often tied round the patient's body above the abdomen with a view, it is said, to prevent the child from endeavouring to seek an exit in the wrong direction.

In order to facilitate delivery the passage is anointed with castor oil, the abdomen is rubbed with mustard oil, and nutmeg and betel-leaves are given internally as a stimulant, while an effort is made to promote nausea by stuffing a handful of the patient's hair into her mouth. If these methods prove unavailing and the pains are prolonged, water over which *mantras* have been uttered (called *jalpard* or *mantra jal*) is given to the patient.\* Should this expedient fail, various other devices are resorted to. In some places a man uproots a tamarind plant with tender leaves, standing the while with his face to the north and holding his breath, and this is tied to the woman's hair. Elsewhere a man pulls out a pumpkin plant by the roots, while the free end of his loin cloth hangs loose, and the roots are tied round her waist. Another plan is to show to the patient the lid of an earthen pot on which a *mantra* has been chalked by a Bráhmaṇ, or to tie round her waist a *pipal* leaf on which a *mantra* has been similarly inscribed. Various nostrums are given internally, such as hot *ghi* or milk, a compound of 30 drugs sold by grocers, of the contents of which the midwife is generally ignorant, or the stalk of a plant brought from Mecca, known as *khálds phul* or the delivery plant. In Sikkim great faith is reposed in the efficacy of celts, or thunder-stones as they are commonly called. The stone is washed with soap in a little warm water which the woman is made to imbibe. In Gangpur, if serious symptoms appear, an exorcist (*Kalo* or *Gunia*) is called in. The room is filled with smoke and he then waves in the air a large piece of wood with a carved head, to the accompaniment of innumerable tom-toms and the screams of grief of all the old women of the village. The object is to frighten away the evil spirit who is causing the trouble, but the result is more often to accelerate the death of the unfortunate patient. Compared with this, there is much to be said in favour of the customs of the Kolhán. When a Ho's wife is seized by the pains of labour, he locks her up by herself in his house, and betakes himself with a cock to the roof, where he sacrifices the bird to his God, Singbonga, and then waits for developments. When he hears the new-born babe cry, he descends and cuts the navel string. It is not stated what happens when the delivery is not attended by a successful issue.

It will readily be imagined, from what has already been said, that the *dhái's* resources are very limited.† The occupation is usually hereditary, and the young woman who aspires to follow this occupation must first go through a course of attending delivery cases, as a spectator or assistant, before she is allowed to practise on her own account. But there is very little obstetric skill to be acquired from her elders, and her proficiency seldom becomes very great. In ordinary cases everything usually goes off satisfactorily, but when a cross birth occurs, the *dhái* rarely attempts to turn the child. More often she seizes the arm or leg presented and endeavours to attain the desired end by force. If successful the limb is usually dislocated and the mother terribly lacerated, but more often the effort ends in failure and death ensues. In Jashpur it is reported that, when the midwife fails to deliver the foetus, she dissects it with the implement used for cutting areca-nuts and removes it piecemeal.

\* In the Chota Nagpur States special virtue is imparted to the water, not by the utterance of *mantras* but by the husband dipping his toe in it.

† Their remuneration varies from 4 annas upwards, according to the circumstances of the parents. Well-to-do people in special cases give as much as Rs. 25. In addition to money, they receive presents of plates, cloth, &c.



940. When a delivery has been safely accomplished the umbilical cord is severed, usually by a sharp-edged piece of bamboo or an oyster shell,\* and the infant's bowels are opened by a dose of castor oil or the insertion in the anus of the oiled stem of a betel-leaf. In most places, it is believed that, for several days, the mother's milk is deleterious, and in the meantime a wet-nurse is called in, or the infant is fed on tepid cow's milk, which it draws up by means of a small roll of cotton thread (*palte*), one end of which is placed in its mouth and the other in the bowl of milk. It is rubbed twice a day with oil and turmeric, and this is often done until it reaches the second or third year of its age. A mixture of certain leaves and powdered crocodiles' teeth is sometimes given to it periodically as a prophylactic against chills and bowel complaints. In Bengal Proper the mother is not allowed to rest after the confinement until the placenta has come away. In Bihar she is given a draught of mustard oil mixed with assafoetida, and is allowed to lie on her back while the *dhdi* rubs and twists her about until it has been expelled. The mother is considered unclean for 21 days, and during this period she is not allowed to leave the room set aside for her accouchement. For the first six days she is kept warm near a fire, and is well rubbed and fomented three times a day. She is allowed only one meal daily, and this consists of old rice, *dal* and vegetables. Animal food at this time is strictly forbidden, nor is cold water allowed in order to alleviate the thirst caused by the hot and stuffy atmosphere. Pieces of ginger fried in *ghi* are administered as a stimulant. On the 13th day she is bathed.

941. The only remaining item to be mentioned under the head of "Learned and Artistic Professions" is that entitled 'Band-masters and players (not military)', with a strength of 100,000. The principal constituents of this group are the village drummers and players on *tom-toms* and similar primitive instruments, who, like the *dhdi*, belong to the lowest strata of the community and who combine with their musical performances on the occasion of marriages and other high days, the making of baskets, the dressing of skins and the removal of refuse.

The principal occupations in the three last Orders of the scheme have already been mentioned elsewhere. The majority of the persons in Order XXII belong to the great class of landless labourers who are dependent chiefly on agriculture for their support, but who, at the time of the Census, were temporarily engaged on earthwork or whose occupation was so vaguely entered that they could not be assigned to any specific group. About 32,000 persons were returned as working in factories, the nature which was not specified, in districts where the existence of several different kinds of factories prevented their entry under any particular head.

## OCCUPATIONS IN TOWNS.

942. We have hitherto been considering the distribution of the population by occupation in the Province as a whole. It will be well to glance briefly at the corresponding distribution amongst the urban population. The ordinary town in Bengal is usually, to a great extent, urban only in name, and many of the mufassil Municipalities are either overgrown villages, or contain on their outskirts, considerable areas of a purely rural character. Instead, therefore, of compiling the statistics of occupation for all so-called towns, it was thought better to do so only for certain large towns of a truly urban nature. The following towns were therefore selected:—Calcutta, Serampore, Howrah, Bally, Cossipore-Chitpore, Manicktala, Garden Reach, Dacca, Patna, Bihar, Gaya, Chapra, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and the statistics in columns 14 to 19 of Table XV refer only to these places, which, for the purpose of this discussion, will be distinguished as cities. Their aggregate population is

\* This seems to be an interesting survival of the time when metals were not known. In the same way in certain religious ceremonies the use of matches, or even of a flint and steel, is forbidden and fire is obtained by the friction of two pieces of wood. A later survival of the same kind is the custom prevalent amongst some castes of presenting the bride at marriage with a mirror of polished metal. In certain ceremonies only copper knives may be employed.



1,780,931 or rather less than half the total population shown as urban in Imperial Table I.

943. The main distribution of occupations in cities differs *toto cœlo* from that in the Province as a whole, and whereas, in the latter, nearly three-quarters of the population are dependent on the land, in these towns the proportion falls below 1 in 10. Moreover, while the rent-payers in the whole Province outnumber the rent-receivers in the ratio of 31 to

CLASS.	NUMBER SUPPORTED BY IT PER 10,000 IN	
	Province.	Cities.
A. Government	73	302
B. Pasture and Agriculture	7,344	979
C. Personal services	219	1,322
D. Preparation and supply of material substances	1,230	3,656
E. Commerce, &c.	197	1,737
F. Learned professions	173	503
G. Unskilled labour	789	995
H. Independent	78	337

1, in cities they are only twice as numerous. Actual cultivators seldom reside in towns, and only visit them at intervals for purposes of business or recreation, but amongst landholders it is a common practice to keep up a town house in which they spend a considerable part of their time. The most common avocations of residents in cities are those connected with the preparation and supply of material substances, especially 'food and drink' and 'textile fabrics and dress.' The persons engaged in 'personal services' are relatively far more numerous in towns than elsewhere, and the number returned under this head in the place treated as cities represents more than 14 per cent. of the total number so employed, whereas the population of these cities is very little more than two per cent. of the total population of the Province. The disproportion in the case of 'commerce' is also marked, and nearly one-fifth the total number of persons returned in Bengal under this main head were reported from these cities.

On turning to the details for individual occupations it will be noticed that these cities hold a leading position in respect of many of the larger industrial undertakings requiring capital for their prosecution, such as printing-presses, machinery and engineering workshops, iron-foundries, cotton mills, jute mills, oil mills and the like.

## WORKERS AND DEPENDENTS.

944. It was laid down in the instructions that "women and children who work any occupation of whatever kind, not being an amusement or of a purely domestic character, such as cooking, must be entered as actual workers." Only those persons should have been returned as dependents who do not in any way add to the earnings of the family, but amongst many classes of the community it is not considered respectable that a woman should help to augment the family income, and the return of actual workers is vitiated in consequence to a certain extent.

945. The proportion returned as workers is highest, as compared with dependents, in Order IV—Provision and care of animals, where herdsmen, who have very few dependents, bulk largely in the total. Next comes Order II—Defence, which consists mainly of soldiers and sailors whose families are elsewhere; and next, Order VIII—Light, firing and forage, where the collectors and sellers of firewood, etc., are the most numerous group.

In Order V—Agriculture, the general proportion of actual workers is small, owing to the large extent to which landlords and tenants, who have many dependents, bulk in the total, but nearly three-fifths of the class of agricultural labourers are workers. In this Order, as a whole, great variations are noticeable in different parts of the province. The proportion of workers is lowest amongst the prosperous agriculturists of East Bengal, and it is nearly as small in other parts of Bengal Proper and in Orissa. It is high in North Bihar and the Chota Nagpur Plateau and highest of all in South Bihar. So far as the natural population of each division is concerned, the real



difference is, even greater than, the figures would indicate. The proportion of workers in Bengal Proper is swollen by immigrant labourers from Bihar and elsewhere who have left the non-working members of their families behind them.

It is not only in respect of agriculture that the number of dependents is relatively highest in East Bengal; it is so in the case of industrial, commercial and professional occupations also. So far as the figures go, North Bihar is the antipodes of East Bengal, but if the absentee workers of South Bihar, who remit money regularly to their homes from their place of employment in Bengal Proper, could be brought into the account, there can be little doubt but that that tract of country would show the largest all-round proportion of workers and the smallest number of drones.

946. A more interesting feature of the return is the light which it throws upon the occupations of females.

#### FEMALE OCCUPATIONS.

There are certain employments which are practically monopolised by women. We have already seen that only

OCCUPATION AND GROUP.					Number of females to 100 men.
273.	Cotton spinners	...	...	...	1,974
26.	Flour grinders	...	...	...	1,089
426.	Tattooers	...	...	...	463
239.	Silk-worm rearers	...	...	...	400
150.	Firewood collectors	...	...	...	402
66.	Water carriers	...	...	...	373
340.	Leaf plate makers	...	...	...	358
202.	Fibre-mat makers	...	...	...	352
98.	Grain parchers	...	...	...	355
290.	Rope, sackling and net makers	...	...	...	220
102.	Rice pounders	...	...	...	219
105.	Fruit and vegetable sellers	...	...	...	161

a microscopic number of males were returned as actual workers under the head 'midwifery': and that even these few perform only the comparatively unimportant task of severing the umbilical cord. Amongst other pursuits which are mainly in the hands of women, may be mentioned tattooing,\* cotton spinning, flour-grinding, firewood collecting, grain-parching, rope-making and rice-pounding. A list of the more important occupations, in which the

proportion of females is high, is given in the margin. There are other forms of employment in which the proportion of the sexes is more even, such as basket making and dairy farming, where the number of women is slightly in excess, and in-door and domestic service, work on tea-gardens, jhum cultivation, saltpetre refining, coal-mining, hay and fodder-selling, and mendicancy where they are rather less numerous than the men. The number of females is about two-thirds that of males amongst field labourers, oil-sellers, washermen† and fish-sellers.

The occupations in which females are engaged may be grouped into three classes—those which are followed by women independently, without reference to the work of their male relatives, such as midwifery, tattooing, silk-worm rearing, domestic service, flour grinding and the like; those which are supplementary to their husbands' occupation, such as cotton-spinning, carried on by the wives of weavers, and the selling of fruit, vegetables, milk and fish by the wives of fruit and vegetable growers, cow-keepers and fishermen; and lastly those in which both sexes work together such as basket-weaving, work on tea-gardens and coal mines and as field labourers or jhum cultivators. The occupations which females follow, either independently or as a supplement to some kindred employment of their male relatives, are generally distinguished by two characteristics, their simplicity and the small amount of physical labour which they involve.

### OCCUPATIONS COMBINED WITH AGRICULTURE.

947. It has already been explained that in Table XV, the main Occupation Table, the persons have been tabulated according to their principal means of subsistence and that details have also been given, showing (for actual workers only) the number of

\* Some interesting information on the subject of tattooing has been collected, but space cannot be found for it here; and another opportunity must be taken of dealing with it.

† Females assist in this occupation chiefly in Bihar and Orissa.

It may be noted here that the female workers shown under "Barber" attend on women, and especially on the inmates of the zenanas to which male barbers are not admitted. They cut the nails and stain the feet with *altd* (cotton impregnated with the dye of lac).



those whose principal occupation is not connected with agriculture, but who follow some agricultural pursuit as a secondary means of livelihood.\* In Table XVD, details have been given, under a few main heads, of the subsidiary occupations followed by those whose principal means of support is agriculture. These statistics are reduced to proportional figures in Subsidiary Table V. These proportional figures and the discussion in connection with them which follows, refer only to actual workers, and dependents are here left out of account. The total number of persons (actual workers only) following other pursuits who returned themselves as partially agriculturists is 681,622, or 6·1 per cent. of the total number of workers who did not return agriculture as their principal means of support. On the other hand, 1,684,650, or 8 per cent. of the persons (actual workers) who reported agriculture to be their main occupation named some non-agricultural pursuit as a subsidiary employment. The proportion of persons, whose main occupation is agriculture, and who returned some other employment as a subsidiary one, agrees sufficiently closely with that of those whose main occupation is non-agricultural, and who returned agriculture as a subsidiary employment, to justify us in assuming, as we have already done in paragraph 919 that the figures in Table XV, which show the principal occupation only, afford a very accurate view of the proportion of the population which derives its entire support from the occupation, *i.e.*, that the failure (an unavoidable one) to allow for subsidiary occupations makes no substantial difference in the number entered under each head.

948. The persons shown in Table XV as having returned agriculture as a subsidiary means of subsistence are most numer-

OCCUPATIONS MOST COMMONLY  
COMBINED WITH AGRICULTURE.

ous in Class A.—Government, where the high proportion is due to the large number of persons

returned as village watchmen, 1 in 5 of whom are partially dependent on agriculture. The proportion of persons who are partially agriculturists in Class D—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances, taken as a whole, is below the average, but in a few individual groups it is large. Of the cotton weavers more than 50,000 or over 13 per cent. named agriculture as a secondary means of subsistence. About 27,000 potters, or nearly 15 per cent., are also in part dependent on agriculture. The largest proportion of persons in Class C—Personal Services, who subsist partly by cultivation, is found amongst the barbers and washermen, where they number more than 35,000, or 18 per cent., and 22,000, or 13 per cent., respectively. The high proportion in these cases is due to the custom, already described, by which zamindars give them small grants of land rent-free in return for their services. In Class E—Commerce, the general average is exceeded in the case of bankers and money-lenders, and boatmen, of whom about 8,000, or 1 in 6 and 16,000, or 1 in 8, respectively, have a secondary occupation connected with the land. Class F—Learned and Artistic Professions, contains a larger proportion of persons who are partially agriculturists than any other main head except Class A. Of the priests 25,000, or 16 per cent., were so returned, and of lawyers, 3,333, or 16 per cent.

949. Table XVD enables us to look at the matter from a different standpoint and to distinguish the non-agricultural occupations of zamindars, or rent-receivers, from those of cultivators, or rent-payers, and agricultural labourers. It will naturally be supposed that the latter must be very different from the former, and this fact is clearly brought out by the figures. Of the rent-receivers with subsidiary occupations, about 1 in 7 is a money-lender, 1 in 9 a priest, and 1 in 10 a merchant; grain dealers, clerks, schoolmasters and medical practitioners are also numerous. Of the rent-payers who returned a second occupation, 1 in 12 is a shopkeeper, 1 in 20 a fisherman or boatman, 1 in 26 a cow-keeper, 1 in 47 a washerman and 1 in 47 is a village watchman. Amongst agricultural labourers with some other employment 1 in 15 is a keeper of cows, and 1 in 17 is a fisherman or boatman, and 1 in 32 a village watchman.

\* By agriculture, in this section, is to be understood ordinary cultivation, *i.e.*, the occupations shown in Sub-orders 10 and 11, which include rent receivers, rent-payers, farm-servants, field-labourers and *jhum* cultivators. The growers of special products (Sub-order 12), and those engaged in agricultural training and supervision, etc. (Sub-order 13) are excluded.

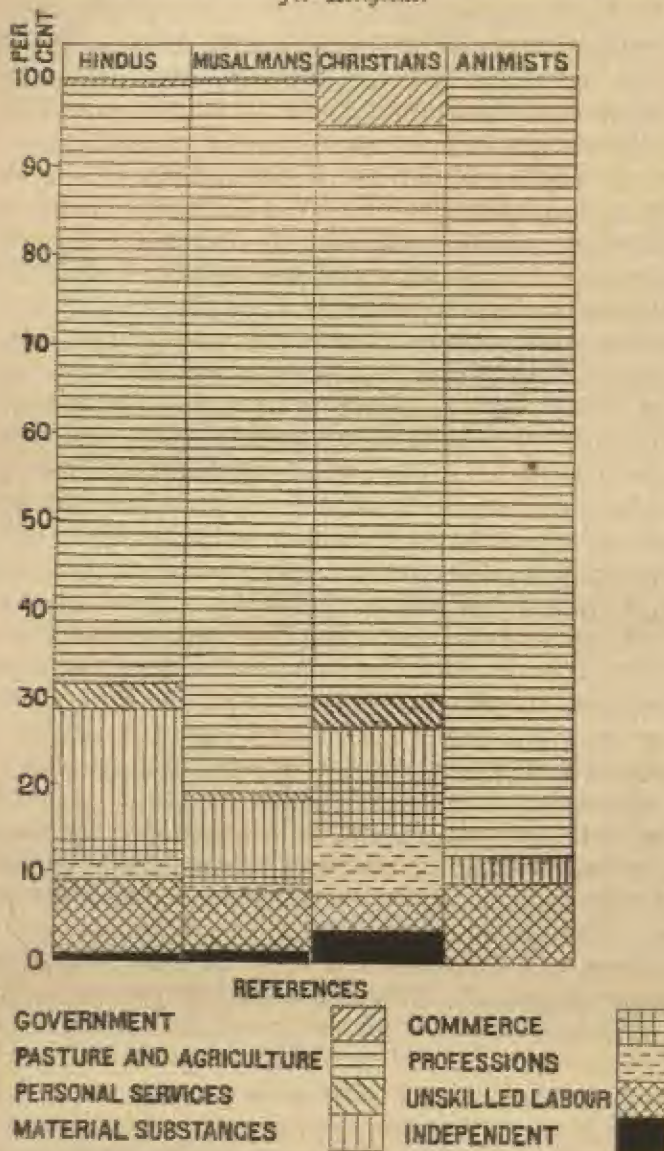


## OCCUPATION BY RELIGION AND CASTE.

950. Table XVC showing the distribution of occupations by religion was not prescribed by Government, but the system on which the tables were compiled rendered it easy to prepare such a return, and as the information which it gives is of a very

OCCUPATION BY RELIGION.

Diagram showing the main distribution by occupation (classes) for Religions.



interesting character, I applied for and obtained the permission of the Census Commissioner to add it to the regular series. The prominent features of this branch of the occupation statistics are clearly illustrated in Subsidiary Table VI, at the end of this Chapter, and it is not proposed to repeat here what can more readily be gleaned from the tabular statement and from the diagram in the margin which shows the main distribution by occupation of the adherents of the principal religions of the Province, i. e., of Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and Animists. It will suffice to draw attention to a few of the more important considerations. It should, however, be explained that in this part of the occupation return no distinction has been made between workers and dependants, and that the figures both in the table and in the discussion which follows refer not merely to the actual workers, but to the total number of persons supported by each occupation, whether they personally

work at it or not.

951. The first point to be noticed is the very large proportion of Musalmans who subsist by agriculture, and the small number engaged in intellectual pursuits. Of those who live by agriculture again, the proportion is high in the case of tenants, while that of landlords and of agricultural labourers is relatively small. No less than 7,316 in every 10,000 Muhammadans are cultivators, compared with 5,555 amongst the same number of Hindus, but the proportion who are land-owners is only 170 in 10,000 as against 217 in the same number of Hindus. The Muhammadans hold a much smaller proportion of civil service appointments than the Hindus, and those who are officers of Government, with their families, are only half as numerous as they would be if such appointments were distributed in equal proportions amongst the different religions. The proportion of Muhammadans following mercantile pursuits, or belonging to the learned and artistic professions, is even smaller, and it may be said, generally, that the occupations, other than those connected with agriculture, in which Muhammadans preponderate are very few. The chief are those of tailors,\* dyers, masons and builders,

\* They here outnumber the Hindus in the proportion of 8 to 1.



silk-worm-rearers, operatives in silk filatures, cotton cleaners and pressers, butchers, hotel and refreshment-room keepers, veterinary surgeons and farriers, horse and elephant trainers, *hukka* stem makers, makers and sellers of glass bangles, and book-binders. Although they do not outnumber the Hindus, the proportion of Muhammadans is also high amongst vegetable and fruit-sellers, thatchers, silk-spinners and weavers, and cotton weavers. The last named occupation was returned by 419,485 Muhammadans, or 16 in every 1,000, compared with 545,722, or 11 per 1,000 in the case of Hindus.

952. The Animistic tribes are even more dependent than the Muhammadans on agricultural pursuits, and about 77 per cent. are cultivators or field labourers. Their other important

#### ANIMISTS' OCCUPATIONS.

occupations include those of herdsmen, coal miners, firewood, etc., collectors and sellers, plough makers and blacksmiths, weavers, basket makers, road and railway labourers and general labourers. The number returned under the last-mentioned head was 220,965, or 8 per cent. of the total Animistic population. There is not a single Animist amongst the officers of Government, nor are there any authors, pleaders and the like. On the other hand, only 13 were returned as following 'disreputable' occupations, compared with more than 47,000 Hindus and 21,000 Muhammadans entered under this head.

953. Owing to the large number of Native converts, nearly two-thirds of

#### OCCUPATIONS OF CHRISTIANS.

the Christians are cultivators, but the main feature of the return, so far as Christians are concerned, is the large proportion who live by the service of the State, the learned professions, commerce and occupations connected with the railways and other means of transport. Of the total population less than 4 per 1,000 are Christians, but amongst 'officers of Governments' nearly 1 in 7 professes this religion; in the army the proportion is nearly 1 in 2, and in the navy, 19 out of 20. Amongst other important occupations of Christians may be mentioned those of general merchants, bankers, brokers and agents, railway employés, ships' officers, and mariners, managers, &c., of various mills, factories and workshops, missionaries, professors and teachers, journalists, lawyers, doctors and engineers.

954. The Hindus represent about two-thirds of the total population, and

#### OCCUPATIONS OF HINDUS.

their distribution by occupation does not differ materially from that in the province as a whole, except in the special cases where occupations are to any marked extent the monopoly of the followers of other religions. Such cases have already been dealt with, and it is unnecessary to refer to them again. The Hindus have considerably more than their numerical share of appointments under Government, and the proportion who follow learned and scientific pursuits is also considerably larger than the average of other religions. Of lawyers and priests 17 in every 20 are Hindus. But the occupations where they most preponderate are those of barbers, cow-keepers and milk-sellers, ship and boat builders, furniture makers, and workers in wool and fur, in gold, silver and precious stones, in brass, copper and bell-metal, in iron and steel, in earthen and stoneware and in leather. In the case of persons following these pursuits the Hindus number 9 out of every 10, and in some cases they exceed 19 out of every 20.

955. But the most interesting feature in connection with the occupation statistics is the return of occupation by caste which has now been prepared for the first time.\* Imperial

Table XVI contains details for nearly 150 castes, and proportional figures for the more important ones are given in Subsidiary Table VII at the end of this chapter.

In considering the statistics of occupation by caste it must be borne in mind that, on the one hand, there is a tendency on the part of some of the functional castes, which has already been alluded to, to describe as their occupation that which is assigned to them by tradition, and on the other, the fact that in these statistics only the principal occupation has been dealt with, and that many who mentioned agriculture as their principal means of support may have named their caste occupation as a subsidiary one.

\* Under the old system of abstraction by ticks it would have been impossible to prepare such a table, but with the slip system introduced by the present Census Commissioner the task was a comparatively easy one; the slips were first sorted by caste, and those for each caste were then re-sorted according to the occupations shown on them.



Conditions vary so greatly in different parts of this great Province that the figures for each sub-province frequently disclose very divergent results. The most striking feature of the statistics which have been collected is the extent to which the different functional castes have abandoned their traditional occupations, especially in Bihar. The Ahir or Goálá is in theory a dairy man, but in Bihar four-fifths of the total number are cultivators, and barely 1 in 20 follows the traditional caste occupation. In Bengal Proper, however, the proportion is much higher, and nearly a third of the total number keep cows and sell milk. The proportion is about 1 in 7 amongst the Gauras who are the corresponding caste of Orissa. The Chamár should be a worker in leather, but in Bihar only 7 per cent. were returned under this head, while two-thirds were shown in Order V—Agriculture, and nearly one-fifth as earth-workers and general labourers. In Bengal Proper, on the other hand, nearly a quarter of the total number are leather workers, and only a third follow agricultural pursuits. The Hajjáms and Nápits are more faithful to their traditional profession; two-fifths of them were returned as barbers in Bihar and more than half in Bengal Proper. The proportion of Kumbhárs, who are still potters, is also fairly high, being nearly 2 in 5. Nearly half the Telis of Bihar subsist by cultivation, but more than a third of them follow their traditional occupation of oil-pressing. In Bengal Proper nearly half the Joláhás or Muhammadan weavers live by weaving, but only a quarter do so in Bihar. The Tántis, or Hindu weavers, have given up their characteristic handicraft to a much greater extent, and only 1 in 9 is still a cotton weaver in Bihar and 9 in 20 in Bengal Proper. The proportion of weavers is still smaller amongst the Páns of Orissa, being only 1 in 18. Lastly, the Bráhmans follow priestly pursuits to a very limited extent. In Bengal Proper barely 1 in 6 is a priest, in Bihar 1 in 13, and in Orissa only 1 in 34. The low proportion in the last mentioned sub-province is due to the inclusion of the degraded Mástán Bráhmans who are usually ordinary cultivators.

956. The above discussion is based solely on the Census statistics. In Subsidiary Table VIII, I have given details of the caste or nationality of the officers of certain departments of Government compiled from official publications and independent enquiries based thereon. The most noticeable feature of this return is the very small share of high appointments which falls to the Muhammadans and the practical monopoly of all such appointments held by Hindus by the members of the Bráhman, Baidya and Káyasth castes. The Hindus are less than twice as numerous as the followers of the Prophet, but they hold nearly nine times the number of high appointments, viz., 1,235 compared with only 141. Again, of the total Hindu population, less than 1 in every 11 is a Bráhman, Baidya or Káyasth, but these three castes between them hold 1,104 of the 1,235 appointments filled by Hindus. Their advantage is still more marked, if we consider only the highest appointments. The three High Court judgeships and the 22 posts in the Covenanted and Statutory Civil Service, which are held by Hindus, are all filled by members of these three castes. As regards their relative success amongst themselves, it will be noticed that the Baidyas have by far the largest share of these appointments and the Bráhmans the smallest. The Baidyas are outnumbered by the Bráhmans and Kayasths in the ratios of 34 to 1 and 18 to 1, respectively; yet they can boast of 7 Covenanted and Statutory Civilian compared with only 2 who are Bráhmans and 13 who are Káyasths. Of the Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates, 70 are Baidyas, 128 Bráhmans, and 144 Káyasths. The proportion of Baidyas is not so high amongst the Sub-judges and Munsifs, but even here, with 40 appointments, compared with 136 filled by Bráhmans and 160 by Káyasths, they have far more than their fair numerical share. On the other hand, the Rájputs and Khatris, though they number nearly a million and a half, hold only 5 high appointments, and the Babbhás with over a million hold none. The Goálás with nearly 4 millions claim but 1 appointment—a subordinate post in the Medical Department. Numerous castes are entirely unrepresented in the higher grades of the Civil Service of the State, amongst whom it will suffice to mention the Rájbangsis and Namasudras with an aggregate strength of nearly 4 millions, and the Kurmis and Bágdis, each numbering over a million.

CASTE OR RACE OF OFFICERS OF  
CERTAIN DEPARTMENTS.



957. In conclusion we may glance briefly at some of the results disclosed by the Appendix to Table XVI which gives the distribution by caste of the persons engaged on some of the main occupations. It is unnecessary to refer again to Group 2.—Officers of Government, as the constituent castes of this group have just been considered with reference to the more detailed statistics collected independently. In Group 3.—Clerks, Inspectors, etc., the Káyasths, with nearly 10,000 appointments, easily hold the first place. They are followed by the Bráhmans with about 6,000. The Baidya is the only other caste which can claim more than 1,000 actual workers in this group. Amongst the zamindárs, the Bráhmans, who number about 88,000, are the most numerous community; then follow the Káyasths with 73,000, the Bábhans with 36,000 and the Rájputs with 25,000. Bráhman zamindárs are found all over the Province. They are especially numerous in the Orissa, Presidency, Patna and Dacca Divisions, but they are outnumbered in the Presidency and Dacca Divisions by the Káyasths and in Patna by the Bábhans and Rájputs, especially by the former, who are more than twice as numerous. Of the other castes, the first place is taken by the Kaibarttas with nearly 11,000 landholders, mostly in Bengal Proper, and next to them come the following, all of whom contribute more than 4,000 to the total; the divisions where they are mainly found are noted against each caste:—Ahir and Goálá (Presidency and Patna), Baidya (Dacca and Chittagong), Karan (Orissa), Kbandáit (Orissa), Kurmi (Patna), Namasudra (Presidency and Dacca), Rájbansi (Rajshahi) Sháhá (Dacca and Rajshahi) and Teli (Burdwan). The Agents and Managers of landed estates and the officers of the postal and telegraph departments are mainly Bráhmans and Káyasths, and the same castes hold a leading position, in point of numbers, amongst professors and teachers in schools and lawyers and law agents. They also considerably outnumber the Baidyas, amongst medical practitioners, but the latter, of whom the practice of medicine is the traditional occupation, stand easily first, if proportional figures are looked to. Of the total number of Baidyas, 1 in every 20 has been returned as a medical practitioner (actual worker) whereas amongst Káyasths and Bráhmans the corresponding proportion is only 1 in 193 and 1 in 400 respectively.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION.

ORDER AND SUB-ORDER.	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH ORDER AND SUB-ORDER OF—		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED		PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDENTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Depend- ents.	In Cities.	In Rural areas.	In Cities.	In Rural areas.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>A.—GOVERNMENT</b>	79	25	33	63	13	83	124	187
<b>I.—ADMINISTRATION</b>	70	24	34	66	13	87	145	203
1. Civil Service of the State	27	9	33	61	24	78	161	176
1a. Service of the Tributary States	1	1	43	67	.....	.....	.....	130
2. Service of Local and Municipal Bodies	2	1	45	53	65	35	83	126
3. Village Service	40	13	32	68	1	99	130	211
<b>II.—DEFENCE</b>	2	1	72	28	49	51	25	52
4. Army	2	1	71	29	46	54	29	51
4a. Army, Tributary States	.....	.....	63	37	.....	.....	.....	60
5. Navy and Marine	.....	.....	89	11	100	.....	11	200
<b>III.—SERVICE OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN STATES</b>	.....	.....	22	78	39	61	42	539
6. Civil officers	.....	.....	22	78	88	12	42	358
7. Military	.....	.....	42	58	64	36	33	330
<b>B.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE</b>	7,944	2,734	38	62	.....	100	123	156
<b>IV.—PROVISION AND CARE OF ANIMALS</b>	93	73	77	23	1	99	112	99
8. Stockbreeding and dealing	91	71	78	22	1	99	102	87
9. Training and care of animals	2	2	55	45	13	85	148	197
<b>V.—AGRICULTURE</b>	7,151	2,661	37	63	.....	100	123	161
10. Landholders and tenants	6,591	2,248	35	65	.....	100	132	185
11. Agricultural labourers	680	308	56	44	.....	100	86	79
12. Growers of special products	44	27	62	38	3	97	43	63
13. Agricultural training and supervision and forests	56	20	36	64	4	96	100	170
<b>C.—PERSONAL SERVICES</b>	219	118	54	46	17	83	51	99
<b>VI.—PERSONAL, HOUSEHOLD AND SANITARY SERVICES</b>	219	118	54	46	17	83	51	99
14. Personal and domestic services	209	113	54	46	18	82	49	91
15. Non-domestic establishment	1	.....	47	53	37	63	92	127
16. Sanitation	9	5	55	45	33	67	63	49
<b>D.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES</b>	1,250	580	47	53	7	93	100	109
<b>VII.—FOOD, DRINK AND STIMULANTS</b>	586	290	50	50	4	96	101	103
17. Provision of animal food	218	101	47	53	3	97	104	116
18. Provision of vegetable food	246	138	56	44	4	96	93	78
19. Provision of drink, condiments, and stimulants	122	51	45	55	7	93	112	132
<b>VIII.—LIGHT, FIRING AND FORAGE</b>	33	22	67	33	5	95	73	48
20. Lighting	1	1	40	60	35	65	70	187
21. Fuel and forage	32	21	68	32	4	96	74	46
<b>IX.—BUILDINGS</b>	33	15	44	56	28	72	93	143
22. Building materials	8	4	53	47	11	89	79	90
23. Artificers in building	25	11	41	59	36	64	85	172
<b>X.—VEHICLES AND VESSELS</b>	6	2	36	64	14	86	87	189
24. Railway and tramway plant	.....	.....	55	45	42	58	84	75
25. Carts, carriages, etc.	2	1	43	57	25	75	86	155
26. Ships and boats	4	1	33	67	3	97	89	211
<b>XI.—SUPPLEMENTARY REQUIREMENTS</b>	53	15	45	55	28	72	104	126
27. Paper	2	1	53	47	42	58	96	82
28. Books and prints	5	2	41	59	80	20	104	299
29. Watches, clocks, and scientific instruments	.....	.....	55	45	78	22	171	25
30. Carving and engraving	1	1	63	37	17	83	122	45
31. Toys and curiosities	2	1	38	62	19	81	202	190
32. Music and musical instruments	1	.....	42	58	14	86	115	144
33. Bangles, necklaces, beads, sacred threads, etc.	14	7	40	60	5	95	113	101
34. Furniture	.....	.....	54	46	45	55	98	614
35. Harness	.....	.....	45	55	30	70	47	150
36. Tools and machinery	7	3	39	61	42	58	84	209
37. Arms and ammunition	1	.....	41	59	25	75	111	156
<b>XII.—TEXTILE FABRICS AND DRESS</b>	241	169	45	55	9	91	94	194
38. Wool and fur	3	2	45	55	11	89	89	113
39. Silk	19	10	57	43	1	99	80	73
40. Cotton	144	61	45	55	3	97	96	130
41. Jute, hemp, flax, and cuir, etc.	27	10	56	44	27	73	61	70
42. Dress	49	20	41	59	18	82	130	147



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION.

ORDER AND SUB-ORDER.	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPU- LATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH ORDER AND SUB-ORDER OF—		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED		PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDENTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS		
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Depend- ents.	In Cities.	In Rural areas.	In Cities.	In Rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
<b>XIII.—METALS AND PRECIOUS STONES</b>		94	33	33	65	10	90	139	104
43. Gold, silver and precious stones		44	15	34	66	1	99	157	195
44. Brass, copper and bell-metal		14	5	34	66	10	90	137	204
45. Tin, zinc, quicksilver and lead		2	1	38	62	55	45	130	200
46. Iron and steel		34	12	30	64	8	92	110	187
<b>XIV.—GLASS, EARTHEN AND STONE WARE</b>		61	28	46	54	2	98	116	116
47. Glass, and china ware				30	64	53	41	116	271
48. Earthen and stone ware		61	28	46	54	2	98	116	116
<b>XV.—WOOD, CANE AND LEAVES, ETC.</b>		94	45	45	52	6	94	94	110
49. Wood and bamboos		40	19	38	62	2	98	68	169
50. Cane-work, matting and leaves, etc.		45	26	58	42	2	98	94	72
<b>XVI.—DRUGS, GUMS, DYES, ETC.</b>		9	4	49	51	12	88	119	103
51. Gums, wax, resins and similar forest produce		2	1	44	56	14	84	136	124
52. Drugs, dyes, pigments, etc.		7	3	50	50	11	89	113	97
<b>XVII.—LEATHER, ETC.</b>		40	17	42	58	14	86	74	147
53. Leather, horn and bones		40	17	42	58	14	86	74	147
<b>XVIII.—COMMERCE, TRANSPORT AND STORAGE</b>		197	88	45	55	25	75	78	158
<b>XVIII.—COMMERCE</b>		84	33	59	61	24	76	117	170
54. Money and securities		26	8	55	47	8	92	170	208
55. General merchandise		9	4	38	62	63	37	147	185
56. Dealing unspecified		42	18	42	58	20	80	84	151
57. Middlemen, brokers and agents		7	3	41	59	42	58	102	151
<b>XIX.—TRANSPORT AND STORAGE</b>		113	55	49	51	26	74	56	122
58. Railway		15	7	45	55	25	75	111	104
59. Road		42	20	47	53	18	82	75	606
60. Water		41	21	51	49	26	74	31	122
61. Messages		4	1	37	63	23	77	129	194
62. Storage and weighing		11	8	58	42	47	53	37	119
<b>XX.—PROFESSIONS</b>		173	70	41	59	8	92	148	143
<b>XX.—LEARNED AND ARTISTIC PROFESSIONS</b>		171	69	40	60	8	92	150	148
63. Religion		98	41	42	58	4	96	116	100
64. Education		15	7	42	58	10	90	140	146
65. Literature		4	1	36	64	56	44	147	233
66. Law		12	3	36	64	30	70	208	295
67. Medicine		22	6	37	63	9	91	171	185
68. Engineering and survey		1	1	40	60	33	67	100	143
69. Natural science				44	56	40	60	110	202
70. Pictorial art and sculpture		1		52	48	17	83	118	85
71. Music, acting, dancing, etc.		10	8	42	58	8	92	119	104
<b>XXI.—SPORT</b>		2	1	45	55	16	84	99	108
72. Sport		1		46	54	14	86	151	194
73. Games and exhibitions		1	1	40	60	16	84	78	112
<b>XXII.—UNSKILLED LABOUR, NOT AGRICULTURAL</b>		789	388	49	51	4	96	51	100
<b>XXII.—EARTHWORK AND GENERAL LABOUR</b>		747	363	49	51	3	97	49	106
74. Earthwork, etc.		28	18	68	32	3	97	54	80
75. General labour		719	347	48	52	2	98	49	100
<b>XXIII.—INDEFINITE AND DISREPUTABLE OCCU- PATIONS</b>		49	193	54	46	20	80	27	120
76. Indefinite		34	18	44	56	13	87	68	111
77. Disreputable		8	7	77	23	35	65	22	34
<b>XXIV.—MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE, INDEPENDENT OF OCCU- PATION</b>		70	45	57	43	10	90	93	73
<b>XXIV.—INDEPENDENT</b>		74	43	57	43	10	90	93	73
78. Property and alms		70	40	57	43	7	93	101	74
79. At the State expense		6	3	60	40	37	63	75	65



## SUBSIDIARY

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.	AGRICULTURE.				INDUSTRY.			
	Population supported by agriculture.	Proportion of agricultural population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE OF AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF—		Population supported by industry.	Proportion of industrial population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE OF INDUSTRIAL POPULATION OF—	
			Actual workers.	Dependents.			Actual workers.	Dependents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>BENGAL</b>	<b>56,198,687</b>	<b>715</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>9,654,684</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>53</b>
<i>West Bengal</i>	<i>5,280,115</i>	<i>641</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>1,946,519</i>	<i>151</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>51</i>
Burdwan	501,914	589	32	68	254,630	167	52	48
Birbhum	421,532	639	28	72	105,403	117	60	40
Bankura	677,904	607	40	60	177,180	159	53	47
Midnapore	2,135,322	773	33	67	272,860	99	47	53
Hooahly	504,283	338	32	68	313,019	293	45	55
Howrah	508,555	423	27	73	220,658	200	42	58
<i>Central Bengal</i>	<i>4,517,814</i>	<i>558</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>1,450,448</i>	<i>187</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>54</i>
24 Parganas	1,250,035	818	31	69	335,416	155	50	50
Calcutta	27,988	33	44	56	271,713	320	56	44
Nadia	904,451	560	33	67	264,290	153	40	60
Murshidabad	775,090	581	30	70	250,943	163	46	54
Jessore	1,293,251	714	32	68	272,080	151	33	67
<i>North Bengal</i>	<i>3,037,579</i>	<i>803</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>998,711</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>51</i>
Bejshahi	1,073,254	734	24	76	155,296	127	59	41
Dinajpur	1,363,917	874	35	65	70,826	49	56	44
Jalpaiguri	703,188	804	42	58	38,420	46	60	40
Darjeeling	183,338	717	63	37	15,017	73	60	40
Rangpur	1,325,501	849	33	67	124,900	53	47	53
Bogra	748,100	378	31	69	84,822	64	41	59
Palna	807,293	681	30	70	227,824	103	36	64
Malda	608,137	575	25	75	167,279	180	54	46
Kuch Bihar	400,630	803	26	74	27,626	49	45	55
Sikkim	64,494	922	67	33	104	2	82	18
<i>East Bengal</i>	<i>19,831,055</i>	<i>757</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>1,978,615</i>	<i>117</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>62</i>
Khulna	907,404	773	32	68	146,988	117	37	63
Dacca	1,729,995	633	29	71	489,063	186	33	67
Mymensingh	3,135,382	800	32	68	297,894	103	29	71
Faridpur	1,400,576	774	23	77	237,807	129	35	65
Backergunge	1,555,483	810	29	71	213,904	96	42	58
Tippora	1,673,643	790	30	70	194,476	93	37	63
Naokhal	889,734	773	27	73	90,078	79	36	64
Chittagong	805,245	585	25	75	102,961	143	43	57
Chittagong Hill Tracts	120,105	963	61	39	1,102	9	96	4
Hill Tippera	158,656	913	49	51	5,890	34	79	21
<i>North Bihar</i>	<i>10,562,997</i>	<i>764</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>1,945,217</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>47</i>
Saran	1,083,545	814	40	60	219,745	91	56	44
Chhapra	1,430,187	802	32	68	115,544	64	56	44
Muzaffarpur	2,194,112	784	33	67	170,365	62	46	54
Darbhanga	2,280,633	785	46	54	206,902	102	57	43
Bhagalpur	1,432,213	688	42	58	203,730	107	41	59
Purnea	1,336,307	714	47	53	220,500	113	61	39
<i>South Bihar</i>	<i>4,999,597</i>	<i>648</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>1,194,550</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>51</i>
Patna	1,012,344	623	41	59	279,008	171	41	59
Gaya	1,340,320	651	48	52	287,732	140	46	54
Shahabad	1,271,134	684	53	47	346,400	177	59	41
Monghyr	1,370,570	603	41	59	291,325	130	46	54
<i>Orissa</i>	<i>9,682,698</i>	<i>641</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>640,180</i>	<i>157</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>47</i>
Cuttack	1,200,300	655	31	69	378,300	183	45	55
Balasore	843,697	750	31	69	102,844	96	59	41
Puri	610,003	800	34	66	107,063	105	53	47
<i>Chota Nagpur Plateau</i>	<i>7,437,932</i>	<i>755</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>945,635</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>50</i>
Hazaribagh	950,080	807	62	38	107,553	91	63	37
Ranchi	903,703	786	33	67	120,040	109	59	41
Palaman	445,019	730	33	67	71,560	117	59	41
Manbhum	873,402	671	46	54	139,350	117	54	46
Sinbhum	470,773	767	60	40	40,131	85	63	37
Santhal Parganas	1,438,379	808	44	56	127,204	79	51	49
Angul and Khondmah	145,497	738	35	65	23,650	154	25	75
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	781,421	780	38	62	70,783	89	36	64
Orissa Tributary States	1,370,563	706	32	68	235,701	117	49	51



TABLE II.

AND PROFESSIONAL POPULATION BY NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.

COMMERCE.				PROFESSION.				NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.
Population supported by commerce.	Proportion of commercial population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE ON COMMERCIAL POPULATION OF—		Population supported by profession.	Proportion of professional population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE ON PROFESSIONAL POPULATION OF—		
		Actual workers.	Dependents.			Actual workers.	Dependents.	
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
661,079	8	39	61	1,341,167	17	40	60	BENGAL.
91,324	11	30	64	202,940	25	41	59	West Bengal.
10,631	13	37	63	34,622	23	43	57	Burdwan.
3,480	4	45	55	13,273	15	52	48	Birbhum.
7,622	7	34	66	24,898	22	44	56	Bankura.
10,247	5	35	65	55,384	20	45	55	Midnapore.
28,244	23	36	64	40,256	38	33	67	Hooghly.
10,303	23	37	63	31,472	37	33	67	Howrah.
143,165	19	44	56	194,263	25	40	60	Central Bengal.
22,530	11	37	63	44,215	21	34	66	24 Pargannas.
89,845	106	50	50	53,745	21	41	59	Calcutta.
16,173	10	34	66	25,420	23	41	59	Nadia.
8,237	6	36	64	23,566	18	44	56	Murshidabad.
10,970	6	33	67	34,237	19	44	56	Jessore.
53,471	5	44	56	118,635	12	47	53	North Bengal.
6,080	5	40	60	22,017	14	45	55	Rajshahi.
4,767	3	48	52	13,030	6	59	41	Dinajpur.
2,272	3	59	41	4,715	6	54	46	Jalpaiguri.
3,090	15	68	32	3,068	8	40	60	Darjeeling.
7,433	4	53	47	26,775	12	40	60	Rangpur.
3,717	4	43	57	9,019	11	44	56	Bogra.
17,518	12	34	66	24,762	17	38	62	Patna.
4,190	5	35	65	7,000	9	43	57	Malda.
1,340	2	63	37	7,079	14	51	49	Kuch Bihar.
1,290	22	71	29	671	11	53	47	Sikkim.
174,609	10	33	67	365,002	21	34	66	East Bengal.
6,533	7	33	67	22,408	15	30	70	Khulna.
47,014	19	28	72	71,310	26	30	70	Dacca.
37,321	10	37	63	50,261	13	55	45	Mymensingh.
20,325	10	30	70	42,000	22	34	66	Faridpur.
10,500	5	44	56	52,960	25	35	65	Backergunge.
30,775	15	32	68	46,550	22	36	64	Tippera.
6,189	5	31	69	23,499	21	39	61	Noakhali.
11,894	2	31	69	52,411	20	30	70	Chittagong.
596	5	67	33	255	2	67	33	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
384	2	69	31	1,280	7	67	33	Hill Tippera.
72,799	5	43	57	116,387	3	49	51	North Bihar.
7,451	3	41	59	23,330	10	48	52	Saran.
5,022	3	48	52	11,179	6	61	39	Champanan.
13,058	5	39	61	19,305	7	46	54	Muzaffarpur.
19,740	4	51	49	32,832	11	44	56	Darbhanga.
26,013	12	39	61	19,000	9	46	54	Blaspur.
9,418	5	52	48	11,080	8	57	43	Patna.
65,431	8	38	62	148,210	19	43	57	South Bihar.
19,786	12	33	67	26,248	24	43	57	Patna.
12,542	6	20	80	40,313	19	40	60	Gaya.
10,022	5	45	55	36,704	19	46	54	Shahabad.
22,536	11	39	61	32,555	16	43	57	Monghyr.
16,483	4	35	65	105,633	26	39	61	Orissa.
3,054	4	31	69	52,748	26	37	63	Cuttack.
3,430	3	40	60	13,107	11	46	54	Balasore.
4,299	4	32	68	40,720	40	39	61	Puri.
38,414	4	41	59	91,595	9	42	58	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
3,733	2	43	57	8,217	5	54	46	Hamirbagh.
6,908	6	32	68	14,873	12	37	63	Ranchi.
2,125	3	52	48	4,553	6	54	46	Palaman.
8,022	4	45	55	10,712	13	49	51	Manbhum.
1,074	3	44	56	2,834	5	50	50	Singhbhum.
10,851	6	42	58	14,585	8	39	61	South Pargannas.
183	10	70	30	1,030	5	52	48	Angul and Khondmala.
4,294	4	35	65	4,672	5	35	65	Chota Nagpur Tributary States.
4,604	2	41	59	23,028	12	37	63	Orissa Tributary States.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1901 AND 1891.

Serial No.	OCCUPATION.	Population supported in 1901.	Population supported in 1891.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	<b>A.—GOVERNMENT</b>	<b>585,346</b>	<b>848,790</b>	<b>- 33</b>
	<b>I.—ADMINISTRATION</b>	<b>559,406</b>	<b>835,646</b>	<b>- 34</b>
	<b>1. Civil Service of the State</b>	<b>311,319</b>	<b>504,004</b>	<b>- 39</b>
2	Officers of Government and their families	8,263	8,899	+ 40
3	Clerks, inspectors, etc., and their families	93,479	64,738	+ 44
4	Constables, messengers, wardens and unspecified	109,569	153,109	- 55
	<b>1A. Service of the Tributary States</b>	<b>11,464</b>		
	<b>1 A(c). Mentals</b>	<b>7,258</b>		
	<b>2. Service of Local and Municipal Bodies</b>	<b>16,289</b>	<b>9,350</b>	<b>+ 76</b>
6	Clerical establishment	8,514	3,967	+ 47
7	Mentals, other than scavengers	8,705	4,315	+ 103
	<b>3. Village Service</b>	<b>311,334</b>	<b>522,392</b>	<b>- 40</b>
8	Headmen, not shown as agriculturists	8,605	2,694	+ 306
9	Accountants, not shown as agriculturists	25,264	55,123	- 54
10	Watchmen and other village servants	277,673	464,636	- 40
	<b>II.—DEFENCE</b>	<b>13,604</b>	<b>12,786</b>	<b>+ 6</b>
	<b>4. Army</b>	<b>11,263</b>	<b>12,786</b>	<b>- 12</b>
11	Military officers	917	10,809	- 14
12	Non-commissioned officers	8,390		
	<b>III.—SERVICE OF THE NATIVE AND FOREIGN STATES</b>	<b>1,336</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>+ 364</b>
	<b>B.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE</b>	<b>56,860,469</b>	<b>47,751,686</b>	<b>+ 19</b>
	<b>IV.—PROVISION AND CARE OF ANIMALS</b>	<b>731,782</b>	<b>519,314</b>	<b>+ 41</b>
	<b>8. Stock breeding and dealing</b>	<b>714,954</b>	<b>507,167</b>	<b>+ 41</b>
26	Cattle-breeders and dealers, and Commissariat farm establishment	35,366	141,361	- 80
27	Herdsmen	642,520	335,785	+ 98
30	Shepherds and goatherds	23,440	12,350	- 30
31	Sheep and goat breeders and dealers	7,031	13,547	- 47
32	Pig breeders and dealers, and swine herds	8,204		
	<b>9. Training and care of Animals</b>	<b>16,828</b>	<b>12,147</b>	<b>+ 38</b>
33	Veterinary surgeons, farriers, etc.	6,319	5,923	+ 7
34	Horse and elephant trainers, etc.	7,554	6,224	+ 20
	<b>V.—AGRICULTURE</b>	<b>56,128,687</b>	<b>47,235,372</b>	<b>+ 19</b>
	<b>10. Land-holders and Tenants</b>	<b>50,163,793</b>	<b>44,797,093</b>	<b>+ 12</b>
36	Rent receivers	1,516,140	928,277	+ 63
37	Rent payers	48,647,653	43,868,740	+ 11
	<b>11. Agricultural Labourers</b>	<b>5,183,746</b>	<b>1,640,369</b>	<b>+ 216</b>
38	Farm servants	478,703	1,840,369	+ 204
39	Field labourers	4,512,243		
40	Jhum cultivators	192,482		
	<b>12. Growers of Special Products</b>	<b>341,462</b>	<b>322,967</b>	<b>+ 6</b>
45	Indigo factories: owners, managers and superior staff	1,371	7,816	+ 6
46	Indigo factories: labourers and other subordinates	2,073		
41	Cinchona plantations: owners, etc.	20		
42	Cinchona plantations: labourers, etc.	672		
43	Coffee plantations: owners, etc.	2	50,620	+ 318
44	Coffee plantations: labourers, etc.	5		
47	Tea plantations: owners, etc.	1,815		
48	Tea plantations: labourers and other subordinates	208,727		
49	Betel, vine and areca-nut growers	88,548	37,861	+ 83
52	Fruit and vegetable growers	14,117	174,004	- 92
53	Miscellaneous	18,372	30,003	- 40
	<b>13. Agricultural Training and Supervision and Forests</b>	<b>459,686</b>	<b>476,015</b>	<b>- 7</b>
56	Agents and managers of landed estates (not planters)	37,125	170,661	- 78
57	Clerks, bailiffs, petty rent collectors, etc.	400,461	304,152	+ 30
	<b>C.—PERSONAL SERVICES</b>	<b>1,717,088</b>	<b>2,568,553</b>	<b>- 33</b>
	<b>VI.—PERSONAL, HOUSEHOLD AND SANITARY SERVICES</b>	<b>1,717,088</b>	<b>2,568,553</b>	<b>- 33</b>
	<b>14. Personal and Domestic Services</b>	<b>1,636,081</b>	<b>2,498,064</b>	<b>- 35</b>
60	Barbers	403,012	221,072	- 16
61	Cooks	12,743	49,054	+ 28
62	Door-keepers, etc.	16,424	31,331	- 48
63	Grooms, coachmen, dog-boys, etc.	48,394	49,407	- 1
64	Indoor-servants	507,427	320,218	+ 50
67	Shampooers	73		
65	Washermen	338,667		
68	Water carriers	58,580	41,403	+ 41
69	Miscellaneous and unspecified	120,330	1,005,919	- 87



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1901 AND 1891.

Serial No.	OCCUPATION.	Population supported in 1901.	Population supported in 1891.	Percentage of variation.
1		2	3	4
<b>VI.—PERSONAL, HOUSEHOLD AND SANITARY SERVICES—concl'd.</b>				
	<b>15. Non-domestic Establishment</b>	<b>6,824</b>	<b>4,156</b>	<b>+ 65</b>
69	Hotel, lodging-house, bar or refreshment room-keepers	5,937	3,734	+ 59
	<b>16. Sanitation</b>	<b>74,183</b>	<b>66,353</b>	<b>+ 12</b>
74	Sweepers and scavengers	73,523	66,353	+ 11
75	Dust and sweeping contractors	15		
	<b>D.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES</b>	<b>9,654,684</b>	<b>10,148,383</b>	<b>- 5</b>
	<b>VII.—FOOD, DRINK AND STIMULANTS</b>	<b>4,597,563</b>	<b>4,718,564</b>	<b>- 5</b>
	<b>17. Provision of Animal Food</b>	<b>1,707,685</b>	<b>1,773,427</b>	<b>- 4</b>
76	Butchers and slaughterers	22,575	14,539	+ 47
77	Cheese makers and sellers	143	424,834	+ 1
78	Cow and buffalo keepers, milk and butter sellers	423,678		
79	Fishermen and fish curers	551,105	1,311,700	- 6
80	Fish dealers	687,961		
82	Ghee preparers and sellers	14,107	13,925	- 13
	<b>18. Provision of Vegetable Food</b>	<b>1,928,894</b>	<b>1,853,364</b>	<b>+ 4</b>
94	Sugar factories: operatives and other subordinates	5,915	5,904	+ 68
95	Bakers	8,092		
96	Flour grinders	81,913	26,712	+ 207
97	Grain and pulse dealers	340,043	343,968	+ 2
98	Grain parbers	248,714	240,365	+ 3
99	Makers of sugar, molasses and gur by hand	7,340	57,700	- 44
99a	Gur and sugar sellers	24,955		
100	Oil-pressers	255,532	554,602	- 19
101	Oil-sellers	249,797		
102	Rice pounders and huckers	431,321	544,837	- 21
103	Sweetmeat makers	30,171	139,641	- 7
104	Sweetmeat sellers	81,023		
105	Vegetable and fruit sellers	124,921	5,718	+ 1,67
	<b>19. Provision of Drink, Condiments and Stimulants</b>	<b>900,783</b>	<b>1,047,852</b>	<b>- 41</b>
123	Cardamom, betel leaf and areca-nut sellers	210,960	551,744	- 16
124	Grocers and general condiment sellers	437,405	485,946	+ 9
125	Opium, bhang, ganja, etc., preparers	13	9,356	- 40
126	Opium, bhang, ganja, etc., sellers	8,179		
127	Salt makers	384	79,025	- 50
128	Salt sellers	30,736		
129	Tobacco and snuff manufacturers	1,193	109,105	- 35
130	Tobacco and snuff sellers	69,403		
131	Toddy drawers	20,686	105,002	- 12
132	Toddy sellers	71,241		
133	Wine and spirit distillers	8,859	44,984	- 31
134	Wine and spirit sellers	22,442		
135	Miscellaneous	8,134	715	+ 1,038
	<b>VIII.—LIGHT, FIRING AND FORAGE</b>	<b>259,356</b>	<b>223,273</b>	<b>+ 16</b>
	<b>20. Lighting</b>	<b>10,472</b>	<b>69,647</b>	<b>- 85</b>
	<b>21. Fuel and Forage</b>	<b>248,764</b>	<b>153,626</b>	<b>+ 62</b>
147	Chilleries: miners and other subordinates	51,807	31,017	+ 164
149	Hay, grass, and fodder sellers	24,347	122,097	+ 35
150	Fire-wood, charcoal and cowdung sellers	142,143		
	<b>IX.—BUILDINGS</b>	<b>261,722</b>	<b>208,029</b>	<b>+ 26</b>
	<b>22. Building Materials</b>	<b>63,530</b>	<b>96,679</b>	<b>- 34</b>
152	Brick and tile factories: operatives and other subordinates	6,559	15,419	+ 110
153	Brick and tile makers	23,004		
154	Brick and tile sellers	3,973	20,423	- 23
157	Lime, chunam and shell-burners	6,830		
158	Lime, chunam and shell-sellers	16,767	111,350	+ 78
	<b>23. Artificers in Building</b>	<b>158,392</b>		
163	Masons and builders	121,928	90,302	+ 35
169	Thatch dealers	2,006	53,830	+ 11
165	Thatchers	57,450		
	<b>X.—VEHICLES AND VESSELS</b>	<b>45,232</b>	<b>42,510</b>	<b>+ 6</b>
	<b>25. Carts, Carriages, etc.</b>	<b>11,175</b>	<b>9,607</b>	<b>+ 16</b>
171	Cart and carriage makers	8,369	9,221	- 1
172	Cart and carriage sellers	764		
	<b>26. Ships and Boats</b>	<b>31,589</b>	<b>31,562</b>	<b>- 1</b>
175	Shipwrights, boat builders, etc.	30,207	31,439	- 4
	<b>XI.—SUPPLEMENTARY REQUIREMENTS</b>	<b>258,359</b>	<b>501,650</b>	<b>- 14</b>
	<b>27. Paper</b>	<b>12,250</b>	<b>56,242</b>	<b>- 78</b>
189	Stationers	5,481	53,406	- 10



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1901 AND 1891.

Serial No.	OCCUPATION.	Population supported in 1901.	Population supported in 1891.	Percentage of variation.
1		2	3	4
<b>XI.—SUPPLEMENTARY REQUIREMENTS—concluded.</b>				
	<b>28. Books and Prints</b> ... ..	<b>55,927</b>	<b>26,370</b>	<b>+ 54</b>
183	Printing presses: owners, managers and superior staff ...	776	14,036	+ 47
184	Printing presses: workmen and other subordinates ...	19,608		
185	Hand-press proprietors, lithographers and printers ...	194		
186	Book-binders ... ..	11,807		
	<b>29. Carving and Engraving</b> ... ..	<b>10,776</b>	<b>1,146</b>	<b>+ 840</b>
200	Mica, flint and talc workers and sellers ... ..	8,304	408	+1,330
	<b>31. Toys and Curiosities</b> ... ..	<b>11,517</b>	<b>9,966</b>	<b>+ 16</b>
203	Hukka-stem makers and sellers ... ..	8,266	7,827	+ 6
	<b>32. Music and Musical Instruments</b> ... ..	<b>6,396</b>	<b>15,311</b>	<b>- 59</b>
206	Music and musical instrument makers ... ..	5,387	15,311	- 60
207	Music and musical instrument sellers ... ..	909		
	<b>33. Bangles, Necklaces, Beads, Sacred Threads, etc.</b> ... ..	<b>113,161</b>	<b>197,697</b>	<b>- 11</b>
208	Makers of bangles, other than glass ... ..	24,927	59,600	- 36
209	Sellers of bangles, other than glass ... ..	11,935		
210	Makers of glass-bangles ... ..	10,427		
211	Sellers of glass-bangles ... ..	7,294		
214	Rosary, bead, and necklace makers ... ..	16,690	25,036	- 19
215	Rosary, bead and necklace sellers ... ..	8,178		
216	Flower-garland makers and sellers ... ..	27,404		
217	Makers and sellers of spangles, ligams, and sacred threads ... ..	6,630		
	<b>36. Tools and Machinery</b> ... ..	<b>52,306</b>	<b>55,841</b>	<b>- 2</b>
226	Machinery and engineering work-shops: operatives and other subordinates ... ..	15,567	23,176	- 5
229	Plough and agricultural implement makers ... ..	21,047		
232	Mechanics other than railway mechanics ... ..	5,590		
	<b>37. Arms and Ammunition</b> ... ..	<b>8,576</b>	<b>6,844</b>	<b>+ 47</b>
	<b>XII.—TEXTILE FABRICS AND DRESS</b> ... ..	<b>1,890,054</b>	<b>1,953,873</b>	<b>- 3</b>
	<b>38. Wool and Fur</b> ... ..	<b>93,208</b>	<b>45,049</b>	<b>- 48</b>
241	Persons occupied with blankets, wool, woollen cloth, fur, feather, etc. ... ..	19,181	45,049	- 52
244	Dealers in woollen goods, fur and feathers ... ..	2,613		
	<b>39. Silk</b> ... ..	<b>142,417</b>	<b>196,853</b>	<b>+ 19</b>
246	Silk filatures: operatives and other subordinates ... ..	10,408	50,514	+ 23
249	Silk-worm rearers and cocoon gatherers ... ..	78,718		
250	Silk-carders, spinners and weavers, makers of silk braid and thread ... ..	58,690		
261	Sellers of raw silk, silk-cloth, braid and thread ... ..	5,906	40,520	- 9
	<b>40. Cotton</b> ... ..	<b>1,124,576</b>	<b>1,178,130</b>	<b>- 5</b>
266	Cotton spinning, weaving and other mills: operatives and other subordinates ... ..	7,781	1,003,355	- 3
271	Cotton cleaners, pressers and ginners ... ..	30,892		
272	Cotton weavers: hand industry ... ..	976,519		
275	Cotton spinners, sizers and yarn testers ... ..	81,187		
276	Cotton yarn and thread sellers ... ..	11,057		
278	Cotton dyers ... ..	10,251		
	<b>41. Jute, Hemp, Flax, Coir, etc.</b> ... ..	<b>214,079</b>	<b>134,684</b>	<b>+ 59</b>
284	Jute presses: operatives and other subordinates ... ..	12,886	24,502	- 31
286	Jute mills: operatives and other subordinates ... ..	179,208		
290	Dealers in raw fibres ... ..	17,121		
290	Rope, sacking and net makers ... ..	54,707		
291	Rope, sacking and net sellers ... ..	5,327		
296	Fibre matting and bag makers ... ..	8,850		
299	Fibre matting and bag sellers ... ..	1,348		
	<b>42. Dress</b> ... ..	<b>365,481</b>	<b>469,157</b>	<b>- 18</b>
303	Hosiery and haberdashery ... ..	6,533	1,182	+ 420
304	Piece-goods dealers ... ..	164,209	201,270	- 31
306	Tailors, milliners, dress-makers and darners ... ..	182,781	182,655	- 4
	<b>XIII.—METALS AND PRECIOUS STONES</b> ... ..	<b>742,689</b>	<b>850,218</b>	<b>- 13</b>
	<b>43. Gold, Silver and Precious Stones</b> ... ..	<b>344,101</b>	<b>350,606</b>	<b>- 2</b>
317	Workers in gold, silver and precious stones ... ..	319,834	329,393	- 3
319	Dealers in gold, silver and precious stones ... ..	15,676	23,850	- 18
	<b>44. Brass, Copper and Bell-metal</b> ... ..	<b>112,487</b>	<b>127,137</b>	<b>- 19</b>
323	Brass, copper and bell-metal makers ... ..	70,949	127,137	- 19
324	Brass, copper and bell-metal sellers ... ..	41,534		
	<b>45. Tin, Zinc, Quicksilver and Lead</b> ... ..	<b>14,928</b>	<b>13,176</b>	<b>+ 13</b>
324	Workers in tin, zinc, quicksilver and lead ... ..	11,770	13,176	+ 3
325	Sellers of tin, zinc and lead goods ... ..	3,158		
	<b>46. Iron and Steel</b> ... ..	<b>271,173</b>	<b>353,306</b>	<b>- 24</b>
328	Workers in iron and hard ware ... ..	256,944	331,810	- 23
329	Sellers of iron and hard ware ... ..	6,199	21,376	- 62



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1901 AND 1891.

Serial No.	OCCUPATION.	Population supported in 1901.	Population supported in 1891.	Percentage of variation.
1		2	3	4
	<b>XIV.—GLASS, EARTHEN AND STONEWARE</b>	<b>479,183</b>	<b>490,556</b>	<b>- 4</b>
	<b>48. Earthen and Stoneware</b>	<b>476,189</b>	<b>496,391</b>	<b>- 4</b>
334	Potters and pot and pipe-bowl makers	395,512	491,156	- 5
337	Sellers of pottery and stoneware	71,523		
	<b>XV.—WOOD, CANE, LEAVES, ETC.</b>	<b>736,499</b>	<b>876,203</b>	<b>- 16</b>
	<b>49. Wood and Bamboos</b>	<b>380,984</b>	<b>514,110</b>	<b>- 26</b>
344	Carpenters	300,397	341,007	- 12
345	Dealers in timber and bamboos	58,506	137,589	- 70
346	Wood-cutters and sawyers	20,010	48,414	- 13
	<b>50. Canework, Matting, Leaves, etc.</b>	<b>355,445</b>	<b>369,093</b>	<b>- 4</b>
347	Baskets, mats, fans, screens, brooms, etc., makers and sellers	328,640	331,467	- 1
349	Leaf plate makers and sellers	16,306	18,136	- 16
5	Pith and bark collectors, workers and sellers	6,617	7,702	- 14
	<b>XVI.—DRUGS, GUMS, DYES, ETC.</b>	<b>71,090</b>	<b>193,206</b>	<b>- 42</b>
	<b>51. Gums, Wax, Resins and similar Forest Produce</b>	<b>17,008</b>	<b>14,895</b>	<b>+ 14</b>
352	Lac collectors	3,927	9,211	+ 4
359	Lac sellers	5,685		
	<b>52. Drug, Dyes, Pigments, etc.</b>	<b>54,082</b>	<b>108,311</b>	<b>- 50</b>
363	Saltpetre refiners	13,333	92,836	- 56
366	Saltpetre sellers	9,236		
	<b>XVII.—LEATHER, ETC.</b>	<b>313,328</b>	<b>350,403</b>	<b>- 11</b>
	<b>53. Leather, Horn and Bones</b>	<b>313,328</b>	<b>350,499</b>	<b>- 11</b>
397	Shoe, boot and sandal makers	187,799	310,377	- 11
398	Tanners and curriers	22,544		
399	Sellers of manufactured leather goods	18,639		
390	Sellers of hides, horns, bristles and bones	118,213		
	<b>XVIII.—COMMERCE, TRANSPORT AND STORAGE</b>	<b>1,543,138</b>	<b>1,965,640</b>	<b>- 29</b>
	<b>XVIII.—COMMERCE</b>	<b>661,079</b>	<b>1,147,189</b>	<b>- 49</b>
	<b>54. Money and Securities</b>	<b>198,826</b>	<b>114,341</b>	<b>+ 73</b>
392	Bankers, money-lenders, etc.	159,541	101,236	+ 51
395	Bank clerks, cashiers, bill collectors, accountants, etc.	41,270	2,077	+1,442
	<b>55. General Merchandise</b>	<b>70,978</b>	<b>411,423</b>	<b>- 83</b>
396	General merchants	21,133	364,677	- 99
397	Merchants' managers, accountants, clerks, assistants, etc.	45,845	56,746	- 19
	<b>56. Dealing, unspecified</b>	<b>336,431</b>	<b>566,954</b>	<b>+ 41</b>
398a	Dealers in miscellaneous articles (Manshūrī Dēkan)	53,742	402,967	- 68
399	Shop-keepers, otherwise unspecified	183,117		
399	Shop-keepers' clerks, salesmen, etc.	30,147		
400	Shop-keepers' and money-lenders' servants	88,484		
401	Pedlars, hawkers, etc.	10,941		
	<b>57. Middlemen, Brokers and Agents</b>	<b>54,854</b>	<b>54,463</b>	<b>+ 1</b>
402	Brokers and Agents	92,946	22,177	+ 9
406a	Road, Railway and District Board contractors	1,425		
407	Contractors, otherwise unspecified	13,282		
	<b>XIX.—TRANSPORT AND STORAGE</b>	<b>882,089</b>	<b>818,458</b>	<b>+ 8</b>
	<b>58. Railway</b>	<b>116,578</b>	<b>29,538</b>	<b>+ 356</b>
411	Clerical staff on railways	17,440	8,274	+ 433
412	Station masters and assistants, inspectors, overseers, etc.	6,423	1,924	+ 362
413	Guards, drivers, firemen, etc.	8,210	4,037	+ 105
414	Paintmen, shunters, porters, signallers, etc.	62,722	15,878	+ 289
415	Railways' service unspecified	22,415	—	—
	<b>59. Road</b>	<b>328,147</b>	<b>350,983</b>	<b>- 14</b>
417	Cart owners and drivers, carting agents, etc.	105,265	109,498	- 4
418	Livery stable-keepers, etc.	3,770	618	+ 508
419	Drivers, stable-boys, etc., not private servants	24,595	9,879	+ 177
420	Palki, etc., bearers and owners	165,228	179,817	- 5
421	Pack bullock owners, drivers, etc.	8,836	60,460	- 93
	<b>60. Water</b>	<b>394,120</b>	<b>341,590</b>	<b>- 8</b>
425	Boat and barge owners, etc.	8,932	20,328	- 56
426	Dockyards: owners, managers and superior staff	359	7,603	+ 14
427	Dockyards: workmen and other subordinate staff	8,300	—	—
428	Ships' officers, engineers, mariners and firemen	48,479	26,911	+ 80
429	Boat and bargemen	249,891	283,970	- 12
	<b>61. Messages</b>	<b>33,181</b>	<b>25,918</b>	<b>+ 31</b>
433	Post office: officers, etc.	4,319	22,943	+ 19
434	Post office: clerks, messengers, runners, and other subordinates	22,384		
	<b>62. Storage and Weighing</b>	<b>50,933</b>	<b>45,329</b>	<b>+ 77</b>
440	Warehouse: workmen and other subordinates	7,246	314	+1,310
441	Porters	46,483	15,678	+ 298
442	Weighmen and measurers	21,006	28,518	- 24



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1901 AND 1891.

Serial No.	OCCUPATION.	Population supported in 1901.	Population supported in 1891.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	<b>F.—PROFESSIONS</b>	<b>1,356,578</b>	<b>1,423,762</b>	<b>- 5</b>
	<b>IX.—LEARNED AND ARTISTIC PROFESSIONS</b>	<b>1,341,167</b>	<b>1,410,170</b>	<b>- 5</b>
	<b>63. Religion</b>	<b>769,558</b>	<b>696,503</b>	<b>+ 10</b>
444	Priests, ministers, etc.	402,371	668,017	- 31
445	Catechists, readers, church and mission service, etc.	9,531	2,529	+ 270
446	Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, convents, etc.	121,354	5,137	+ 3,024
447	Church, temple, burial or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, undertakers, etc.	83,008	15,872	+ 440
449	Astrologers, diviners, horoscope makers, etc.	20,225	10,005	+ 89
	<b>64. Education</b>	<b>120,849</b>	<b>139,654</b>	<b>- 13</b>
452	Principals, professors, and teachers	117,215	133,104	- 12
	<b>65. Literature</b>	<b>32,189</b>	<b>103,480</b>	<b>- 69</b>
460	Writers (unspecified) and private clerks	30,430	90,215	- 66
	<b>66. Law</b>	<b>80,743</b>	<b>68,208</b>	<b>+ 18</b>
459	Barristers, advocates and pleaders	24,982	22,703	+ 10
461	Law-agents, mukhtars, etc.	25,960	30,780	- 16
463	Articled clerks and other lawyers' clerks	22,140	8,423	+ 157
	<b>67. Medicine</b>	<b>175,396</b>	<b>190,296</b>	<b>- 8</b>
467	Practitioners with diploma, license, or certificate	15,975	5,557	+ 175
468	Practitioners without diploma	116,384	141,216	- 18
472	Midwives	33,163	39,540	- 7
473	Compounders, matrons, nurses, and hospital, asylum, and dispensary service	5,950	3,172	+ 89
	<b>68. Engineering and Survey</b>	<b>15,208</b>	<b>17,080</b>	<b>- 11</b>
476	Topographical, archaeological, and revenue surveyors	5,102	503	+ 910
	<b>70. Pictorial Art and Sculpture</b>	<b>6,098</b>	<b>9,129</b>	<b>- 33</b>
	<b>71. Music, Acting, Dancing, etc.</b>	<b>140,360</b>	<b>173,556</b>	<b>- 20</b>
488	Band masters and players, not military	106,242	138,066	- 23
490	Actors, singers and dancers and their accompanists	33,239	37,768	- 12
	<b>XXI.—SPORT</b>	<b>15,411</b>	<b>18,699</b>	<b>- 17</b>
	<b>72. Sport</b>	<b>7,006</b>	<b>8,341</b>	<b>- 16</b>
502	Shikaris, falconers and bird catchers	6,251	8,251	- 24
	<b>73. Games and Exhibitions</b>	<b>8,405</b>	<b>10,249</b>	<b>- 18</b>
	<b>G.—UNSKILLED LABOUR NOT AGRICULTURAL</b>	<b>6,198,159</b>	<b>8,947,058*</b>	<b>- 30</b>
	<b>XXII.—EARTHWORK AND GENERAL LABOUR</b>	<b>5,865,950</b>	<b>8,782,634</b>	<b>- 33</b>
	<b>74. Earthwork</b>	<b>293,639</b>	<b>92,002</b>	<b>+ 143</b>
501	Tank-diggers and excavators	20,376	94,512	- 29
502	Road, canal, and railway labourers	161,840	6,365	+ 2,493
	<b>75. General Labour</b>	<b>5,640,311</b>	<b>8,690,582</b>	<b>- 35</b>
504	General labour	5,640,311	8,690,582	- 35
	<b>XXIII.—INDEFINITE AND DISREPUTABLE OCCUPATIONS</b>	<b>334,189</b>	<b>164,374</b>	<b>+ 103</b>
	<b>76. Indefinite</b>	<b>265,366</b>	<b>52,449</b>	<b>+ 197</b>
505	Uncertain or not returned	17,026	50,442	+ 197
505a	Service in unspecified factories	31,050		
505b	Service, unspecified (shikari)	215,764		
	<b>77. Disreputable</b>	<b>68,823</b>	<b>74,939</b>	<b>- 8</b>
506	Prostitutes, including seagins and neauchis	62,342	74,939	- 8
507	Procurers, pimps, etc.	2,945		
508	Receivers of stolen goods	130		
509	Witches, wizards, cow-poisoners, etc.	100		
	<b>H.—MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE INDEPENDENT OF OCCUPATION</b>	<b>597,968</b>	<b>844,222</b>	<b>- 29</b>
	<b>XXIV.—INDEPENDENT</b>	<b>597,968</b>	<b>844,222</b>	<b>- 29</b>
	<b>78. Property and Aims</b>	<b>553,149</b>	<b>813,077</b>	<b>- 34</b>
510	House rent, shares and other property not being land	10,190	25,778	- 8
511a	Allowances from patrons and relatives in Calcutta	4,940		
511b	Other parts of India	28,408		
511c	Foreign countries	9		
513	Mendicancy, not in connexion with a religious order	408,068	76,454	- 35
	<b>79. At the State expense</b>	<b>44,819</b>	<b>31,145</b>	<b>+ 44</b>
514	Pension, civil services	10,796	5,784	+ 86
516	Pension, unspecified	71,360	9,078	+ 31
520	Prisoners convicted or in reformatories, etc.	15,447	13,305	+ 30

\* Part of class "G" of 1891 shown against class "H" of 1901.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES BY ORDERS, SELECTED SUB-ORDERS AND GROUPS.

Group No.	ORDER OR SUB-ORDER.	NUMBER OF ACTUAL WORKERS.		Number of females per 1000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	<b>I.—ADMINISTRATION</b>	<b>185,882</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>1</b>
	<b>II.—DEFENCE</b>	<b>9,627</b>		
	<b>III.—SERVICE OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN STATES</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>61</b>
	<b>IV.—PROVISION AND CARE OF ANIMALS</b>	<b>527,237</b>	<b>38,308</b>	<b>73</b>
	<b>8. Stock breeding and dealing</b>	<b>520,980</b>	<b>38,181</b>	<b>73</b>
27	Herdsmen	487,614	30,134	63
30	sheep and goat breeders and dealers	5,011	1,102	366
31	Shepherds and goatherds	12,967	5,077	392
	<b>V.—AGRICULTURE</b>	<b>17,075,552</b>	<b>3,815,574</b>	<b>223</b>
	<b>10. Land-holders and Tenants</b>	<b>15,003,516</b>	<b>2,636,566</b>	<b>173</b>
36	Rent receivers	330,020	77,029	234
37	Rent payers	14,642,006	2,549,537	174
	<b>11. Agricultural Labourers</b>	<b>1,754,339</b>	<b>1,108,038</b>	<b>631</b>
38	Farm servants	222,591	36,323	119
39	Fieldlabourers	1,499,414	1,028,680	696
40	Jhum cultivators	63,110	51,588	831
	<b>12. Growers of special products</b>	<b>139,558</b>	<b>50,904</b>	<b>622</b>
42	Tea plantations: labourers and other subordinates	82,876	74,137	919
52	Fruit and vegetable growers	5,814	1,608	269
	<b>VI.—PERSONAL, HOUSEHOLD AND SANITARY SERVICES</b>	<b>593,847</b>	<b>353,842</b>	<b>569</b>
	<b>14. Personal and Domestic Services</b>	<b>564,350</b>	<b>318,474</b>	<b>564</b>
60	Barbers	155,919	35,803	430
61	Cooks	39,427	7,209	247
64	Indoor servants	189,838	106,881	561
65	Washermen	104,453	71,544	692
66	Water carriers	5,619	32,132	5,729
	<b>15. Non-Domestic Establishment</b>	<b>2,544</b>	<b>649</b>	<b>255</b>
	<b>16. Sanitation</b>	<b>26,423</b>	<b>14,719</b>	<b>557</b>
74	Sweepers and scavengers	26,075	14,719	594
	<b>VII.—FOOD, DRINK AND STIMULANTS</b>	<b>1,234,424</b>	<b>1,042,234</b>	<b>844</b>
	<b>17. Provision of Animal Food</b>	<b>310,135</b>	<b>381,396</b>	<b>551</b>
76	Butchers and slaughterers	7,235	1,093	273
78	Cow and buffalo keepers and milk and butter sellers	114,007	115,548	1,008
79	Fisher men and fish curers	122,455	42,705	282
80	Fish dealers	180,540	118,911	657
82	Ghee preparers and sellers	4,403	1,964	437
	<b>18. Provision of Vegetable Food</b>	<b>416,971</b>	<b>663,549</b>	<b>1,591</b>
90	Flour grinders	4,750	51,744	10,893
97	Grain and pulse dealers	100,077	49,277	441
98	Grain parchers	44,120	112,872	2,560
100	Oil pressers	75,052	33,345	445
101	Oil sellers	69,209	47,423	683
102	Rice pounders and huskers	12,632	298,503	2,180
103	Sweetmeat makers	19,180	3,500	202
104	Sweetmeat sellers	29,829	8,130	275
105	Vegetable and fruit sellers	34,909	56,420	1,612
	<b>19. Provision of Drink, Condiments and Stimulants</b>	<b>307,315</b>	<b>97,349</b>	<b>317</b>
123	Cardamom, betel-leaf and areca-nut sellers	66,338	17,151	259
124	Grocers and general condiment dealers	188,509	50,564	269
125	Salt-sellers	12,108	0,823	661
130	Tobacco and snuff-sellers	21,572	9,336	433
132	Toddy-sellers	30,405	11,558	582
	<b>VIII.—LIGHT, FIRING AND FORAGE</b>	<b>59,061</b>	<b>114,393</b>	<b>1,937</b>
	<b>20. Lighting</b>	<b>3,425</b>	<b>686</b>	<b>196</b>
	<b>21. Fuel and Forage</b>	<b>55,566</b>	<b>113,707</b>	<b>2,046</b>
147	Collieries: miners and other subordinates	26,523	24,720	930
149	Hay, grass and fodder sellers	7,730	6,204	803
150	Firewood, charcoal and cowdung sellers	20,379	81,980	4,019



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES BY ORDERS, SELECTED SUB-ORDERS AND GROUPS—*continued.*

Group No.	ORDER OR SUB-ORDER.	NUMBER OF ACTUAL WORKERS.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	<b>IX.—BUILDINGS</b>	<b>102,099</b>	<b>12,699</b>	<b>124</b>
	<b>22. Building Materials</b>	<b>26,137</b>	<b>7,433</b>	<b>284</b>
155	Brick and tile makers	11,363	3,223	284
157	Lime, chunam and shell burners	1,800	602	334
158	Lime, chunam and shell sellers	5,496	1,721	314
	<b>23. Artificers in Building</b>	<b>75,962</b>	<b>5,259</b>	<b>69</b>
	<b>X.—VEHICLES AND VESSELS</b>	<b>16,367</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>7</b>
	<b>XI.—SUPPLEMENTARY REQUIREMENTS</b>	<b>90,622</b>	<b>26,792</b>	<b>295</b>
	<b>30. Carving and Engraving</b>	<b>5,542</b>	<b>1,288</b>	<b>232</b>
200	Mica, flint and talc workers and sellers	3,701	1,242	338
	<b>31. Toys and curiosities</b>	<b>5,829</b>	<b>802</b>	<b>227</b>
	<b>32. Music and Musical Instruments</b>	<b>2,282</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>142</b>
	<b>33. Bangles, Necklaces, Beads, Sacred Threads, etc.</b>	<b>33,356</b>	<b>22,547</b>	<b>676</b>
208	Makers of bangles other than glass	7,396	3,850	491
209	Sellers of bangles other than glass	3,541	1,759	497
210	Makers of glass bangles	3,483	2,040	600
211	Sellers of glass bangles	2,713	2,089	744
214	Rosary, bead and necklace makers	8,014	4,403	578
215	Rosary, bead and necklace sellers	1,444	748	518
216	Flower garland makers and sellers	7,796	6,338	814
217	Makers and sellers of spangles, lingams and sacred threads	1,731	2,280	1,317
	<b>XII.—TEXTILE FABRICS AND DRESS</b>	<b>602,252</b>	<b>251,823</b>	<b>418</b>
	<b>38. Wool and Fur</b>	<b>7,871</b>	<b>3,184</b>	<b>403</b>
251	Persons occupied with blankets, wool, woollen cloth, etc.	6,405	2,740	423
254	Dealers in woollen goods, fur and feathers	791	236	300
	<b>39. Silk</b>	<b>34,187</b>	<b>47,098</b>	<b>1,378</b>
260	Silkworm rearers and cocoon gatherers	2,807	39,625	4,051
269	Silkcarders, spinners and weavers, makers of silk braid and thread	12,934	4,929	383
261	Sellers of raw silk, silk cloth, braid and thread	1,621	929	577
	<b>40. Cotton</b>	<b>346,117</b>	<b>135,546</b>	<b>392</b>
271	Cotton cleaners, pressers and ginnerers	16,207	4,513	241
272	Cotton weavers: hand industry	318,926	66,877	207
275	Cotton spinners, sizers and yarn beaters	3,041	90,021	19,737
276	Cotton yarn and thread sellers	3,696	1,790	478
278	Cotton dyers	3,214	2,006	624
	<b>41. Jute, Hemp, Flax and Coir, etc.</b>	<b>86,998</b>	<b>35,577</b>	<b>412</b>
290	Jute mills: operatives and other subordinates	64,420	13,489	209
290	Rope, packing and net makers	6,222	14,897	2,394
291	Rope, packing and net sellers	1,679	2,504	1,479
292	Fibre matting and bag makers	1,266	3,323	2,625
	<b>42. Dress</b>	<b>127,796</b>	<b>50,188</b>	<b>256</b>
303	Hosiery and haberdashers	1,662	1,012	671
306	Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darning	56,441	21,003	384
	<b>XIII.—METALS AND PRECIOUS STONES</b>	<b>240,531</b>	<b>10,842</b>	<b>44</b>
	<b>43. Gold, Silver and Precious Stones</b>	<b>113,322</b>	<b>3,823</b>	<b>34</b>
	<b>XIV.—GLASS, EARTHEN AND STONEWARE</b>	<b>152,076</b>	<b>69,568</b>	<b>447</b>
	<b>48. Earthen and Stoneware</b>	<b>151,086</b>	<b>69,488</b>	<b>460</b>
326	Potters and pot and pipe-bowl makers	125,916	66,891	423
327	Sellers of pottery and stone ware	21,229	11,999	556
	<b>XV.—WOOD, CANE AND LEAVES, etc.</b>	<b>230,366</b>	<b>120,054</b>	<b>371</b>
	<b>49. Wood and Bamboos</b>	<b>139,366</b>	<b>6,479</b>	<b>46</b>
346	Dealers in timber and bamboos	11,486	4,985	372
	<b>50. Cane work, Matting and Leaves, etc.</b>	<b>90,999</b>	<b>113,575</b>	<b>1,248</b>
347	Baskets, mats, fans, screens, brooms, etc., makers and sellers	84,866	103,009	1,221
349	Leaf-plate makers and sellers	2,472	8,900	3,606
349(a)	Pith and bark collectors, workers and sellers	3,661	625	312



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES BY ORDERS,  
SELECTED SUB-ORDERS AND GROUPS—*concluded*.

Group No.	ORDER OR SUB-ORDER.	NUMBER OF ACTUAL WORKERS.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	<b>IVL.—DRUGS, GUMS, DYES, etc.</b>	21,923	12,803	584
	51. Gums, Wax, Resins and similar forest produce	4,542	2,678	559
	52. Drugs, Dyes, Pigments, etc.	17,081	10,125	593
365	Saltpetre refiners	7,275	5,334	639
366	Saltpetre sellers	2,788	1,636	581
	<b>XVII.—LEATHER</b>	191,518	10,871	89
	<b>XVIII.—COMMERCE</b>	224,517	32,283	144
	54. Money and Securities	53,320	9,995	179
369	Bankers, money-lenders, etc.	39,744	8,760	246
	55. Dealing, unspecified	190,886	20,840	173
368	Shopkeepers, otherwise unspecified	87,977	16,071	277
	<b>IX.—TRANSPORT AND STORAGE</b>	422,291	8,857	21
	62. Storage and Weighing	38,619	5,818	151
441	Porters	34,504	5,455	222
	<b>IX.—LEARNED AND ARTISTIC PROFESSIONS</b>	446,855	93,329	209
	63. Religion	260,935	61,930	237
440	Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, convents, etc.	67,536	65,066	516
	67. Medicine	41,912	23,480	560
473	Midwives	144	21,006	146,083
473	Compounders, matrons, nurses and hospital, asylum and dispensary service	2,616	945	465
	70. Pictorial Art and Sculpture	1,824	1,338	1,008
466	Tattooers	362	1,074	4,624
	71. Music, acting, dancing, etc.	54,786	4,394	89
460	Actors, singers and dancers and their accompanists	13,899	3,627	254
	<b>XI.—SPORT</b>	6,787	1,162	183
	<b>XII.—EARTH WORK AND GENERAL LABOUR</b>	1,900,093	959,597	503
	74. Earthwork, etc.	105,754	54,355	325
501	Tank diggers and excavators	21,364	15,465	624
502	Road, canal and railway labourers	85,353	20,564	250
	75. General labour	1,800,361	925,242	514
504	General labour	1,800,361	925,242	514
	<b>XXIII.—INDEFINITE AND DISREPUTABLE OCCUPATIONS</b>	100,332	70,153	640
	76. Indefinite	108,331	18,246	168
505	Uncertain or not returned	8,661	2,621	378
506(a)	Service in unspecified factories	16,127	3,442	213
506(b)	Service, unspecified (chakari)	85,543	12,983	144
	77. Disreputable	1,201	51,967	43,226
	<b>XXIV.—INDEPENDENT</b>	194,569	146,530	753
	78. Property and Alms	169,001	145,129	856
510	House-rent shares, and other property not being land	2,406	3,887	1,641
511	Allowances from patrons or relatives	6,405	2,107	243
512	Educational or other endowments, scholarships, etc.	813	203	250
513	Mendicancy (not in connection with a religious order)	198,078	138,942	693
	79. At the State expense	24,945	1,701	68
518	Pension, military services	423	171	305



## SUBSIDIARY TABLE No. V.—OCCUPATIONS COMBINED WITH AGRICULTURE.

(a) Where agriculture is the principal occupation.

Subsidiary occupations of rent receivers.	Number per 10,000 rent receivers who follow it.	Subsidiary occupations of rent payers, farm servants, and field labourers and jhum cultivators.	NUMBER PER 10,000 WHO FOLLOW IT AMONGST		
			Rent payers.	Farm servants and field labourers.	Jhum cultivators.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Officers, Government ...	22	Police Constables, Messengers and Peons	7	4	...
Clerks, ditto ...	29	Village Chaukidars ...	18	18	...
Clerks, not Government ...	79	General Labourers ...	258	235	115
Estate Agents and Managers ...	40	Labourers in Mills ...	8	10	24
Flaxers and mukhtars ...	29	Rice-Pounders ...	11	26	...
Grain dealers ...	80	Fishermen and fish-sellers ...	31	54	3
Contractors ...	22	Boatmen ...	10	5	...
Merchants ...	28	Cattle-breeders and Cow-keepers ...	51	86	2
Schoolmasters ...	61	Barbers ...	24	13	...
Medical practitioners ...	50	Washermen ...	18	11	...
Priests ...	160	Shop-keepers ...	69	21	413
Money-lenders ...	217	Schoolmasters ...	5	1	...
General merchants ...	113	Oil-pressers ...	21	21	...
Houseowners ...	17	Weavers ...	35	24	105
Others ...	426	Tailors ...	4	4	...
		Carpenters ...	13	7	8
		Potters ...	15	13	...
		Blacksmiths ...	12	6	...
		Basket-Makers ...	6	9	23
		Leather-workers ...	5	17	...
		Scavengers ...	1	1	...
		Grain dealers ...	18	11	41
		Musicians ...	6	8	...
		Money-lenders ...	12	4	1
		Others ...	193	24	221

(b) Where agriculture is the subsidiary occupation.

CLASS AND ORDER.	Number per 1,000 who are partially agriculturists.	CLASS AND ORDER.	Number per 1,000 who are partially agriculturists.
1	2	1	2
<b>A.—GOVERNMENT</b> ...	153	<b>D.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES—consolid.</b>	
II.—Administration ...	100	XVI.—Drugs, Gums, Dyes, etc. ...	116
II.—Defence ...	15	XVII.—Leather, etc. ...	74
III.—Service of Native and Foreign States ...	103		
<b>B.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE</b> ...	2	<b>E.—COMMERCE, TRANSPORT AND STORAGE</b> ...	51
IV.—Provision and care of animals ...	22	XVIII.—Commerce ...	72
V.—Agriculture ...	1	XIX.—Transport and Storage... ..	26
<b>C.—PERSONAL SERVICES</b> ...	80	<b>F.—PROFESSIONS</b> ...	105
VI.—Personal, Household and Sanitary Services ...	80	XX.—Learned and Artistic Professions ...	106
		XXI.—Sport ...	34
<b>D.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES</b> ...	78	<b>G.—UNSKILLED LABOUR, NOT AGRICULTURAL</b> ...	26
VII.—Food, Drink and Stimulants ...	67	XXII.—Earthwork and General Labour ...	30
VIII.—Light, Firing and Forage ...	31	XXIII.—Indefinite and Disreputable Occupations ...	50
IX.—Buildings ...	28		
X.—Vehicles and Vessels ...	22	<b>H.—MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE, INDEPENDENT OF OCCUPATION</b> ...	19
XI.—Supplementary Requirements ...	68	XXIV.—Independent ...	19
XII.—Textile Fabrics and Dress ...	83		
XIII.—Metals and Precious Stones ...	153		
XIV.—Glass, Earthen and Stoneware ...	143		
XV.—Wood, Cane and Leaves, etc. ...	28		

NOTE.—The letters refer to the Class and the Roman numbers to the Orders. The entry against Order V—Agriculture, refers to persons who are neither rent receivers nor ordinary cultivators nor field labourers, i.e., to the growers of special products and estate agents, etc.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION FOR SUB-ORDERS AND SELECTED GROUPS.

SUB-ORDERS AND SELECTED GROUPS.	DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF 1,000 PERSONS FOLLOWING EACH OCCUPATION.					DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF 10,000 PERSONS OF EACH RELIGION.				
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Animistic.	Others.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Animistic.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>TOTAL POPULATION</b> ...	<b>633</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10,000</b>	<b>10,000</b>	<b>10,000</b>	<b>10,000</b>	<b>10,000</b>
I.—Civil Service of the State ...	704	505	20	3	3	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
2. Officers of Government and their families ...	682	182	145	4	8	30	21	319	3	64
3. Clerks, inspectors, &c., and their families ...	506	144	44	13	19	1	1	43	...	4
I(a).—Service of the Tributary States ...	768	172	3	25	6	15	5	146	...	20
II.—Service of local and municipal bodies ...	730	180	54	31	0	2	1	92	1	10
3. Inspecting and supervising officials ...	696	222	194	18	0	2	1	92	2	3
6. Clerical establishment ...	796	116	80	6	1	1	...	3	...	1
III.—Village service ...	796	218	1	13	2	48	27	13	15	1
IV.—Army ...	379	120	402	...	9	1	...	190	...	22
IV(a).—Army, Tributary States ...	842	86	0	...	3	...	...	2	...	4
V.—Navy and Marine ...	16	37	947	...	...	...	...	49	...	...
VI.—Civil Officers ...	728	223	23	...	18	...	...	1	...	1
VII.—Military ...	849	...	131	...	30	...	...	1	...	1
VIII.—Stock breeding and dealing ...	608	272	2	58	1	90	76	43	145	40
IX.—Training and care of animals ...	393	592	5	9	1	1	4	...	1	1
X.—Landholders and tenants ...	572	380	3	43	2	5,772	7,486	0,119	7,732	2,502
50. Rent receivers ...	710	982	1	2	2	217	170	43	14	103
XI.—Agricultural labourers ...	736	901	1	48	10	767	409	126	833	3,371
XII.—Growers of special products ...	851	55	8	30	28	38	7	104	37	738
XIII.—Agricultural training and supervision and forests ...	783	207	1	7	2	69	36	18	10	33
XIV.—Personal and domestic services ...	680	164	8	4	5	273	101	336	22	214
60. Barbers ...	973	28	...	...	...	91	5	1	...	...
XV.—Non-domestic establishment ...	412	533	45	...	7	1	1	12	...	2
XVI.—Sanitation ...	942	45	5	5	...	14	1	14	1	1
72. Sanitary officers of Government and establishments ...	360	...	160	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
XVII.—Provision of Animal food ...	915	76	1	3	5	315	51	56	20	314
74. Butchers and slaughterers ...	104	891	1	...	4	...	3	1	...	4
78. Cow and buffalo keepers, and milk and butter sellers ...	966	83	...	11	1	63	4	2	17	23
XVIII.—Provision of Vegetable food ...	737	259	...	3	1	286	196	25	22	164
XIX.—Provision of drink, condiments and stimulants ...	385	111	1	1	2	171	42	23	4	63
XX.—Lighting ...	847	131	15	7	...	2	...	6	...	28
XXI.—Fuel and for age ...	781	106	3	107	3	39	16	26	90	...
XXII.—Building materials ...	848	153	1	4	...	11	4	3	1	...
XXIII.—Artificers in building ...	402	543	2	1	2	18	48	16	1	16
XXIV.—Railway and Tramway plant ...	592	203	93	22	...	...	...	9	...	...
XXV.—Carts, carriages, &c. ...	597	287	10	4	2	1	2	4	...	1
XXVI.—Ships and boats ...	834	62	3	...	1	5	1	2	...	1
XXVII.—Paper ...	595	398	12	...	5	1	2	3	...	2
XXVIII.—Books and prints ...	458	507	42	...	3	3	7	54	...	4
XXIX.—Watches, clocks and scientific instruments ...	769	139	36	...	6	...	...	5	...	1
XXX.—Carving and engraving ...	774	216	7	3	...	2	1	3	...	...
XXXI.—Toys and curiosities ...	606	402	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1
XXXII.—Music and musical instruments ...	543	132	15	13	3	1	...	3	...	...
XXXIII.—Bangles, necklaces, beads, sacred threads, &c. ...	683	315	1	1	...	16	14	6	...	...
XXXIV.—Furniture ...	626	53	14	...	9	1	...	2	...	1
XXXV.—Harness ...	567	443	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
XXXVI.—Tools and machinery ...	791	137	20	51	1	3	2	37	10	3
XXXVII.—Arms and ammunition ...	498	483	34	...	...	1	1	7	...	...
XXXVIII.—Wool and fur ...	916	76	1	...	8	4	1	1	...	7
XXXIX.—Silk ...	375	633	1	1	...	11	34	3	1	1
XL.—Cotton ...	657	431	1	6	5	126	190	24	25	240
XLI.—Jute, hemp, flax, coir, &c. ...	654	338	4	...	1	38	28	33	4	5
XLII.—Dress ...	434	582	3	3	5	33	80	43	4	117
XLIII.—Gold, silver and precious stones ...	919	78	1	1	1	64	10	9	1	19
XLIV.—Brass, copper and bell-metal ...	900	47	1	1	1	21	2	...	...	3
XLV.—Tin, zinc, quicksilver and lead ...	730	340	3	...	1	2	1	2	...	...
XLVI.—Iron and steel ...	144	23	1	23	...	51	2	13	31	1
XLVII.—Glass and Chinaware ...	386	426	10	4	4	...	...	1	...	...
XLVIII.—Barthen and stoneware ...	973	36	1	...	...	33	5	1	1	7
XLIX.—Wood and bamboo ...	840	143	4	8	2	64	21	47	11	71
L.—Cane work, matting, and leaves, &c. ...	854	68	1	36	2	64	9	11	45	22
LI.—Gum, wax, resins and similar forest produce ...	800	96	7	28	...	3	1	4	6	...
LII.—Drugs, dyes, pigments, &c. ...	876	119	4	1	1	5	3	7	...	3
LIII.—Leather, horn and bones, &c. ...	901	94	1	2	2	57	11	13	3	24
LIV.—Money and securities ...	877	109	2	4	5	35	9	17	3	61
502. Bankers, money-lenders, &c. ...	877	110	2	5	...	37	7	9	5	38
LV.—General merchandise ...	810	116	63	...	16	12	3	135	...	44
LVI.—Dealing, unspecified ...	790	900	1	1	6	63	26	13	2	163
LVII.—Middlemen, brokers and agents ...	779	179	22	4	16	9	4	44	1	35
LVIII.—Railway ...	676	239	76	4	5	16	19	317	2	21
LIX.—Road ...	688	306	3	2	2	45	40	36	3	27
LX.—Water ...	509	479	10	...	2	39	61	117	...	23
LXI.—Messages ...	727	315	51	2	5	5	3	61	...	6
433. Post Office: officers and superior staff ...	841	123	35	...	1	1	...	6	...	...
LXII.—Storage and weighing ...	704	225	6	4	2	13	7	14	...	5
LXIII.—Religion ...	680	129	9	1	1	103	30	202	2	24
LXIV.—Education ...	743	210	39	1	...	18	10	172	1	34
LXV.—Literature ...	868	106	21	...	5	6	1	25	...	7
434. Authors, Editors and Journalists, &c. ...	732	75	136	...	90	...	...	4	...	4
436. Writers (unspecified) and private clerks ...	870	105	15	...	4	...	1	17	...	5
LXVI.—Law ...	831	140	7	...	2	14	4	19	...	8
LXVII.—Medicine ...	799	139	13	1	...	28	13	77	1	69
467. Practitioners with diploma, license or certificate ...	835	111	62	...	12	3	1	29	...	1
468. Practitioners without diploma ...	807	161	1	...	11	10	5	8	...	50
LXVIII.—Engineering and survey ...	844	179	171	3	4	2	1	29	...	3
LXIX.—Natural science ...	378	59	166	...	5	...	...	2	...	...
LXX.—Pictorial Art and Sculpture, &c. ...	608	408	22	...	5	1	1	2	...	1
LXXI.—Music, acting, dancing, &c. ...	734	253	3	7	1	27	14	18	...	4
LXXII.—Sport ...	414	359	17	0	1	1	1	4	...	...
LXXIII.—Games and Exhibitions ...	492	291	4	1	2	1	2	1	...	...
LXXIV.—Earthwork, &c. ...	844	92	1	55	4	38	8	4	47	38
LXXV.—General labour ...	963	394	2	39	2	705	651	342	730	423
LXXVI.—Indefinite ...	790	235	4	19	2	30	24	44	19	19
LXXVII.—Disreputable ...	691	306	1	...	2	8	4	4	...	2
LXXVIII.—Property and Aims ...	640	431	14	11	4	60	94	273	23	80
LXXIX.—At the State Expense ...	619	714	51	7	10	6	0	91	1	19

NOTE.—The Roman numbers refer to Sub-orders and the Arabic numbers to Groups.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—OCCUPATION BY SELECTED CASTES.

Caste, Order and Group.						Number per 100 workers engaged on each occupation.	Caste, Order and Group.						Number per 100 workers engaged on each occupation.
1						2	1						2
<b>AHIR AND GOALA</b>						100	<b>BHUMIJ</b>						100
<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>						100	<b>MANSHUR, ORISSA TRIBUTARY STATES, ETC.</b>						100
Order IV.—Provision and care of animals						5	Order IV.—Provision and care of animals						4
Group 25. Cattle breeders and dealers, etc.						0.3	" V.—Agriculture						68
" 27. Herdsmen						0.4	Group 37. Rent payers						18.9
Order V.—Agriculture						43	Groups 38, 39. Farm servants and field labourers						2.9
" VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						36	Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						22
Group 78. Cow keepers and milk sellers						30	Others						5
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						7							
Others						9							
<b>BIHAR</b>						100	<b>BRAHMAN</b>						100
Order IV.—Provision and care of animals						3	<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>						100
Group 25. Cattle breeders and dealers, etc.						0.003	Order V.—Agriculture						48
" 27. Herdsmen						0.3	" XX.—Learned and artistic professions						34
Order V.—Agriculture						83	Group 444. Priests, ministers, etc.						17.8
" VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						8	Groups 451, 452. Principals, professors and teachers in schools, etc.						2.4
Group 78. Cow keepers and milk sellers						8.3	Others						11
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						7							
Others						2	<b>BIHAR</b>						100
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR</b>						100	Order V.—Agriculture						32
Order IV.—Provision and care of animals						11	" XX.—Learned and artistic professions						11
" V.—Agriculture						79	Group 444. Priests, ministers, etc.						7.8
" VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						3	Groups 451, 452. Principals, professors and teachers in schools, etc.						0.3
Group 78. Cow keepers and milk sellers						2.8	Others						7
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						6							
Others						2	<b>ORISSA</b>						100
<b>BAHMAN</b>						100	Order V.—Agriculture						27
Order V.—Agriculture						96	" XX.—Learned and artistic professions						11
Groups 36, 37. Rent receivers and rent payers						76.08	Group 444. Priests, ministers, etc.						2.8
Others						4	Groups 451, 452. Principals, professors and teachers in schools, etc.						0.9
<b>BAGDI</b>						100	Order XXIV.—Independent						5
<b>WEST BENGAL</b>						100	Others						7
Order V.—Agriculture						56	<b>CHAMAR AND MUCHI</b>						100
Groups 38, 39. Farm servants and field labourers						19.7	<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>						100
Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						21	Order V.—Agriculture						33
Groups 79, 80. Fishermen, fish-curers and fish dealers						14.9	" XV.—Wood, cane and leaves, etc.						4
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						18	" XVII.—Leather, etc.						32
Others						19	Groups 357, 358. Shoe makers, tanners and curriers						2.1
<b>BAISHNAB</b>						100	Order XX.—Learned and artistic professions						2
<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>						100	" XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						28
Order V.—Agriculture						38	Others						15
" VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						3	<b>BIHAR</b>						100
" XX.—Learned and artistic professions						40	Order V.—Agriculture						68
Group 446. Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, convents, etc.						46.7	" XVII.—Leather, etc.						8
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						14	Groups 357, 358. Shoe makers, tanners and curriers						3.9
Others						14	Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						13
<b>BARUI</b>						100	Others						5
<b>BENGAL</b>						100	<b>CHANDAL (NAMASUDRA)</b>						100
Order V.—Agriculture						54	<b>EAST BENGAL</b>						100
Group 46. Betel, vine and areca-nut growers						31	Order V.—Agriculture						28
Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						41	Group 37. Rent payers						45.9
Group 123. Cardamom, betel-leaf and areca-nut sellers						11	Groups 38, 39. Farm servants and field labourers						21.9
Others						8	Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						5
<b>BIHAR</b>						100	" XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						4
Order V.—Agriculture						74	Others						9
Group 46. Betel, vine and areca-nut growers						9	Group 429 (Order XIX).—Boat and barge men						0.4
Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						17	<b>OTHER DISTRICTS IN BENGAL PROPER</b>						100
Group 123. Cardamom, betel-leaf and areca-nut sellers						3	Order V.—Agriculture						65
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						5	Group 37. Rent payers						4.2
Others						4	Groups 38, 39. Farm servants and field labourers						2.2
<b>BAURI</b>						100	Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						26
<b>WEST BENGAL</b>						100	" XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						6
Order IV.—Provision and care of animals						7	Others						8
" V.—Agriculture						36	Group 429 (Order XIX).—Boat and barge men						0.4
Groups 38, 39. Farm servants and field labourers						17.6	<b>CHASA</b>						100
Order VIII.—Light, firing and forage						6	Order V.—Agriculture						33
" XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						43	Group 37. Rent payers						70.5
Others						8	Groups 38, 39. Farm servants and field labourers						2.4
<b>BHUIYA</b>						100	Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						3
<b>BIHAR</b>						100	" XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						5
Order V.—Agriculture						63	Others						8
" XXII.—Earthwork and general labour						31	<b>DHANUK</b>						100
Others						6	<b>BIHAR</b>						100
							Order V.—Agriculture						44
							" VI.—Personal, household and sanitary services						15
							Groups 64 to 65. Indoor servants and miscellaneous and unspecified services						2.3
							Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants						3
							Others						19



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—OCCUPATION BY SELECTED CASTES—*continued.*

Caste, Order and Group.	Number per 100 workers engaged on each occupation.	Caste, Order and Group.	Number per 100 workers engaged on each occupation.
1	2	1	2
<b>DHOBA</b>		<b>GAURA</b>	
<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>ORISSA</b>	<b>100</b>
Order V.—Agriculture	31	Order IV.—Provision and care of animals	18
VI.—Personal, household and sanitary services	60	Groups 24, 25. Cattle breeders, dealers and herdsmen	17.3
Group 65. Washermen	55	Order V.—Agriculture	40
Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants	9	VII.—Food, drink and stimulants	20
Others	6	Group 75. Cow keepers and milk sellers	16.3
<b>BIHAR</b>	<b>100</b>	Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	7
Order V.—Agriculture	38	Others	6
VI.—Personal, household and sanitary services	55	<b>HAJJAM</b>	
Group 65. Washermen	64	<b>BIHAR</b>	<b>100</b>
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	5	Order V.—Agriculture	47
Others	4	VI.—Personal, household and sanitary services	41
<b>ORISSA</b>	<b>100</b>	Group 65. Barbers	38.2
Order V.—Agriculture	23	Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	6
VI.—Personal, household and sanitary services	73	Others	6
Group 65. Washermen	73	<b>HO (ANIMIST)</b>	
Others	4	<b>SINGBHEUM</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR</b>	<b>100</b>	Order V.—Agriculture	53
Order V.—Agriculture	53	XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	3
VI.—Personal, household and sanitary services	37	Others	4
Group 65. Washermen	30	<b>JOLAHA</b>	
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	4	<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>	<b>100</b>
Others	4	Order V.—Agriculture	39
<b>DHUNIA</b>	<b>100</b>	XII.—Textile fabrics and dress	57
Order IV.—Provision and care of animals	3	Group 72. Cotton weavers: hand industry	49.31
V.—Agriculture	60	Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	6
XII.—Textile fabrics and dress	12	Others	7
Group 71. Cotton cleaners, pressers and ginnerers	9.1	<b>BIHAR</b>	<b>100</b>
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	11	Order V.—Agriculture	50
Others	2	XII.—Textile fabrics and dress	29
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR</b>	<b>100</b>	Group 72. Cotton weavers: hand industry	34.9
Order IV.—Provision and care of animals	7	Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	12
V.—Agriculture	57	Others	9
XII.—Textile fabrics and dress	13	<b>KANAR</b>	
Group 71. Cotton cleaners, pressers and ginnerers	0.2	<b>BIHAR</b>	<b>100</b>
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	14	Order V.—Agriculture	46
Others	11	VI.—Personal, household and sanitary services	33
<b>DOSADH</b>	<b>100</b>	Groups 64 to 66. Indoor servants and water-carriers	18.7
Order V.—Agriculture	66	Order XIX.—Transport and storage	5
Groups 28, 29. Farm servants and field labourers	20.1	Group 480. Palki, etc., bearers and owners	4.01
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	23	Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	19
Group 54. General labour	31.1	Others	6
Others	10	<b>KAIRARTTA</b>	
<b>FAKIR</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>	<b>100</b>	Order V.—Agriculture	50
Order V.—Agriculture	30	Group 36. Rent receivers	6.1
XX.—Learned and artistic professions	46	37. Rent payers	6.2
Group 440. Religious mendicants	40	Groups 36, 39. Farm servants and field labourers	0.2
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	10	Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants	12
XXIII.—Indefinite and disreputable occupations	3	XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	4
XXIV.—Independent	6	Others	3
Others	5	<b>KAIRARTTA (CHASI)</b>	
<b>BIHAR</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>	<b>100</b>
Order V.—Agriculture	44	Order V.—Agriculture	46
XX.—Learned and artistic professions	16	Group 37. Rent payers	78.09
Group 440. Religious mendicants	6	Groups 38, 39. Farm servants and field labourers	6.04
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	5	Order VII.—Food, drink and stimulants	4
XXIV.—Independent	31	XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	4
Others	8	Others	7
<b>ORISSA</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>KANAR and LOHAR</b>	
Order V.—Agriculture	35	<b>BENGAL PROPER</b>	<b>100</b>
VII.—Food, drink and stimulants	4	Order V.—Agriculture	35
XI.—Supplementary requirements	8	VII.—Food, drink and stimulants	3
XX.—Learned and artistic professions	35	VIII.—Light, firing and forage	3
Group 440. Religious mendicants	26	XIII.—Metals and precious stones	47
Order XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	8	Group 384. Workers in iron and hardware	29
XXIV.—Independent	5	Order XX.—Learned and artistic professions	7
Others	5	Others	10
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>BIHAR</b>	<b>100</b>
Order V.—Agriculture	32	Order V.—Agriculture	63
XX.—Learned and artistic professions	54	XIII.—Metals and precious stones	13
Group 440. Religious mendicants	36	Group 384. Workers in iron and hardware	37
Order XXIV.—Independent	6	Order XV.—Wood, cane and leaves, etc.	7
Others	5	XXII.—Earthwork and general labour	7
		Others	6











**SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION BY CASTE OR RACE OF GOVERNMENT OFFICERS OF CERTAIN DEPARTMENTS.**

NAME OF CASTE.	Occupants and Statutory Civilian.	Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates.	Postal Department Officers.	High Court Judges.	Presidency Magistrate and Small Cause Court Judges.	Sub-Judges and Magistrate.	Registration Department Officers.	District and Assistant Superintendents of Police.	Police Inspectors 1st and 2nd grades.	Education Department Officers.	Medical Department including Civil Assistant Surgeons.	Public Works Department and District Engineers.	Others.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>499</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>387</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>2,185</b>
European	255	36	34	11	6	1	1	93	9	35	60	88	140	765
Eurasian	2	5	1							12	5			11
Native Christian														1
Assamese (Hindu)										1				
Baidya	7	70	2	1		49			5	13	24	8	4	172
Banik						1			3				1	5
Agarwal						1								1
Brahman	3	123	8	1	2	136	7	3	15	46	61	26	6	431
Brahmo		3				1	1			4				9
Chakma		1												1
Chasi Kaibartia		2				3				2	1			8
Goala										1				1
Gandhabanik						3					1	1		5
Kahar										1				1
Kamar											1			1
Karan		9					1							10
Kayasth	13	144	6	1		100	13	1	24	46	63	23	13	501
Khandait						1	1							2
Koch											1			1
Maya											2			2
Madras											1			1
Muhammadan	3	27	2	1	3	20	25	2	4	9			5	141
Newar									1					1
Paharia		1												1
Parai	2		1											3
Rajput and Khatri		5				3								5
Sanniar		1												1
Sedgop		2				5				1	6	1	1	16
Shaha									1					1
Subarnabanik		3				7	1			5	3	1		22
Sunri		1									1			2
Tanti		5				4				1	3	1		14
Teli		19				2			1	1	1	2		18
Ugra Kohatriya										1				1



## LIST OF APPENDICES.

---

	PAGE.
APPENDIX I—MIGRATION STATEMENTS     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	i
II—CAUSES OF CONVERSION TO MUHAMMADANISM     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	x
III—PROPORTION OF FEMALES OF CHILD-BEARING AGE IN TOWNS     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	xx
IV—PROPORTION OF SEXES AT BIRTH     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	xxii
V—POLYANDRY AMONGST THE BHOTIAS     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	xxvii
VI—ABSTRACT OF CASTE TABLE, WITH SHORT EXPLANATORY NOTES     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	xxxv
VII—ANALYSIS OF ORIGIN OF CERTAIN SUBCASTES     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	xlvi
VIII—CASTE PRECEDENCE IN CHOTA NAGPUR AND ORISSA     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	lviii







# APPENDIX I.—MIGRATION STATEMENTS.

## WEST BENGAL.

### BURDWAN.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total	Male.	Total	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>158,347</b>	<b>84,208</b>	<b>94,414</b>	<b>43,537</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>108,193</b>	<b>49,925</b>	<b>52,055</b>	<b>20,497</b>
Birbhum	11,224	4,407	15,183	4,113
Bankura	40,327	19,834	6,571	2,433
Hoochly	7,925	3,241	14,380	5,867
Nadia	7,059	3,093	6,053	2,435
Murshidabad	6,107	2,194	6,241	2,347
Manbhum	20,848	9,729	3,701	1,126
Southal Parganas	13,825	7,519	2,948	1,230
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>50,154</b>	<b>34,283</b>	<b>42,359</b>	<b>23,040</b>
Midnapore	3,602	1,060	570	370
Howrah	299	109	2,217	1,296
24-Parganas	1,215	921	3,875	2,133
Calcutta	1,060	587	18,044	10,680
Patna	2,968	2,007	258	164
Gaya	5,879	3,829	87	47
Shahabad	3,189	2,295	118	77
Monghyr	4,867	3,302	246	186
Hazariabagh	5,749	3,719	281	123
Assam	67	40	7,858	3,161
Central Provinces and States	1,578	1,192	138	90
United Provinces and States	11,432	8,188	404	182
Rajputana States	1,819	1,069		
Elsewhere	8,772	5,407	9,287	4,511

### BIRBHUM.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>60,606</b>	<b>27,194</b>	<b>47,361</b>	<b>20,876</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>51,438</b>	<b>21,240</b>	<b>33,382</b>	<b>18,453</b>
Burdwan	15,183	4,113	11,224	4,407
Murshidabad	12,223	4,378	11,390	3,932
Southal Parganas	26,052	12,340	10,708	4,114
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>9,168</b>	<b>5,954</b>	<b>13,979</b>	<b>8,423</b>
Calcutta	97	38	1,621	1,000
Shahabad	1,568	1,104	28	15
Central Provinces and States	19	10		
United Provinces and States	1,618	1,036	45	18
Assam	27	8	5,510	3,890
Elsewhere	5,930	3,792	6,875	3,494

### BANKURA.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>29,534</b>	<b>11,740</b>	<b>146,518</b>	<b>75,969</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>25,805</b>	<b>9,241</b>	<b>107,226</b>	<b>54,198</b>
Burdwan	6,571	2,433	40,327	19,834
Midnapore	8,112	2,746	6,741	3,979
Hoochly	2,677	856	44,289	24,138
Manbhum	8,445	3,206	12,889	6,327
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>3,729</b>	<b>2,499</b>	<b>39,292</b>	<b>21,071</b>
Howrah	27	8	1,533	1,101
24-Parganas	128	70	2,908	1,732
Calcutta	103	43	4,714	3,164
Singbhum	210	79	1,641	1,091
Central Provinces and States	180	100	8	5
United Provinces and States	503	318	115	53
Assam	18	15	21,089	10,322
Elsewhere	2,560	1,736	6,324	3,603

### MIDNAPORE.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total	Male.	Total	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>49,861</b>	<b>27,754</b>	<b>134,245</b>	<b>72,129</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>31,556</b>	<b>14,391</b>	<b>85,543</b>	<b>44,571</b>
Bankura	9,741	3,979	8,112	2,746
Howrah	1,782	1,211	12,208	7,444
Hoochly	8,103	3,772	16,116	7,300
24-Parganas	928	544	25,196	15,400
Balesore	5,747	2,588	6,353	2,130
Manbhum	770	388	786	440
Singbhum	3,619	1,358	7,457	3,314
Orissa Tributary States	868	531	9,122	4,680
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>18,305</b>	<b>13,363</b>	<b>48,897</b>	<b>27,558</b>
Burdwan	570	370	3,682	1,990
Calcutta	474	240	25,442	15,805
Shahabad	1,312	1,183	21	13
Cuttack	2,418	1,107	240	159
Central Provinces and States	3,819	2,022	62	37
United Provinces and States	4,234	2,304	9	3
Assam	38	30	17,423	8,403
Elsewhere	5,442	4,030	2,038	1,088

### HOOCHLY.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>139,714</b>	<b>81,823</b>	<b>122,841</b>	<b>70,290</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>21,981</b>	<b>44,779</b>	<b>111,713</b>	<b>64,027</b>
Burdwan	14,380	5,867	7,825	3,341
Bankura	44,289	24,138	2,677	800
Midnapore	16,116	7,300	8,103	3,772
Howrah	3,533	1,226	26,120	13,315
24-Parganas	5,700	2,646	17,363	9,405
Calcutta	2,015	945	47,209	22,322
Nadia	5,048	3,008	2,321	906
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>47,733</b>	<b>37,051</b>	<b>11,128</b>	<b>6,263</b>
Patna	3,313	2,410	233	150
Gaya	1,748	1,205	136	77
Shahabad	2,288	1,802	248	154
Saran	7,488	5,000	84	26
Muzaffarpur	2,161	1,810	133	78
Monghyr	1,307	910	296	202
Cuttack	2,744	2,060	207	165
Puri	14	13	1,673	808
Hazariabagh	1,335	1,054	108	54
Ranchi	3,437	3,130	106	100
Manbhum	1,109	658	632	374
Central Provinces and States	670	403	164	104
United Provinces and States	12,075	8,903	730	321
Assam	57	39	793	309
Elsewhere	8,109	5,950	5,680	3,702

### HOWRAH.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>144,620</b>	<b>98,641</b>	<b>23,396</b>	<b>14,884</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>49,481</b>	<b>25,719</b>	<b>21,117</b>	<b>13,887</b>
Midnapore	12,208	7,444	1,782	1,211
Hoochly	26,120	13,315	3,553	1,226
24-Parganas	7,023	3,502	3,263	2,074
Calcutta	3,212	1,805	12,539	6,170
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>95,139</b>	<b>72,922</b>	<b>2,279</b>	<b>1,197</b>
Burdwan	2,217	1,296	299	100
Bankura	1,533	1,101	27	8
Dacca	1,080	912	47	28
Patna	5,589	3,969	46	31
Gaya	3,512	2,704	5	3
Shahabad	7,550	5,353	20	16
Saran	8,581	7,064	20	12
Muzaffarpur	2,263	1,881	8	2
Monghyr	2,593	1,834	58	45
Cuttack	6,103	5,046	21	19
Balesore	1,570	1,539	34	20
Ranchi	3,022	2,454	1	1
Central Provinces and States	1,164	772	15	11
United Provinces and States	39,727	28,867	136	80
Assam	337	211	175	100
Elsewhere	8,538	6,434	1,259	609



## CENTRAL BENGAL.

## 24-PARGANAS.

District.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>225,567</b>	<b>154,953</b>	<b>118,960</b>	<b>63,017</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>66,290</b>	<b>40,154</b>	<b>26,617</b>	<b>11,571</b>
Midnapore	25,196	16,470	925	554
Hooghly	17,383	9,405	5,700	2,945
Howrah	5,263	2,674	7,923	3,502
Nadia	7,503	4,297	2,485	1,020
Jessore	5,404	3,613	2,724	1,319
Khulna	7,561	4,345	6,259	2,838
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>159,077</b>	<b>114,819</b>	<b>92,343</b>	<b>51,446</b>
Bardwan	3,875	2,151	1,215	691
Bankura	2,988	1,739	128	70
Calcutta	13,964	7,149	82,895	45,934
Dacca	1,461	1,171	124	79
Faridpur	1,316	1,000	385	228
Buckergunge	1,082	828	120	70
Patna	7,152	4,729	93	63
Gaya	5,037	4,146	105	50
Shahabad	11,040	7,539	119	76
Saran	15,048	11,729	82	42
Muzaffarpur	4,148	3,699	152	101
Monghyr	3,784	2,693	95	50
Cuttack	12,709	12,091	144	81
Balasore	6,702	6,240	135	75
Puri	81	88	1,037	231
Hazaribagh	3,468	3,359	83	35
Ranchi	5,052	3,949	94	53
Manbhum	1,584	1,049	168	99
Central Provinces and States	1,087	726	20	14
United Provinces and States	48,295	31,897	620	353
Assam	241	139	2,107	1,397
England and Wales	1,430	1,233		
Elsewhere	8,573	8,554	3,050	1,797

## CALCUTTA.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>537,159</b>	<b>401,602</b>	<b>36,520</b>	<b>17,922</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>95,434</b>	<b>55,110</b>	<b>17,176</b>	<b>8,517</b>
Howrah	12,539	9,176	3,212	1,308
24-Parganas	82,895	45,934	13,964	7,149
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>461,705</b>	<b>346,492</b>	<b>19,144</b>	<b>9,405</b>
Bardwan	18,044	10,080	1,080	587
Birbhum	1,521	1,000	97	55
Bankura	4,714	3,169	103	43
Hooghly	47,209	32,332	2,015	955
Midnapore	25,442	15,665	474	249
Nadia	13,405	8,403	416	176
Murshidabad	2,864	1,697	431	238
Jessore	7,422	4,140	249	110
Khulna	2,236	1,926	240	144
Pabna	2,069	1,737	163	91
Dacca	15,141	12,478	892	330
Myerensingh	3,422	3,206	212	109
Faridpur	6,474	5,334	359	145
Buckergunge	2,102	1,708	301	170
Tippura	1,034	689	154	69
Noakhali	2,909	2,692	100	40
Chittagong	4,219	3,509	179	94
Patna	30,546	20,390	678	395
Gaya	38,953	27,981	290	159
Shahabad	15,080	10,568	337	141
Saran	17,756	13,708	192	104
Muzaffarpur	12,651	11,282	345	234
Darbhanga	5,064	4,836	175	110
Monghyr	9,713	7,982	433	281
Bhawalpur	2,121	1,236	468	235
Sentinal Parganas	500	146	1,413	702
Cuttack	18,469	17,596	286	145
Balasore	7,182	6,430	178	97
Puri	831	702	1,508	276
Hazaribagh	5,417	4,571	103	54
Central Provinces and States	1,928	933	871	529
United Provinces and States	90,414	60,129	2,207	862
Assam	2,630	2,086		
Bombay	2,264	1,654		
Madras	1,822	1,340		
Punjab	6,568	5,791		
Rajputana States	14,701	10,039		
Central India	1,199	982		
China	1,709	1,509		
England and Wales	3,836	2,977		
Ireland	1,101	949		
Elsewhere	10,644	8,147	2,391	1,324

## NADIA.

District.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>59,010</b>	<b>30,296</b>	<b>123,737</b>	<b>71,160</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>44,933</b>	<b>19,555</b>	<b>86,177</b>	<b>45,617</b>
Bardwan	6,053	2,465	7,939	3,009
Hooghly	2,321	1,000	5,948	3,008
24-Parganas	2,485	1,020	7,503	4,297
Murshidabad	9,550	5,945	16,540	7,901
Jessore	13,480	8,836	17,551	9,166
Maynathi	3,264	1,846	11,559	6,942
Pabna	4,200	2,233	10,242	6,371
Faridpur	2,930	1,274	6,989	3,180
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>14,777</b>	<b>10,671</b>	<b>37,560</b>	<b>25,543</b>
Calcutta	416	178	13,405	8,805
Khulna	229	156	1,741	1,411
Dumajpur	63	33	5,828	2,944
Rangpur	119	55	2,262	1,265
Bogra	27	6	2,738	1,305
Dacca	605	312	1,977	1,319
Darbhanga	1,078	1,017	114	55
Central Provinces and States	47	37	11	7
United Provinces and States	3,838	3,300	363	142
Assam	199	80	2,208	1,446
Elsewhere	8,158	5,602	9,113	6,000

## MURSHIDABAD.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>71,096</b>	<b>35,848</b>	<b>75,696</b>	<b>38,469</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>50,881</b>	<b>21,349</b>	<b>64,680</b>	<b>30,183</b>
Bardwan	5,241	2,247	6,107	2,194
Birbhum	11,390	3,032	12,225	4,578
Nadia	16,548	7,001	8,590	3,945
Rajshahi	1,359	606	16,403	9,419
Maida	4,774	2,371	11,836	6,863
Sentinal Parganas	11,571	5,442	8,421	3,106
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>20,215</b>	<b>14,299</b>	<b>14,016</b>	<b>8,286</b>
Calcutta	431	238	2,864	1,697
Dumajpur	58	28	3,028	2,181
Rangpur	66	37	1,073	562
Bogra	40	24	1,126	576
Patna	1,152	755	72	38
Shahabad	1,203	861	28	19
Hazaribagh	1,109	841	11	16
Central Provinces and States	86	37	40	25
United Provinces and States	5,553	4,247	229	126
Assam	40	23	485	230
Elsewhere	10,485	7,118	5,052	2,579

## JESSORE.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>47,056</b>	<b>24,485</b>	<b>71,154</b>	<b>45,775</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>38,799</b>	<b>18,419</b>	<b>51,744</b>	<b>28,036</b>
24-Parganas	2,724	1,319	5,404	2,813
Nadia	17,651	9,166	15,400	5,336
Khulna	9,076	3,942	20,799	12,013
Faridpur	9,448	4,602	12,051	5,071
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>8,537</b>	<b>6,066</b>	<b>19,590</b>	<b>15,740</b>
Calcutta	249	119	7,422	4,140
Pabna	217	123	1,040	634
Buckergunge	623	435	2,554	1,315
Central Provinces and States	8	6	15	13
United Provinces and States	1,683	1,429	246	89
Assam	17	16	798	476
Elsewhere	5,440	3,900	7,305	6,099



## NORTH BENGAL.

## RAJSHAHI.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>79,179</b>	<b>46,815</b>	<b>23,612</b>	<b>11,941</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>46,649</b>	<b>25,460</b>	<b>19,610</b>	<b>9,694</b>
Dinajpur	1,607	797	3,107	1,710
Bogra	5,486	2,511	4,037	1,780
Pabna	7,493	4,297	5,183	2,528
Nadia	11,359	6,542	3,264	1,554
Murshidabad	18,403	9,410	1,359	590
Maldah	4,301	2,003	2,680	1,226
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>32,530</b>	<b>21,355</b>	<b>4,002</b>	<b>2,247</b>
Rangpur	300	194	1,113	575
Dacca	1,395	1,107	231	197
Mymensingh	1,283	1,176	289	180
Faridpur	1,123	807	189	80
Saran	1,030	934	3	3
Southal Parganas	6,481	3,292	134	56
Ranchi	4,781	2,228	2	1
Masbhum	1,834	873	7	8
Central Provinces and States	84	40		
United Provinces and States	5,310	4,191	261	86
Assam	79	63	248	140
Elsewhere	8,821	8,358	1,545	927

## DARJEELING.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>194,391</b>	<b>71,269</b>	<b>5,494</b>	<b>3,128</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>15,212</b>	<b>8,455</b>	<b>4,142</b>	<b>2,147</b>
Jalpaiguri	4,141	2,248	2,012	900
Purnea	8,965	5,293	221	170
Sikkim	2,106	1,004	1,909	1,017
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>109,179</b>	<b>62,814</b>	<b>1,552</b>	<b>981</b>
Saran	2,851	2,438	4	3
Muzaffarpur	1,785	1,385	15	7
Southal Parganas	2,661	1,602	41	15
Ranchi	7,931	4,444	3	3
Central Provinces and States	267	106	17	13
United Provinces and States	2,285	1,372	44	30
Assam	113	53	741	422
Nepal	76,301	42,486		
Tibet	1,038	620		
Elsewhere	13,667	8,328	607	428

## DINAJPUR.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>132,003</b>	<b>80,789</b>	<b>17,103</b>	<b>8,420</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>27,220</b>	<b>15,201</b>	<b>14,553</b>	<b>6,784</b>
Maldah	6,485	3,743	4,011	1,700
Pabna	7,494	3,790	2,168	1,003
Jalpaiguri	3,090	1,180	2,979	1,473
Rangpur	4,959	2,344	2,968	1,428
Bogra	2,105	1,228	842	351
Rajshahi	5,107	1,710	1,607	707
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>104,783</b>	<b>66,888</b>	<b>2,610</b>	<b>1,636</b>
Nadia	3,628	2,344	63	33
Murshidabad	3,028	1,191	56	28
Pabna	1,623	1,201	43	23
Saran	5,455	5,161		
Muzaffarpur	2,959	2,703	8	5
Darbhanga	1,826	1,073	10	
Monghyr	3,430	2,063	7	7
Bhagalpur	8,527	5,032	24	22
Southal Parganas	48,591	29,757	67	34
Hazaribagh	1,111	650	2	2
Ranchi	6,699	3,247	6	
Central Provinces and States	1,230	619	25	13
United Provinces and States	7,249	5,158	64	37
Assam	110	62	303	170
Elsewhere	9,419	7,094	1,932	1,392

## RANGPUR.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>109,416</b>	<b>80,420</b>	<b>54,162</b>	<b>26,692</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>23,834</b>	<b>12,665</b>	<b>34,364</b>	<b>18,882</b>
Kuch Bihar	4,494	2,000	14,011	8,428
Jalpaiguri	1,275	537	13,316	8,128
Dinajpur	2,988	1,428	4,959	2,344
Bogra	4,810	2,605	1,309	500
Mymensingh	10,266	6,090	969	384
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>85,582</b>	<b>67,755</b>	<b>19,598</b>	<b>10,810</b>
Nadia	2,262	1,055	119	52
Murshidabad	1,073	543	66	37
Rajshahi	1,113	475	300	194
Pabna	11,711	7,237	251	144
Dacca	2,793	2,320	139	100
Faridpur	1,403	1,151	39	11
Shahabad	1,294	919	5	
Saran	22,161	21,087	7	6
Champanan	8,973	5,742	2	2
Muzaffarpur	6,900	4,409	0	3
Darbhanga	1,641	1,492	5	3
Monghyr	3,030	1,700	6	4
Southal Parganas	3,843	2,034	83	24
Central Provinces and States	559	282	27	16
United Provinces and States	10,358	7,929	105	23
Assam	1,817	1,191	17,321	9,525
Rajputana States	1,814	1,595		
Elsewhere	7,839	5,939	1,111	644

## JALPAIGURI.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>188,223</b>	<b>104,214</b>	<b>17,426</b>	<b>7,555</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>48,210</b>	<b>24,354</b>	<b>16,741</b>	<b>7,114</b>
Darjeeling	2,012	900	4,141	2,248
Dinajpur	2,979	1,473	3,090	1,180
Rangpur	13,316	8,128	1,275	537
Kuch Bihar	26,227	13,755	7,885	3,737
Purnea	3,616	2,009	642	412
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>140,013</b>	<b>80,560</b>	<b>655</b>	<b>441</b>
Dacca	1,091	887	38	28
Saran	4,481	4,155		
Muzaffarpur	2,548	2,013	4	1
Darbhanga	1,199	1,000	6	2
Monghyr	1,471	829	2	2
Southal Parganas	10,502	8,219	7	5
Cuttack	1,935	1,255	2	1
Hazaribagh	1,563	893	2	1
Ranchi	80,436	42,603	23	12
Singbhum	1,338	646	2	1
Central Provinces and States	609	350		
United Provinces and States	3,869	2,485	5	1
Assam	424	240	335	193
Nepal	16,649	10,684		
Elsewhere	10,519	7,270	259	197

## BOGRA.

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37,897</b>	<b>22,358</b>	<b>15,756</b>	<b>8,137</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>17,222</b>	<b>8,424</b>	<b>14,783</b>	<b>7,575</b>
Rangpur	1,309	580	4,810	2,605
Mymensingh	1,726	643	1,171	633
Pabna	9,368	5,144	1,211	599
Rajshahi	4,037	1,739	5,486	2,511
Dinajpur	642	351	2,105	1,228
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>20,675</b>	<b>13,934</b>	<b>973</b>	<b>562</b>
Nadia	2,738	1,066	27	6
Murshidabad	1,120	870	40	24
Saran	1,730	1,559	1	1
Southal Parganas	1,900	990	6	3
Hazaribagh	1,269	779	3	2
Ranchi	1,661	940		
Central Provinces and States	297	179		
United Provinces and States	4,661	3,039		
Assam	156	106	316	185
Elsewhere	4,991	3,613	578	341



## NORTH BENGAL—concluded.

PABNA.					KUCH BIHAR.				
DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.		DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.		Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>49,040</b>	<b>34,153</b>	<b>64,305</b>	<b>39,917</b>	<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>44,343</b>	<b>27,884</b>	<b>39,543</b>	<b>16,761</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>28,498</b>	<b>17,443</b>	<b>42,034</b>	<b>24,529</b>	<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>21,696</b>	<b>9,163</b>	<b>30,781</b>	<b>13,764</b>
Mymensingh ...	6,133	3,823	6,679	4,471	Jalpaiguri ...	7,885	2,737	26,287	12,755
Dacca ...	3,023	1,907	5,235	3,182	Bangpur ...	14,011	6,426	4,494	2,009
Paridpur ...	2,723	1,597	9,059	5,296	<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>23,147</b>	<b>13,719</b>	<b>1,769</b>	<b>997</b>
Nadia ...	10,242	6,271	4,200	2,333	Dacca ...	1,150	908	40	24
Rajshahi ...	5,163	2,526	7,493	4,287	Saran ...	8,332	5,873	5	3
Bogra ...	1,211	599	9,388	5,145	Muzaffarpur ...	1,427	1,259	...	...
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>20,542</b>	<b>16,710</b>	<b>22,271</b>	<b>15,388</b>	Darbhanga ...	1,184	1,106	...	...
Calcutta ...	163	91	2,069	1,737	Central Provinces and States	10	7	...	...
Jessore ...	1,040	834	217	123	United Provinces and States	3,743	3,715	26	23
Dinajpur ...	43	33	1,523	1,201	Assam ...	3,171	3,135	1,247	701
Bangpur ...	251	144	11,711	7,337	Elsewhere ...	2,130	4,713	430	247
Saran ...	2,125	2,007	...	...					
Muzaffarpur ...	1,377	1,190	...	...					
Hazariabagh ...	2,050	1,519	3	1					
Central Provinces and States	138	102	...	...					
United Provinces and States	7,077	5,782	56	48					
Assam ...	133	100	2,320	1,943					
Elsewhere ...	6,148	4,914	4,372	3,009					
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>97,887</b>	<b>55,070</b>	<b>96,764</b>	<b>13,220</b>					
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>67,088</b>	<b>33,993</b>	<b>94,666</b>	<b>11,887</b>					
Sonthal Parganas ...	42,575	21,305	5,255	2,340					
Murshidabad ...	11,036	6,563	4,774	2,271					
Rajshahi ...	2,680	1,230	4,301	2,005					
Patna ...	5,888	3,851	3,871	1,521					
Dinajpur ...	4,011	1,760	6,485	3,743					
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>30,799</b>	<b>21,075</b>	<b>2,098</b>	<b>1,333</b>					
Shahabad ...	1,987	1,328	...	...					
Saran ...	1,054	876	7	1					
Muzaffarpur ...	1,813	1,465	24	23					
Monghyr ...	3,067	1,946	21	14					
Bhagalpur ...	7,015	4,233	74	34					
Manbhum ...	1,230	614	21	9					
Central Provinces and States	20	13	...	...					
United Provinces and States	8,159	5,913	26	14					
Assam ...	16	14	140	75					
Elsewhere ...	8,438	4,658	1,785	1,163					
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>66,717</b>	<b>45,697</b>	<b>25,883</b>	<b>14,063</b>					
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>47,717</b>	<b>29,655</b>	<b>19,683</b>	<b>9,637</b>					
24-Parganas ...	8,259	3,834	7,561	4,345					
Jessore ...	20,799	13,915	9,078	3,843					
Backergunge ...	20,659	12,902	2,146	1,450					
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>18,000</b>	<b>15,042</b>	<b>6,200</b>	<b>4,426</b>					
Calcutta ...	240	144	2,236	1,286					
Nadia ...	1,741	1,411	229	156					
Dacca ...	1,745	1,651	81	47					
Paridpur ...	7,024	5,319	1,941	1,214					
Saran ...	1,272	1,231	6	4					
Central Provinces and States	19	12	...	...					
United Provinces and States	1,134	1,080	7	5					
Assam ...	281	227	198	130					
Elsewhere ...	4,564	3,917	1,502	1,002					
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>85,299</b>	<b>56,767</b>	<b>128,487</b>	<b>94,343</b>					
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>48,786</b>	<b>26,456</b>	<b>61,212</b>	<b>40,839</b>					
Pabna ...	5,235	3,183	3,023	1,907					
Mymensingh ...	27,277	13,145	22,434	15,135					
Paridpur ...	6,177	4,135	19,194	12,735					
Tippera ...	10,067	6,094	18,661	10,632					
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>36,513</b>	<b>30,311</b>	<b>67,275</b>	<b>53,504</b>					
Howrah ...	47	25	1,050	912					
24-Parganas ...	124	72	1,481	1,171					
Calcutta ...	582	330	15,141	12,478					
Nadia ...	1,977	1,515	805	312					
Khulna ...	81	47	1,745	1,051					
Rajshahi ...	231	197	1,395	1,107					
Jalpaiguri ...	38	24	1,091	687					
Bangpur ...	139	109	2,793	2,335					
Backergunge ...	1,168	837	14,607	10,180					
Noakhali ...	792	730	6,307	3,118					
Patna ...	1,064	770	91	60					
Shahabad ...	1,278	900	66	46					
Saran ...	2,937	3,023	49	34					
Muzaffarpur ...	1,336	1,341	41	27					
Darbhanga ...	1,033	1,003	88	60					
Monghyr ...	6,369	6,968	150	131					
Kuch Bihar ...	49	24	1,150	908					
Central Provinces and States	43	22	106	60					
United Provinces and States	10,467	8,264	540	231					
Assam ...	2,340	1,968	12,765	10,239					
Elsewhere ...	4,170	3,145	7,134	5,071					



## EAST BENGAL—continued.

## MYMENSINGH.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>115,010</b>	<b>82,760</b>	<b>80,565</b>	<b>45,071</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>41,371</b>	<b>26,542</b>	<b>48,054</b>	<b>24,809</b>
Bangpur ...	909	554	10,268	6,086
Bogra ...	1,171	632	1,720	646
Patna ...	6,679	4,471	6,133	3,898
Dacca ...	22,434	15,133	27,277	13,145
Tippura ...	10,118	5,790	2,652	1,110
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>73,639</b>	<b>56,178</b>	<b>32,511</b>	<b>21,162</b>
Calcutta ...	212	109	3,422	3,303
Rajshahi ...	289	160	1,283	1,172
Faridpur ...	1,853	1,074	880	665
Shahabad ...	1,051	501	18	11
Saran ...	13,740	12,097	9	4
Muzaffarpur ...	1,095	1,335	1	1
Central Provinces and States ...	28	18	—	—
United Provinces and States ...	38,895	27,117	244	78
Assam ...	8,890	5,530	22,055	12,609
Elsewhere ...	7,680	6,401	4,512	3,372

## FARIDPUR.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>73,483</b>	<b>46,573</b>	<b>73,310</b>	<b>54,190</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>56,418</b>	<b>33,377</b>	<b>48,843</b>	<b>33,088</b>
Nadia ...	8,989	5,190	2,630	1,274
Jessore ...	12,051	5,871	8,448	4,092
Patna ...	9,059	5,916	2,723	1,357
Dacca ...	19,194	12,735	6,177	4,135
Backergunge ...	6,484	3,251	23,094	13,507
Tippura ...	638	342	5,571	3,223
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>17,065</b>	<b>13,296</b>	<b>26,967</b>	<b>21,102</b>
24-Pargannas ...	385	329	1,316	1,000
Calcutta ...	359	145	6,474	2,384
Khulna ...	1,841	1,314	7,024	5,319
Rajshahi ...	169	80	1,123	807
Bangpur ...	39	11	1,403	1,161
Mymensingh ...	888	665	1,853	1,574
Noakhali ...	453	482	1,502	1,219
Saran ...	2,180	2,044	7	5
Monghyr ...	1,551	1,284	22	21
Central Provinces and States ...	114	88	29	9
United Provinces and States ...	4,061	3,133	384	140
Assam ...	328	354	1,699	1,372
Elsewhere ...	4,842	3,765	4,131	3,031

## BACKERGUNGE.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>59,945</b>	<b>51,085</b>	<b>30,012</b>	<b>24,555</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>56,321</b>	<b>29,592</b>	<b>30,375</b>	<b>18,231</b>
Khulna ...	2,140	1,435	20,659	12,903
Faridpur ...	23,094	18,507	8,484	3,351
Noakhali ...	8,892	8,463	2,341	1,568
Tippura ...	1,089	1,013	891	530
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>24,624</b>	<b>21,693</b>	<b>8,637</b>	<b>6,324</b>
24-Pargannas ...	120	70	1,092	835
Calcutta ...	391	179	2,102	1,709
Jessore ...	2,664	2,315	825	435
Dacca ...	14,507	13,180	1,158	537
Central Provinces and States ...	7	5	—	—
United Provinces and States ...	1,034	878	20	1
Assam ...	601	528	414	371
Elsewhere ...	5,470	4,519	3,228	2,194

## TIPPERA.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>56,752</b>	<b>37,095</b>	<b>55,529</b>	<b>30,367</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>38,115</b>	<b>23,974</b>	<b>40,127</b>	<b>22,490</b>
Dacca ...	16,561	10,431	10,067	5,034
Mymensingh ...	2,552	1,110	10,118	5,760
Faridpur ...	5,571	3,223	538	342
Backergunge ...	891	599	1,089	1,013
Noakhali ...	12,366	8,467	5,160	2,551
Hill Tippera ...	74	32	12,055	6,991
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>18,637</b>	<b>13,121</b>	<b>15,402</b>	<b>7,877</b>
Calcutta ...	154	89	1,034	880
Chittagong ...	1,617	1,516	913	631
Saran ...	1,961	1,924	—	—
Central Provinces and States ...	138	95	2	1
United Provinces and States ...	2,418	1,811	—	—
Assam ...	8,057	4,222	12,555	5,735
Elsewhere ...	4,292	3,574	898	630

## NOAKHALL.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>19,343</b>	<b>10,775</b>	<b>33,583</b>	<b>26,139</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>11,479</b>	<b>5,691</b>	<b>27,816</b>	<b>20,862</b>
Backergunge ...	2,341	1,558	8,002	5,423
Tippura ...	8,160	2,351	12,300	8,457
Chittagong ...	2,975	1,780	2,312	1,430
Hill Tippera ...	3	—	4,140	2,652
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>7,864</b>	<b>5,084</b>	<b>5,767</b>	<b>5,277</b>
Calcutta ...	100	40	2,909	2,802
Dacca ...	5,307	3,112	792	730
Faridpur ...	1,502	1,219	453	422
Central Provinces and States ...	5	3	14	12
United Provinces and States ...	162	130	3	3
Assam ...	181	143	518	514
Elsewhere ...	617	438	1,078	904

## CHITTAGONG.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>11,339</b>	<b>7,029</b>	<b>106,037</b>	<b>85,804</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>9,638</b>	<b>1,615</b>	<b>15,414</b>	<b>10,953</b>
Noakhali ...	2,312	1,430	2,975	1,782
Chittagong Hill Tracts ...	320	153	6,167	3,608
Hill Tippera ...	—	—	6,272	3,569
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>8,701</b>	<b>5,414</b>	<b>90,623</b>	<b>74,851</b>
Calcutta ...	179	84	4,218	3,560
Tippura ...	913	831	1,617	1,516
Central Provinces and States ...	83	43	5	5
United Provinces and States ...	295	545	169	80
Burma ...	125	98	2,016	1,492
Assam ...	331	201	79,267	64,915
Elsewhere ...	6,207	3,805	3,548	2,952



## EAST BENGAL—concluded.

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.					HILL TIPPERA.				
DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.		DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.		Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6,864</b>	<b>6,337</b>	<b>1,871</b>	<b>1,109</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>43,894</b>	<b>34,828</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>88</b>
CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS	6,264	5,824	1,554	808	CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS	23,701	13,533	114	54
Chittagong	6,187	5,803	326	185	Tippera	12,065	8,091	74	32
Hill Tippera	37	23	1,228	623	Noakhali	4,140	2,032	3	...
OTHER PLACES	660	513	317	301	Chittagong	8,272	3,300	...	...
Central Provinces and States	20	15	...	...	Chittagong Hill Tracts	1,228	623	37	22
United Provinces and States	77	65	316	301	OTHER PLACES	20,193	11,293	38	34
Assam	77	65	...	...	Central Provinces and States	160	85	...	...
Elsewhere	563	433	2	...	United Provinces and States	903	603	...	...
					Assam	10,108	8,501	1	1
					Elsewhere	2,029	1,894	37	33
NORTH BIHAR.									
SARAN.					MUZAFFARPUR.				
TOTAL	56,424	18,452	242,420	174,170	TOTAL	87,702	32,200	153,437	86,507
CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS	21,742	5,874	54,151	39,629	CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS	71,208	24,696	80,758	26,114
Patna	5,165	2,078	8,872	4,131	Patna	6,428	2,803	6,839	2,807
Shahabad	3,067	1,311	7,190	2,043	Saran	12,637	7,901	9,820	1,419
Champaran	3,690	1,073	25,452	15,464	Champarna	10,432	4,423	26,968	16,901
Munsharpar	9,620	1,415	12,637	7,091	Darbhanga	32,711	8,479	37,151	11,534
OTHER PLACES	34,682	12,578	188,269	134,541	OTHER PLACES	16,494	7,504	72,779	60,393
Hooghly	84	36	7,468	3,900	Hooghly	133	73	2,161	1,510
Howrah	20	13	8,501	7,064	Howrah	8	5	2,283	1,961
24-Parganas	62	42	15,048	11,729	24-Parganas	162	101	4,148	3,689
Calcutta	192	104	17,766	13,768	Calcutta	343	224	12,831	11,288
Khulna	6	4	1,272	1,351	Dinajpur	8	3	2,050	2,763
Bahadur	3	3	1,050	994	Jalpaiguri	4	1	2,348	2,016
Dinajpur	...	...	5,455	5,161	Darjeeling	16	7	1,765	1,385
Jalpaiguri	...	...	4,481	4,186	Rangpur	9	4	6,900	6,409
Darjeeling	4	2	2,851	2,438	Pabna	...	...	1,377	1,190
Rangpur	7	5	22,161	21,087	Dacca	41	27	1,338	1,241
Bogra	1	1	1,739	1,568	Mymensingh	1	1	1,895	1,636
Pabna	...	...	2,125	2,007	Monghyr	1,122	407	3,206	1,771
Dacca	49	30	2,937	2,633	Bhagalpur	225	179	5,861	4,506
Mymensingh	9	4	13,746	12,007	Purnea	109	58	7,234	5,911
Faridpur	7	5	2,160	2,044	Maldia	24	23	1,613	1,408
Tippera	...	...	1,901	1,824	Kuch Bihar	...	...	1,427	1,388
Gaya	469	270	1,103	924	Central Provinces and States	15	7	17	13
Darbhanga	360	123	4,054	3,036	United Provinces and States	2,069	1,577	751	594
Monghyr	173	77	1,508	1,243	Assam	8	5	4,686	4,019
Bhagalpur	72	42	2,948	2,389	Nepal	9,153	2,499	...	...
Purnea	5	2	4,595	3,890	Elsewhere	3,078	2,299	7,678	5,609
Maldia	7	1	1,054	878					
Sonbhal Parganas	4	3	1,570	900					
Kuch Bihar	6	3	6,332	5,875					
Central Provinces and States	20	11	84	40					
United Provinces and States	32,067	11,067	37,027	14,011					
Assam	9	7	12,328	10,883					
Elsewhere	1,028	604	5,129	4,185					
CHAMPARAN.									
TOTAL	106,781	55,647	36,077	16,443	TOTAL	90,580	35,473	111,512	68,443
CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS	52,420	23,763	23,129	6,456	CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS	71,253	25,288	74,488	27,003
Saran	25,452	15,404	5,690	1,078	Patna	5,306	2,302	2,838	1,333
Munsharpar	26,968	10,901	10,432	5,423	Munsharpar	37,181	11,534	32,711	8,479
OTHER PLACES	54,361	29,282	12,948	9,986	Monghyr	19,843	4,914	17,831	7,138
Rangpur	2	2	5,973	3,743	Bhagalpur	8,274	4,638	21,110	10,033
Central Provinces and States	2,877	1,648	...	...	OTHER PLACES	19,327	10,185	57,024	36,440
United Provinces and States	27,242	15,002	1,614	873	Calcutta	175	110	5,064	4,302
Assam	8	6	894	755	Nadia	114	85	1,076	1,017
Nepal	13,540	9,365	...	...	Dinajpur	10	...	1,828	1,473
Elsewhere	4,892	3,274	6,474	4,776	Rangpur	6	...	1,109	1,000
					Jalpaiguri	6	3	1,641	1,400
					Dacca	88	73	1,053	1,003
					Saran	4,064	3,000	309	188
					Purnea	168	104	8,473	7,197
					Kuch Bihar	...	...	1,184	1,180
					Central Provinces and States	27	19	27	29
					United Provinces and States	3,090	2,146	(a) 1,974	325
					Assam	8	5	1,825	1,477
					Nepal	7,502	1,934	...	...
					Elsewhere	3,990	2,699	11,333	9,000

(a) Includes 1,574 persons (16 male and 1,558 female) to Ballia.



## NORTH BIHAR—concluded.

BHAGALPUR.					PURNEA.				
DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.		DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.		Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>107,538</b>	<b>58,006</b>	<b>124,505</b>	<b>66,491</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>108,005</b>	<b>69,072</b>	<b>37,418</b>	<b>20,618</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>75,195</b>	<b>35,159</b>	<b>93,321</b>	<b>46,746</b>	<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>51,109</b>	<b>29,033</b>	<b>32,078</b>	<b>17,114</b>
Darbhanga	21,110	10,071	9,274	4,838	Dinajpur	2,150	1,003	7,494	3,798
Monghyr	37,863	18,075	22,613	9,814	Jalpaiguri	549	412	3,810	2,023
Purnea	4,783	2,643	38,679	22,773	Darjeeling	221	170	8,965	5,303
Sonthal Parganas	9,739	3,838	22,765	19,601	Bhagalpur	38,679	22,773	4,783	2,643
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>32,343</b>	<b>22,847</b>	<b>30,984</b>	<b>19,745</b>	Malda	3,871	1,821	5,886	3,351
Calcutta	486	323	2,121	1,050	Sonthal Parganas	5,833	3,084	1,334	581
Dinajpur	24	22	5,327	5,325	<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>56,896</b>	<b>40,009</b>	<b>5,340</b>	<b>3,501</b>
Patna	3,093	2,007	357	164	Patna	1,895	1,105	65	34
Gaya	1,492	1,085	76	30	Gaya	2,417	1,357	21	14
Shahabad	3,863	2,384	150	73	Shahabad	2,468	1,751	22	9
Saran	2,046	2,389	72	47	Saran	4,695	3,690	5	2
Muzaffarpur	5,681	4,368	225	170	Muzaffarpur	7,254	5,911	109	86
Malda	74	54	7,015	4,235	Darbhanga	8,473	7,147	168	104
Central Provinces and States	21	20	22	17	Monghyr	13,885	8,029	314	135
United Provinces and States	* 6,224	4,490	164	68	Central Provinces and States	174	128	—	—
Assam	33	28	3,687	2,318	United Provinces and States	† 8,073	3,851	44	12
Rajputana States	2,803	1,586	—	—	Assam	33	28	1,072	759
Nepal	3,968	1,518	—	—	Nepal	1,816	1,007	—	—
Elsewhere	3,475	2,562	8,569	5,743	Elsewhere	5,852	3,677	3,520	2,344

\* Includes 1,781 persons (1,404 males and 377 females) from Ballia.  
 „ 1,452 „ (941 „ „ 511 „ „ ) „ Ghazipur.

† Includes 1,044 persons (813 males and 231 females) from Azamgarh.  
 „ 1,397 „ (1,044 „ „ 353 „ „ ) „ Ballia.  
 „ 1,176 „ (853 „ „ 323 „ „ ) „ Ghazipur.

## SOUTH BIHAR.

PATNA.					SHAHABAD.				
<b>TOTAL</b>					<b>TOTAL</b>				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>82,440</b>	<b>52,269</b>	<b>142,316</b>	<b>75,982</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>85,913</b>	<b>26,877</b>	<b>159,715</b>	<b>89,379</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>71,969</b>	<b>24,981</b>	<b>64,485</b>	<b>22,767</b>	<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>36,815</b>	<b>9,950</b>	<b>23,206</b>	<b>9,152</b>
Gaya	24,326	7,758	18,001	7,100	Patna	12,007	2,797	9,784	5,476
Shahabad	9,784	3,476	12,007	5,737	Gaya	14,204	4,115	6,120	2,930
Saran	8,872	4,131	5,165	2,078	Saran	7,190	2,043	3,007	1,311
Muzaffarpur	6,859	2,867	6,428	2,803	Palamau	3,414	1,035	4,255	2,145
Darbhanga	2,850	1,333	5,305	2,308	<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>47,098</b>	<b>16,947</b>	<b>156,507</b>	<b>75,427</b>
Monghyr	18,805	6,216	18,579	5,747	Burdwan	118	77	3,180	2,203
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>11,178</b>	<b>7,281</b>	<b>77,831</b>	<b>51,215</b>	Birbhum	28	15	1,560	1,104
Burdwan	250	154	2,060	2,007	Midnapore	21	13	1,312	1,182
Hooghly	253	159	3,313	2,410	Hooghly	248	134	2,286	1,922
Howrah	46	31	6,589	3,963	Howrah	23	16	7,350	5,353
24 Parganas	95	62	7,152	4,789	24 Parganas	119	76	11,040	7,839
Calcutta	678	390	30,546	20,390	Calcutta	337	141	15,090	10,700
Morshidabad	72	38	1,150	735	Morshidabad	25	19	1,205	961
Dacca	81	60	1,084	779	Rangpur	5	3	1,204	910
Bhagalpur	367	164	3,093	2,007	Dacca	66	46	1,278	900
Purnea	65	34	1,896	1,105	Mymensingh	10	11	1,051	801
Sonthal Parganas	34	23	2,639	1,450	Monghyr	338	210	1,740	1,081
Central Provinces and States	80	60	1,302	698	Bhagalpur	159	70	3,893	2,384
United Provinces and States	5,468	3,681	2,136	1,044	Purnea	22	9	2,468	1,781
Assam	50	39	4,029	2,308	Malda	—	—	1,987	1,329
Elsewhere	3,644	2,374	10,954	7,511	Sonthal Parganas	17	7	6,543	3,705
					Ranchi	192	25	1,491	984
					Manbhum	12	6	1,457	1,145
					Central Provinces and States	111	55	542	354
					United Provinces and States	42,183	14,020	42,080	9,038
					Assam	27	17	15,229	9,506
					Elsewhere	3,022	1,935	11,635	5,586

## GAYA.

## MONGHYR.

<b>TOTAL</b>					<b>TOTAL</b>				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>46,114</b>	<b>18,875</b>	<b>173,469</b>	<b>96,530</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86,069</b>	<b>37,524</b>	<b>134,119</b>	<b>96,544</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>38,891</b>	<b>13,789</b>	<b>77,439</b>	<b>29,749</b>	<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>69,561</b>	<b>26,520</b>	<b>99,537</b>	<b>39,057</b>
Patna	19,001	7,100	24,326	7,758	Patna	16,570	3,747	18,805	5,416
Shahabad	6,120	2,220	14,204	4,115	Gaya	7,872	3,390	7,142	2,932
Monghyr	7,142	2,022	7,872	2,220	Darbhanga	17,631	7,158	19,543	4,914
Hazariabagh	3,588	1,401	15,555	7,090	Bhagalpur	22,613	8,814	37,863	19,073
Palamau	2,040	1,036	15,447	7,599	Sonthal Parganas	1,838	637	12,476	6,475
<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>7,223</b>	<b>5,086</b>	<b>96,037</b>	<b>66,781</b>	Hazariabagh	2,628	368	4,208	2,125
Burdwan	87	47	5,979	3,859	<b>OTHER PLACES</b>	<b>16,508</b>	<b>11,004</b>	<b>84,582</b>	<b>57,507</b>
Hooghly	135	77	1,745	1,305	Burdwan	246	146	4,067	3,308
Howrah	5	3	3,812	2,505	Hooghly	208	202	1,207	910
24 Parganas	105	50	6,037	4,146	Howrah	58	43	2,593	1,934
Calcutta	290	150	39,855	27,941	24 Parganas	69	30	3,784	2,592
Bhagalpur	75	30	1,492	1,085	Calcutta	433	281	9,713	7,089
Purnea	21	14	2,417	1,387	Dinajpur	7	7	5,430	3,068
Sonthal Parganas	15	7	1,545	810	Jalpaiguri	2	2	1,371	820
Ranchi	95	45	8,121	3,825	Dacca	6	6	3,030	1,769
Manbhum	18	10	5,275	4,253	Faridpur	150	131	6,509	3,938
Singbhum	7	2	1,258	814	Shahabad	1,749	1,081	1,351	1,284
Chota Nagpur Tributary	24	9	1,450	1,016	Saran	1,608	1,242	338	210
States	140	100	415	281	Muzaffarpur	3,208	1,771	1,122	447
Central Provinces and States	2,695	1,880	1,377	745	Purnea	314	135	13,825	8,029
United Provinces and States	21	17	15,083	7,947	Malda	21	14	3,067	1,950
Assam	—	—	—	—	Manbhum	49	25	2,943	1,971
Elsewhere	3,591	2,635	7,408	5,200	Central Provinces and States	52	42	1,652	861
					United Provinces and States	4,625	3,413	264	85
					Assam	34	29	15,849	9,097
					Rajputana States	1,578	878	—	—
					Elsewhere	2,324	1,475	7,694	6,033



## ORISSA.

## CUTTACK.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>32,944</b>	<b>11,606</b>	<b>116,750</b>	<b>51,283</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>22,464</b>	<b>8,489</b>	<b>50,587</b>	<b>22,025</b>
Balasore ...	4,253	1,040	12,903	5,955
Puri ...	11,254	2,861	16,690	3,442
Orissa Tributary States ...	7,157	1,565	21,094	11,465
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>10,380</b>	<b>6,124</b>	<b>66,079</b>	<b>58,358</b>
Midnapore ...	240	159	2,418	2,107
Hooghly ...	207	135	2,744	2,609
Howrah ...	21	13	6,103	5,994
24-Parganas ...	144	81	12,709	12,091
Calcutta ...	286	147	18,469	17,796
Jalpaiguri ...	2	1	1,933	1,955
Angul ...	48	39	2,044	1,794
Singhbhum ...	5	2	1,249	671
Central Provinces and States ...	832	406	5,440	4,154
United Provinces and States ...	1,004	834	38	30
Assam ...	35	25	6,388	4,156
Madras ...	4,874	2,521		
Elsewhere ...	2,584	1,581	6,530	5,719

## BALASORE.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...				
	<b>22,467</b>	<b>13,235</b>	<b>51,763</b>	<b>22,024</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>24,375</b>	<b>9,699</b>	<b>50,682</b>	<b>10,933</b>
Midnapore ...	8,353	3,130	5,747	2,594
Cuttack ...	12,903	5,955	4,253	1,040
Orissa Tributary States ...	5,119	1,006	20,682	7,906
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>5,092</b>	<b>3,536</b>	<b>91,081</b>	<b>18,071</b>
Howrah ...	34	20	1,570	1,540
24-Parganas ...	155	75	6,702	6,740
Calcutta ...	178	97	7,182	6,830
Singhbhum ...	22	11	1,412	637
Central Provinces and States ...	712	304	84	70
United Provinces and States ...	908	808	21	21
Assam ...	5	2	1,805	814
Elsewhere ...	3,012	2,128	2,306	2,111

## PURI.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...				
	<b>53,033</b>	<b>20,919</b>	<b>28,888</b>	<b>11,402</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>23,837</b>	<b>6,653</b>	<b>24,414</b>	<b>7,503</b>
Cuttack ...	16,690	5,482	11,254	2,861
Orissa Tributary States ...	7,147	1,171	13,160	4,633
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>29,196</b>	<b>14,266</b>	<b>4,474</b>	<b>3,899</b>
Hooghly ...	1,673	904	14	13
24-Parganas ...	1,037	221	91	88
Calcutta ...	1,508	374	851	792
Central Provinces and States ...	1,698	1,169	653	508
United Provinces and States ...	5,154	3,597	11	9
Assam ...	97	41	381	199
Madras ...	6,718	3,009		
Central India States ...	3,245	1,995		
Elsewhere ...	7,948	2,307	2,403	2,200

## CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

## HAZARIBAGH.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>41,553</b>	<b>19,469</b>	<b>150,356</b>	<b>83,572</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>35,348</b>	<b>15,360</b>	<b>48,424</b>	<b>24,123</b>
Gaya ...	15,583	7,080	3,588	1,401
Monghyr ...	4,208	2,123	2,828	594
Ranchi ...	3,531	1,723	8,285	3,607
Palamau ...	3,015	1,641	4,989	2,383
Manbhum ...	6,250	1,916	16,008	10,241
Sonthal Parganas ...	2,721	875	12,848	5,871
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>6,535</b>	<b>4,109</b>	<b>101,932</b>	<b>59,449</b>
Burdwan ...	281	123	5,740	3,719
Hooghly ...	109	54	1,335	1,084
24-Parganas ...	63	35	3,468	2,859
Calcutta ...	103	58	5,417	4,371
Murshidabad ...	11	10	1,109	841
Dinajpur ...	2	2	1,111	656
Jalpaiguri ...	2	1	1,563	603
Bogra ...	3	2	1,268	779
Palna ...	3	1	2,060	1,519
Singhbhum ...	86	77	1,287	736
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ...	29	25	2,061	1,779
Central Provinces and States ...	429	342	811	440
United Provinces and States ...	1,244	844	48	23
Assam ...	33	30	68,772	30,679
Elsewhere ...	4,116	2,615	5,907	3,965

## RANCHI.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...				
	<b>32,056</b>	<b>17,050</b>	<b>275,251</b>	<b>142,916</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>18,730</b>	<b>8,154</b>	<b>54,476</b>	<b>25,802</b>
Hazaribagh ...	8,293	3,667	3,531	1,723
Palamau ...	3,759	2,075	3,269	1,594
Manbhum ...	4,782	1,548	4,755	1,714
Singhbhum ...	820	226	12,287	6,744
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ...	1,086	569	30,624	10,025
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>13,356</b>	<b>8,876</b>	<b>220,775</b>	<b>117,108</b>
Hooghly ...	105	100	5,437	3,130
Howrah ...	1	1	3,022	2,534
24-Parganas ...	94	53	5,052	3,940
Kajahm ...	2	1	4,781	2,234
Dinajpur ...	6		6,899	3,847
Jalpaiguri ...	23	12	80,456	42,063
Darjeeling ...	3	3	7,951	4,444
Bogra ...			1,861	940
Orissa Tributary States ...	748	395	3,120	1,739
Gaya ...	6,121	3,695	65	45
Shahabad ...	1,491	964	192	85
Central Provinces and States ...	445	231	2,045	1,373
United Provinces and States ...	1,151	908	4,811	3,266
Assam ...	78	51	91,794	45,137
Elsewhere ...	3,067	2,256	4,618	2,909

## PALAMAU.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...				
	<b>38,838</b>	<b>19,899</b>	<b>52,210</b>	<b>14,559</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b> ...	<b>31,586</b>	<b>15,396</b>	<b>21,204</b>	<b>10,307</b>
Gaya ...	15,447	7,390	5,040	1,026
Shahabad ...	4,255	2,146	3,414	1,028
Hazaribagh ...	4,969	2,383	3,015	1,041
Ranchi ...	5,269	1,934	3,739	2,075
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ...	3,438	1,664	7,995	4,329
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>7,452</b>	<b>4,503</b>	<b>11,006</b>	<b>4,252</b>
Central Provinces and States ...	599	307		
United Provinces and States ...	(a) 5,053	2,705	2,161	588
Assam ...	5	2	6,776	2,024
Elsewhere ...	1,825	1,205	2,070	1,179

NOTE:—(a) Includes 2,204 persons (925 males and 1,279 females) from Mirzapur.



## CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU—concluded.

## MANBHUM.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>69,119</b>	<b>37,391</b>	<b>155,979</b>	<b>64,915</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>42,162</b>	<b>22,494</b>	<b>51,624</b>	<b>21,378</b>
Bardwan ...	3,701	2,126	20,848	9,729
Bankura ...	12,869	6,227	8,445	3,806
Midnapore ...	786	449	770	388
Sonthal Parganas ...	2,969	1,425	6,028	3,519
Hazaribagh ...	16,068	10,241	6,290	1,916
Ranchi ...	4,755	1,710	4,782	1,546
Singbhum ...	968	308	3,114	1,628
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ...	46	4	1,347	446
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>19,957</b>	<b>14,897</b>	<b>84,548</b>	<b>43,537</b>
Hoochly ...	532	374	1,109	638
24 Parganas ...	106	89	1,504	1,069
Rajshahi ...	7	3	1,834	875
Gaya ...	5,275	4,283	16	10
Shahabad ...	1,457	1,145	12	6
Monghyr ...	2,043	1,974	49	25
Mulda ...	21	9	1,230	614
Orissa Tributary States ...	...	...	4,307	1,284
Central Provinces and States ...	647	373	...	34
United Provinces and States ...	3,980	3,141	10	6
Assam ...	30	21	69,728	35,179
Elsewhere ...	4,913	1,405	4,443	2,777

## SINGHBHUM.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>36,580</b>	<b>18,536</b>	<b>63,820</b>	<b>31,293</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>23,193</b>	<b>11,809</b>	<b>48,243</b>	<b>22,714</b>
Midnapore ...	7,457	3,314	3,619	1,258
Ranchi ...	12,297	5,744	920	205
Manbhum ...	3,114	1,626	968	506
Orissa Tributary States ...	1,690	777	32,446	16,081
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ...	835	341	10,390	4,724
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>11,387</b>	<b>6,734</b>	<b>15,577</b>	<b>8,579</b>
Bankura ...	1,041	1,061	210	79
Jalpaiguri ...	2	1	1,538	646
Gaya ...	1,259	814	7	3
Cuttack ...	1,249	671	5	2
Balasore ...	1,412	687	22	2
Hazaribagh ...	1,267	758	11	11
Central Provinces and States ...	840	437	88	57
United Provinces and States ...	1,154	757	195	102
Assam ...	45	21	1	...
Elsewhere ...	2,518	1,580	12,927	7,196
			789	524

## SONTHAL PARGANAS.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>111,536</b>	<b>53,191</b>	<b>226,005</b>	<b>115,894</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>82,631</b>	<b>36,553</b>	<b>116,923</b>	<b>56,063</b>
Bardwan ...	2,946	1,226	13,825	7,316
Birbhum ...	10,768	4,114	26,052	12,549
Mulda ...	6,255	2,340	42,575	21,265
Bhagalpur ...	22,755	10,021	9,739	3,639
Purnea ...	1,334	583	6,833	3,084
Monghyr ...	12,478	6,473	1,838	637
Murshidabad ...	3,421	3,123	11,571	5,442
Manbhum ...	6,028	3,619	2,369	1,425
Hazaribagh ...	12,648	6,473	2,721	876
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>28,894</b>	<b>16,638</b>	<b>109,082</b>	<b>59,831</b>
Calcutta ...	1,413	762	500	146
Rajshahi ...	134	30	8,481	3,220
Dinajpur ...	67	34	48,591	26,737
Jalpaiguri ...	7	3	10,562	6,210
Darjeeling ...	41	16	2,981	1,091
Rangpur ...	88	34	3,843	2,030
Bogra ...	6	3	1,900	900
Patna ...	2,639	1,456	34	23
Gaya ...	1,545	919	15	7
Shahabad ...	6,543	3,703	17	7
Faran ...	1,370	309	4	3
Central Provinces and States ...	60	60	...	...
United Provinces and States ...	7,747	4,157	6	3
Assam ...	68	42	31,237	16,424
Elsewhere ...	7,148	4,479	2,934	1,812

## ANGUL.

DISTRICT.	IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	Male.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>21,532</b>	<b>9,363</b>	<b>6,475</b>	<b>2,294</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICT</b>	<b>12,753</b>	<b>4,995</b>	<b>3,153</b>	<b>1,702</b>
Orissa Tributary States ...	12,753	4,995	5,133	1,702
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>8,779</b>	<b>4,368</b>	<b>1,345</b>	<b>592</b>
Cuttack ...	2,044	1,704	48	39
Central Provinces and States ...	2,772	1,240	1,254	523
United Provinces and States ...	12	11	...	...
Assam ...	...	...	6	4
Madras and States ...	(a) 3,622	1,132	...	...
Elsewhere ...	329	341	37	26

NOTE—(a) Includes 5,022 persons (376 males and 2,446 females) from Ganjam.

## CHOTA NAGPUR TRIBUTARY STATES.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>104,676</b>	<b>54,345</b>	<b>24,353</b>	<b>12,603</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>58,769</b>	<b>28,838</b>	<b>8,156</b>	<b>4,158</b>
Ranchi ...	30,624	13,025	1,086	569
Palamau ...	7,896	4,360	5,436	1,694
Manbhum ...	1,847	446	46	4
Singbhum ...	10,390	4,724	635	341
Orissa Tributary States ...	8,412	4,123	2,933	1,300
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>45,907</b>	<b>25,507</b>	<b>16,217</b>	<b>8,445</b>
Gaya ...	1,459	1,010	24	9
Hazaribagh ...	2,061	1,779	29	23
Central Provinces and States ...	(a) 14,704	7,974	13,788	6,794
United Provinces and States ...	7,835	3,914	14	2
Assam ...	1	1	...	...
Rajputana States ...	1,099	813	...	...
Central India States ...	14,578	7,819	...	...
Elsewhere ...	3,470	2,191	2,664	1,672

NOTE—(a) Includes 5,278 persons (3,002 males and 4,376 females) from Sambalpur.

## ORISSA TRIBUTARY STATES.

<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>142,399</b>	<b>66,300</b>	<b>57,482</b>	<b>21,393</b>
<b>CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS</b>	<b>164,576</b>	<b>47,411</b>	<b>43,146</b>	<b>14,767</b>
Midnapore ...	6,122	4,559	888	531
Cuttack ...	21,064	11,483	7,167	1,646
Balasore ...	20,692	7,308	5,119	1,034
Angul ...	6,153	1,705	12,753	4,995
Puri ...	13,160	4,623	7,147	1,171
Singbhum ...	32,440	16,081	1,090	777
Chota Nagpur Tributary States ...	2,933	1,580	8,412	4,123
<b>OTHER PLACES</b> ...	<b>37,823</b>	<b>18,889</b>	<b>14,343</b>	<b>6,526</b>
Ranchi ...	3,120	1,729	748	294
Manbhum ...	4,307	1,234	...	...
Central Provinces and States ...	20,463	9,586	13,326	4,922
United Provinces and States ...	478	390	...	...
Assam ...	19	10	...	...
Madras and States ...	(a) 6,658	3,277	...	...
Elsewhere ...	2,477	1,611	260	206

NOTE—(a) Includes 5,075 persons (2,706 males and 3,379 females) from Ganjam.



## APPENDIX II.

*Extracts from District Reports regarding causes of Conversion to Muhammadanism.*

*Midnapore.*\*—The considerable Muhammadan population in East and North Bengal offers a fertile field for the preacher and manlavi. The hundreds of students that come out every year from the Dacca, Chittagong, Calcutta, and Rajshahi Madrasahs completing Arabic studies are mostly absorbed in the above occupations. There is not a village inhabited by Muhammadans which is not periodically visited by the preachers and maulavis. The visitors do not levy any fee or subscription, but are voluntarily invited to preach from village to village, where they are not only fed very sumptuously, but also offered cash presents in addition. The Hindus generally attend such assemblies and listen to the preachers. The doctrines of Islam are simple enough for everybody to understand, and some of the Hindus, who appreciate the good lessons and probably those who have not many relatives to induce them to hang back, renounce Hinduism and embrace Islam. The above cause has been at work almost everywhere at all seasons from a long time, and has produced the present astonishing result. It never attracted public notice owing to the instances of conversion at any particular place being few and far between, but on the whole it has been the chief cause of the gradual increase of the Muhammadan population.

*Hooghly.*—Fresh accessions to the Muhammadan faith are still being received from outside by the conversion principally of low-caste Hindus. There is no organised propaganda, but maulavis and other learned men occasionally preach about their religion. The following instances of conversion occurred in the town of Hooghly. About a year ago a Native Christian was converted to Muhammadanism. Very recently a Dhoba woman was converted. A Hindu, by caste Káyastha, who read up to the First Arts, embraced Muhammadanism with his wife a few years ago. Some families of Banias, Suris, Telis, Mayras and Brahmans who have been converted are living in Pandua. In the Serampore Subdivision the Matwali of Sitapur reports that occasionally one or two Brahmans, Káyasthas, Ahirs and Bagdis accept the Moslem faith.

*24-Parganas.*—Conversions from other religions are still to be seen. This is generally effected by maulavis, who deliver religious lectures. There are no organised societies for propagating the tenets of the religion.

[*N.B.*—In response to a request for some specific instances of conversion with the reasons for the same, the following forty cases were reported]:—

Name and address of persons converted.	Profession.	Cause of conversion.	Former caste.
1	2	3	4
1. Mukta Muchini of Hydrapur, thana Baduria.	Day-labourer	She fell in love with one Jhau Shrik of her village, who converted her and afterwards married her.	Muchi.
2. Mukta Dassi of Kalutolla, Hasansbad.	Ditto ...	She married a Muhammadan.	Goala.
3. Mathura Bania of Magrahat...	Railway gate-man.	He fell in love with a Muhammadan girl and married her.	Bania.
4. Degámbari Dasi, Magrahat...	Day-labourer	She was a poor widow with two little children, and under the inducement of a rich Muhammadan she was converted with her two boys.	Dhoba.
5. Jasodia Telini, daughter of Ajtam Teli of Sonari, thana Musrak, district Saran, aged 30 years.	Mill-hand ...	She fell in love with her Muhammadan paramour, who converted her to his faith.	Teli.
6. Nanku Kalwar, alias Nanku Mian, son of Bimesswar Kalwar of Dabary, thana Madhubanjia, district Saran, aged 32 years.	Ditto ...	Embraced the religion of Muhammad of his own accord.	"
7. Dalu Mali, alias Dil Muhammad, son of Heta Mali of Belaganj, thana Belaganj, district Belaganj, aged 30 years.	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto ...	Mali.

\* The author of this report was a Muhammadan.



Name and address of persons converted.	Profession.	Cause of conversion.	Former caste.
1	2	3	4
8. Mahadevya Chamarin, daughter of Nauker Chamar of Karai, thana Dildargunge, district Ajamgarh, aged 13 years.	Nil ...	Married a Muhammadan while in sick-bed.	Chamar.
9. Lakpatia Bharin, <i>alias</i> Salimao Bibi, daughter of Narsing Bhar of Rajanpur, thana Mirganj, district Saran, aged 25 years.	Mill-hand ...	Fell in love with her Muhammadan paramour, and was converted to his faith.	Bhar.
10. Jitu Kahar, <i>alias</i> Situ Mian, son of Thakuri Kahar of Vikaran, thana Mirganj, district Saran, aged 46 years.	Ditto ...	Embraced the Muhammadan religion of his own accord.	Kahar.
11. Nathia Bharin, daughter of Narsing Bhar of Rajanpur, thana Mirganj, district Saran, aged 30 years.	Ditto ...	Fell in love with her Muhammadan paramour, who converted her to his faith.	Bhar.
12. Lakpatia Gurarin, daughter of Kanta Gareri of Mubarakpur, thana Mohaula, district Shahabad, aged 30 years.	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto ...	Gareri.
13. Sandaria Kaharin, daughter of Thakur Kahar of Vikaran, thana Mirganj, district Saran, aged 50 years.	Ditto ...	Embraced Muhammadanism of her own accord.	Kahar.
14. Andia Kaharin, daughter of Thakur Kahar of Vikaran, thana Mirganj, district Saran, aged 30 years.	Ditto ...	Fell in love with her Muhammadan paramour, who converted her to his faith.	Do.
15. Parmeswar Kahar, <i>alias</i> Dil Muhammad, son of Bhagaban Kahar of Sandapur, thana Manjhi, district Saran, aged 32 years.	Ditto ...	Embraced Muhammadanism of his own accord.	Do.
16. Thakur Dasi, <i>alias</i> Kusum Dasi, daughter of Biswanath Pal of Nayabasti, thana Barrackpore, aged 40 years.	Nil ...	Fell in love with a Muhammadan and was converted.	Kumhar (potter).
17. Prasanu Dasi, daughter of Tarini Ghose of Nayabasti, thana Barrackpore, aged 50 years.	Nil ...	Embraced the Muhammadan religion after her son's conversion to that faith.	Goala.
18. Hara Devi, daughter of Dinamath Banerji of Nayabasti, thana Barrackpore, aged 40 years.	Seller of wood	Owing to straitened circumstances, she embraced Muhammadanism.	Brahman.
19. Harani Dasi, <i>alias</i> Idis Bibi, daughter of Madhu Kaora of Nayabasti, thana Barrackpore, aged 40 years.	...	Fell in love with a Muhammadan paramour, and was converted to his faith.	Kaora.
20. Rajkumari Dasi, daughter of Mati Ram Paramanik of Nayabasti, thana Barrackpore, aged 60 years.	Ayah ...	Ditto ditto ...	Napit.
21. Behari Goala, <i>alias</i> Khodabux, son of Sewo Prasad Goala of Ujayini, thana Pabganj, district Mirzapur, aged 25 years.	Beggar ...	Owing to straitened circumstances, he embraced the Muhammadan religion.	Goala.
22. Lachman Pasi, son of Suku Pasi of Sadar Bazar, thana Barrackpore, aged 32 years.	Lives on the sale-proceeds of his house property.	Fell in love with a Muhammadan prostitute and became a convert.	Pasi.
23. Kokil Kaora, son of Bhadua Kaora of Chanak, thana Barrackpore, aged 40 years.	Labourer ...	Ditto ditto ...	Kaora.
24. Hari Bagdi, son of Kala Chand Bagdi of Chanak, thana Barrackpore, aged 32 years.	Nil ...	Owing to his straitened circumstances, he became a convert to Muhammadanism.	Bagdi.
25. Mathura Goala, son of Dhani Ram Goala of Chanak, thana Barrackpore, aged 30 years.	Nil ...	Ditto ditto ...	Goala.



Name and address of persons converted.	Profession.	Cause of conversion.	Former caste.
1	2	3	4
26. Babul Chandra Ghose, son of Haran Chandra Ghose of Sawli, thana Barrackpore, aged 30 years.	Nil	Conviction of the truth of Muhammadanism.	Goala.
27. Mahendra Napit, son of Radhanath Napit of Gambhargachi, aged 35 years.	Day-labourer	Joined a band of magicians; married the girl of one of them, and became a Muhammadan.	Napit.
28. Dasi Goalini, daughter of Kerun Mall of Durgapara, aged 23 years.	Nil	Two years after the death of her husband, she fell in love with a Muhammadan named Soleman of Bandipur, and embraced Islam.	Goala.
29. Mookhada Dasi, wife of Nimchand Ghose of Kamdebghachi, aged 25 or 30 years.	Nil	She embraced Muhammadanism when driven out of her father's house for her immoral character.	Do.
30. Abhoya Dasi, wife of Nakul Ghose, Kharki, aged 30 or 32 years.	Nil	She embraced Muhammadanism on account of her husband's ill-treatment.	Do.
31. Dasi Bagdini, wife of Tustu Bagdi of Khamur, aged 20 or 25 years.	Nil	She fell in love with Khoab Mondal of Madanagram and afterwards married him.	Bagdi.
32. Satya Bagdini, wife of Puti Bagdi of Konami.	Nil	Owing to her straitened circumstances, she embraced Muhammadanism.	Do.
33. Bilashi Bagdini, widow of Hara Bagdi of Nischindapur, aged 35 or 36 years.	Nil	Ditto ditto	Do.
34. Paran Tiyyar, son of Natabar Tiyyar of Kasimpur, aged 30 or 32 years.	Nil	Owing to his straitened circumstances he embraced Muhammadanism.	Tiyyar.
35. Shebu Bagdi, alias Shamsar Mundol of Chandigore, aged 30 or 35 years.	Nil	Ditto ditto	Bagdi.
36. Badan Ghose, son of late Ravan Ghose of Degha Nebodhin (present abode), aged 30 or 35 years.	Nil	Fell in love with a Muhammadan woman and became a convert and married her.	Goala.
37. Kumi Dasi, wife of Nim Chand Ghose.	Nil	She was enticed from the protection of her husband by a Muhammadan named Kedar Mandal, who converted her to his faith and married her.	Do.
38. Punchi Dasi	Nil	She was enticed away by her Muhammadan paramour, Ohjuddi, and converted to his faith.	Do.
39. A Bagdi woman at Bankura, in thana Dum-Dum.	Nil	She was enticed away by a Muhammadan, who subsequently converted her and married her.	Bagdi.
40. Wife of Prem Chand Rajak, Rajarhat, thana Dum-Dum.	Nil	She eloped with a Muhammadan, named Pusha Garwan, who subsequently converted and married her.	Dhoba.

*Jessore.\**—The following are some instances of conversion which took place recently in the Jessore district :—

- (a) Four Hindu families of the Kan caste of village Ulashi, station Sarsha, consisting of about 18 persons, became Muhammadans.
- (b) One Hindu barber of village Kauria, station Kotwali.
- (c) Mati Lal Ghosh of Mandalgauti, station Kotwali of Kayasth caste.
- (d) A Hindu barber woman of Rajapur, station Kotwali.
- (e) A Hindu barber woman of Dorajhat, station Kotwali.
- (f) A Hindu barber of Dighalia, station Narail.
- (g) A fisherwoman of Kaikhal, station Narail.
- (h) A woman of carpenter caste of Bhekutia, station Kotwali.
- (i) Devendra Nath Mukerji of Taliganj, near Calcutta. He is an educated man, and has married in a Muhammadan family of Itna, station Lohagara, where he is now residing.
- (j) A Brahman woman of Kharki, station Kotwali.

\* Report written by a Hindu gentleman.



- (k) A family of native Roman Catholics of Ghope, station Kotwali, consisting of four persons.
- (l) Eleven native Protestant Christian families, consisting of about 40 persons, of Daulatpur.

There are many other like instances which it seems unnecessary to detail for the purpose of this report. Most of these converts are from among the lower class of Hindus.

*Dinajpur.*\*—It often happens that Hindu females having fallen in love with Muhammadan males adopt the Muhammadan religion. It not infrequently happens that Hindus having fallen ill are treated by Muhammadans, who provide them with food and water, are out-casted by Hindus, adopt the Muhammadan faith, and are received with open arms by the Muhammadans. There is no organised propaganda to propagate the faith of Islam, but the mosques scattered all over the country represent the religious centres around which are grouped the Muhammadan people, whose social habits and fraternity tempt the men of other persuasions to enter into the folds of Islam. I came to know of a Kāyastha who was employed as a vernacular teacher in a village in the Thakurgaon subdivision. He was among Muhammadans. He fell ill. His Muhammadan neighbours tended him and saved his life. He embraced Islam in gratitude for the kind treatment of the Muhammadans.

Last year a Brahmin, who was a sweetmeat-seller of this town, became a Muhammadan.

I came across a *dervish*, who is a disciple of a *pir* of Panipat, named Brali Quolonder. He said his father was a Chhatri of Ajmir, whose name was Ramchand. Ramchand's wife gave birth to a number of children, but none of them lived. Then the parents said that the next child who would be born to them would be given to Allah. The boy was so given away; he lived, and is now a *dervish* with the name of Wabibuksh.

There is a *chaprasi* of the Subordinate Judge of Dinajpur by the name of Gopal Sheikh. He says he was a servant of a Muhammadan. The Muhammadan master went to Calcutta; Gopal fell seriously ill there, and food and water were given to him by Muhammadan hands. Gopal found his caste was gone, having eaten food of Muhammadans, and so he became a Muhammadan.

*Rangpur.*—Real conversion to Muhammadanism is rare. Within the last ten years three persons embraced Islam at Rangpur, cases frequently occur here in which Muhammadans are accused of enticing away Hindu women. In these cases, however, no actual conversion takes place. Babu Uma Prasanna Guha, Subdivisional Officer of Nilphamari, reports that two years ago he convicted a man named Nadia Das in a bad livelihood case. The other day this man appeared as a complainant before him and gave his name as Nadia Nasya. He further reports that a widow of an Eurasian indigo planter of Kishorgunge (Nilphamari), is still living as the wife of a Muhammadan.

*Rajshahi.*†—There are no fresh accessions to the Muhammadan faith still being received from outside. There is no religious propaganda. A rare case of a Hindu being converted to Muhammadanism is sometimes heard of. This conversion is, however, generally the outcome of illicit connection of a Hindu woman with a Muhammadan male. The former being out-casted by the Hindu society is compelled to embrace Islam, as she has no other alternative. It is understood that about six years ago, a Brahmin widow of Mahisbathan, close to the Boalia Courts, became a convert to Islam in the way stated above.

*Jalpaiguri.*‡—There is no organised propaganda for the spread of Islam, but sometimes maulavis and learned people from other parts come into the district and preach Islam. It is known that six persons of other religions have embraced Muhammadanism in this town in the last few years. These are—(1) Khoitu Fakir and (2) his wife, who were formerly Beldars; (3) Dil Muhammad, who was originally a Goala; (4) Fatay Muhammad, who was a Nepali Chhatri; (5) Umer Ali, who was a Nagpuri Oraon, and (6) a man now living near the Jalpaiguri municipal pound whose name is not known to me. Besides the above, I have at times heard that other persons have become converts to Muhammadanism in the town, but I have no personal knowledge of them.

*Dacca.*§—Even now cases of the conversion of Hindus to Islam are reported:—

(1) Mohim Chandra De was a peon in the Munshiganj subdivisional office. He fell in love with a good-looking Bediya girl. He embraced Muhammadanism and married the girl.

(2) Mano Ranjan Ganguli, a native of Bikrampur, became a Muhammadan. His wife remained a Hindu. He instituted a suit for conjugal rights, but was unsuccessful.

(3) A Brahman widow in the Narayanganj subdivision fell in love with a Muhammadan young man and became a Muhammadan. There was a criminal case, due to her brothers, administering a severe beating to her lover.

(4) A woman of the Chandāl caste fell in love with a Muhammadan of a neighbouring village and became Muhammadan. Her brother instituted a suit against her lover for abduction, but the accused was acquitted. The girl was ultimately forsaken by her lover and became a prostitute.

(5) A Hindu physician, who practised in a village in the district of Typpera, saw in the course of his duties a very handsome Muhammadan girl. He was so much in love with her that he wanted to marry her. Her father told the physician that he could not marry his daughter to him unless he became a Muhammadan. On this the physician embraced

\* Written by a Muhammadan gentleman.

† Ditto by a Hindu.

‡ Ditto by a Muhammadan.

§ Ditto by a Hindu.



Muhammadanism, but the girl's father ultimately refused to marry his daughter to him. The physician could not again become a Hindu, as the Hindu society does not take back a renegade.

(6) One Umakanta Sarkar of Kalipura in Tippera embraced Muhammadanism under the following circumstances:—He was a landlord of considerable influence. His faith in the Hindu religion was not very firm. Taking advantage of this, the Muhammadans of the neighbourhood persuaded him to embrace their religion, giving him to understand that he would be made the head of the local Muhammadan community. He became a Muhammadan and tried to convert his wife and his mother also. In this he failed.

(7) A man of the Sudra caste of Belka in Bikrampur embraced Muhammadanism under the following circumstances:—The man was rather thickheaded and poor, but at the same time had a mania for marrying. Being poor and half an idiot, he could not get a wife from his own sphere of life, but the local Muhammadans gave him hopes of marrying if he became a Muhammadan. He did so, but I could not ascertain whether he succeeded in getting a wife.

(8) The ancestor of Asad Ali Khan, a zamindar of the district of Chittagong, is said to have been a Hindu of good family. It is not known how and why he became a Muhammadan, but it is a fact that in social and religious ceremonies, he used to visit the Hindu family from which his ancestors came.

(9) A widow of the Kapáli caste was treated unfairly by her deceased husband's brother and fell in love with a Muhammadan neighbour, who helped her in several ways. She became a Muhammadan, and is likely to be the mother of a progeny.

(10) The widow of a Lagnácharjya Brahman entertained Muhammadan lovers, of whom she had more than one. The jealousy among two of them became so keen that one was murdered by the other. The criminal case instituted brought the matter to light. The widow was not allowed to remain in society and eventually became a Muhammadan.

(11) A notable case of the conversion of a respectable Hindu occurred at Nakhanda, in the Manikganj subdivision, several years ago. The convert was a high-class Káyasth, a zamindar, named Guru Prasad Basu. He was constantly taken to task by his cousin, Rash Behari Basu, and other neighbours for his non-Hindu practices. This annoyed him much, especially when he found some difficulty in marrying his daughter, and he determined to take revenge on his cousin by becoming a Muhammadan. He accepted the faith of Islam, taking the name of Habibar Rahaman, and slaughtered cows in the precincts of the very building where his father had worshipped the Hindu gods. He invited numerous Muhammadans to the house, and married his daughter to a high-class Muhammadan, who is now living with him. He is treated with regard by Muhammadans. His Hindu wife was rescued by his neighbours at the time of his conversion.

(12) One Mohesh Chandra Sikdar, son of Ramjoy Sikdar of Sivalay, a Sudra by caste, fell in love with one Satya Kaloni of Aricha, a Muhammadan widow. He married her by *nika* and became a Muhammadan. He has now taken the name of Mafizuddin Khan, and acts as a Molla among the local Muhammadans.

(13) A Sudra named Dinanath came from Sylhet and settled in Harina. He fell in love with a Muhammadan woman of the Musalman Kahar class, and became a Kahar himself and married her. He retained his old name, and is now known as Dinu Kahar. He had several children, and gave one of his daughters in marriage to a Kulu. He thus became a Kulu himself, and the Kahars gave him up. In a short time he found that his new status did not suit him: it raised him a little socially, but oil-pressing was less profitable than palki-bearing. He wanted to become a Kahar again, but the Kahars would not take him back until he got his daughter divorced by his Kulu son-in-law and married her to a Kahar after giving a substantial feast to the Kahar community.

(14) One Rajasi Saha of Elachipur had a small shop at Dasara, where he fell in love with a Muhammadan girl. He took boiled rice from her hands. This came to light, and he was out-casted. He became a Muhammadan and took the name of Reazuddin Khan.

There are some other instances of a similar nature, but it is now very difficult to trace the origin and the cause of conversion. There was a Muhammadan landowner at Shasrail in thana Keranigunge, who is said to be descended from a Hindu family. One of them, Oliulla Chaudhury, actually celebrated *Kali Puja* with pomp. This *Kali Puja* he used to perform every year. The family is now reduced to poverty, though they are now still regarded as very respectable, having descended from a good family.

*Mymensingh*.\*—In a congested Province, where all possible arable lands have been tilled, the population does not grow so rapidly as in a newly-settled rich country. As an instance, we may cite the example of England and the United States. Since the emigration of the British and other European settlers to the United States of America, the population of that country has grown more rapidly than that of England or any other country on the Continent of Europe. Now I would show that the same causes which accelerate the growth of population in the United States are also at work for the growth of Muhammadan population in East Bengal. East Bengal is throughout interspersed with many mighty and big rivers, and alluvial lands are formed every year on account of the periodical overflowing of the rivers. The Musalman peasants, depending, as they do, entirely on agriculture, and being more adventurous in spirit than the Hindus, emigrate to *char* lands for better prospects in life, and there they get fresh air, fresh water, and plenty of edibles. Any one who has

\* Written by a Muhammadan.



visited these *chur* lands will have found that these tracts are almost entirely inhabited by the sturdy Musalman peasantry. The Hindu has no settling propensity. He is more attached to his own hearth and home, and so is satisfied with whatever he gets in his flood-damaged villages. This, combined with other disadvantages, such as child-marriage, forced widowhood, living upon unsubstantial food, etc., is the cause of the gradual decline of the Hindu population in India in the great struggle for existence, which is continually going on in this world.

*Faridpur*—The following are some well known cases of conversion from Hinduism.

(1) The Meahs of Kusla:—Zamindars of Kotalipara belong to the same stock with the *siki* zamindars of Paschimpar who are Rarhi Brahmans. The latter still admit the relationship and help the former in their struggles. The Meahs are admitted to the zenana of the Paschimpara zamindars and address the women as if they were still Brahmans and relations. The foremost representative of this family is Maulavi Hemyat-uddin, a pleader and a public-spirited citizen at Barisal.

(2) The Khans of Khanpara. A branch of the Káyasth zamindars of Ujani in Muk-sudpur thana. The senior representative of the family is Anwaruddin Khan.

The conversion in both cases occurred long ago and the cause is not known. The old story of expulsion from Hinduism on account of their having partaken of the flavour of non-Hindu food (specially beef, &c.) quoted for the Tagore family of Calcutta is said to account for these conversions. It is obvious, however, that there were other causes also as the Calcutta Tagores are still within the pale of Hinduism, whereas the families here described are not.

(3) Islam Khan of Mahipur, P. S. Makshudpur, was Prahlad Sha (caste Shaha).

(4) Islam Khan of Tepabhala, P. S. Kotwali, was Guru Charan Shaha before.

(5) Kudi *alias* Srearna was seduced from her husband by a Musalman and was converted by him.

(6) Faridpur town chaukidar Abdul married Durga Charan's sister from Goalchamat (Faridpur), and made her a Muhammadan.

(7) The Collector's chaprasi, Jasim, married a Hindu prostitute by Muhammadan rites and she is now a Muhammadan.

(8) Debendra Nath Chakravarti, a Namasudra Brahmin, became first a Christian and then a Muhammadan, taking the name of Din Mahomed.

(9) Khanu Molla of Khagail married a Káyasth widow and she and her children by her first husband embraced Muhammadanism.

(10) Maniruddi of Sriramkandi seduced a Namasudra woman from her husband and married her.

(11) Raju Khan, hotel-keeper of Faridpur, was formerly a Hindu with the name Rajani Shaha. He partook of food cooked by his Musalman mistress and on being outcasted he became a Musalman. The only organised Muhammadan propaganda is that of Saijuddin Khan; his main thought is to uphold the tenets of his particular sect rather than to propagate the doctrines of Islam amongst persons of other religions.

*Backergunge*.\*—I came across ten cases of conversion to Muhammadanism, and in all cases love or lust was the motive. In one case the man was a respectable Hindu belonging to one Káyasth caste and was a private tutor in a Muhammadan family. He fell in love with a girl of the family, and they eloped and then married. In another case a Brahman became a convert for similar reasons. In six cases the converts were low-caste Hindus, who lost their caste on account of intrigues with Muhammadan women. The cases of conversion reported by the Subdivisional Officer of Pirojpur were all due to love-intrigue, and he says that religious convictions are never the motive. The Subdivisional Officer of Patnakhali does not mention any specific instance. The Subdivisional Officer of Bhola says that although there are many cases of converts in his subdivision, yet they are mostly Jogis by caste.

*Tippera*.\*—There are instances of Hindu families of higher classes embracing Islam. The Dewan families of Pargana Sarail in Tippera and of Haibatnagar and Jangalbari in Mymensingh and few others of this district were converts from high-caste Brahmans. They have still retained a memento of their old faith in their title of Thakur.

Amongst the recent converts of this district, the following are worth mentioning:—

- (i) One Manaranjan Ganguli, husband of a niece of the late Babu Girish Chandra Banerji, once a leading pleader of Tippera, embraced Islam, and is now a Muhammadan preacher under the name of Din Mahamed.
- (ii) Uma Kanta Chandra, a high-caste Hindu talukdar of Kalipura in thana Matlab Bazar, accepted the Muhammadan religion with his family. The name he adopted on conversion was Omar Khan.
- (iii) In village Kalikachhya in thana Brahmanbaria, one Gurudas Ray's nephew embraced the Muhammadan religion and married a Muhammadan girl.
- (iv) One Bango Pal, son of Sarup Pal, a Káyasth, resident of Brahman Chapitala in thana Moradnagar, accepted the Muhammadan religion in order to marry a Mohammadan girl of village Ramchandrapur. His present name is Alif Khan.

There are other instances of conversion from low-caste Hindus, which are not worth enumerating here.

\* Written by a Hindu.



*Noakhali*.\*—Conversion to the Muhammadan faith on account of a belief that it is the true faith does not exist, at the present time at least. There have been instances of low-caste Hindus embracing the Muhammadan faith, because they have been excommunicated by their caste-fellows. There have been instances, again, of Hindus embracing the Muhammadan faith because they could not otherwise ally themselves to the object of their love. Such instances can hardly be called instances of true conversion. I will now cite the instances which have come to notice:—

(1) The most recent case is that of a Brahman woman who left her husband and became a Muhammadan because her lover is a Muhammadan. There was a sensational criminal case instituted by the husband against the lover, Lal Mea. Lal Mea was convicted by the Sessions Judge, but was acquitted on appeal.

(2) The Subdivisional Officer of Feni reports that about ten years ago a Sudra by the name of Judhisthir, living in village Teteswar, within the jurisdiction of Feni subdivision, was excommunicated by his caste-fellows because he had taken food from the hand of a Tipara. He became a Muhammadan to avoid further persecution.

(3) Village Champaknagar within the jurisdiction of thana Chagalnaia in the subdivision is inhabited mainly by the Kumhar (potter) caste. A family of Kumhars brought up a waif found in the street. Ultimately it was discovered that this boy came of Muhammadan parentage, and the Kumar family was excommunicated by their caste-fellows. The whole family embraced the Muhammadan faith.

(4) Bhairab Saha of Pachgaohia was converted to Muhammadanism because he could not otherwise marry the object of his love, Fuljan.

(5) A Bhuinmali widow of Bamni, named Padma, took a second husband, Sona Mea syce, and is now living with him in this town. She is now a Muhammadan.

(6) A Bhuinmali male of Kheri, with a wife and children, became a Muhammadan to marry the object of his love, a Muhammadan woman.

(7) A napit (barber) widow, whose sons are still Hindus and follow their caste-profession (one of the sons is my barber), left her home with a Muhammadan, and was thus converted into that faith.

(8) A Feringi, who has taken the name of Din Muhammad on conversion, embraced the faith of Islam about four years ago. He gives out that he became a Muhammadan because he had dreamt that he would suffer everlasting punishment if he remained in his faith (Christianity).

(9) Ram Kumar Saha of Barakul in Tippera embraced Muhammadanism about twenty years ago. He now goes by the name of Abdul Karim, and sells potatoes in this town (Noakhali). He himself was questioned by me. He said he was without relatives and money. There was no one who would lend him any help to get a wife. He became a Muhammadan and married a Muhammadan girl. In this case, too, the sole object seems to have been to obtain a wife.

(10) A family of Brahmans of Kahara, consisting of a man and his wife, became Muhammadans about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 years ago. The report is that the woman had an intrigue with a Muhammadan, and her caste-fellows excommunicated the whole family, who had thus no other alternative but to turn Muhammadans.

Instances can, no doubt, be multiplied of conversions like the above. It will, however, be seen that, except perhaps the Feringi, all became converts for definite causes other than a belief in the creed of Islam. Love in a very few cases and criminal intrigue mostly are the cause which chiefly work in increasing the followers of the Prophet in this district. Formerly no doubt the low-caste Hindus embraced Muhammadanism in large numbers owing to the oppression of the ruling race and of the degraded position they held in their own community.

*Gaya*.†—The number of Muhammadans descended from local converts alone is very small. The origin of such descendants may be traced in many cases to the union of a Muhammadan prostitute with a Hindu, the offspring being debarred from caste and becoming Muhammadan, as is the case of several descendants of the Tikári Rájás. Several cases are, however, known in which whole villages have become converted to Islam. Thus towards Daudnagar and the north-west of the district, whole villages may be met with filled with Muhammadans, the descendants of Káyasths and Bábhans. One village is known in which all the inhabitants were Bábhans two or three generations ago. This part has for a long time been a centre of Muhammadan influence. Daudkhan, after whom Daudnagar is named, was a Risaldar of Aurangzeb, who gave him three parganas in this direction as a reward for conquering Palamanu. It is not strange, therefore, to find vague stories that many Hindus to the north-west of the district became converts to Islam during the reign of Aurangzeb. Besides the descendants of Daudkhan and his followers, the most noticeable Muhammadans of foreign extraction are found to the south of the district, where one village *kothi* is comprised of the descendants of Pathans from the Afghan Valley of Kohat. The Pathans to the south are subdivided into Rohilla Patháns and Magahya Patháns. The former of whom Muhammad Baksh Khan, of an old and pure lineage, is the chief representative, trace back their descent to Rohilla soldiers of fortune; the latter claim to be descendants of Afghan military adventurers, of whom the chief was one Qazi Ibu Walid, and attribute the name Magahya to their long residence in Magah.

Conversion to Islam at the present time is a rare event. It is said that during the time of the Kings of Oudh several influential Hindus became Muhammadans, probably in hopes of

\* Written by a Hindu.

† The writer is an Englishman.



preferment. In this district there is no organised propaganda. The faithful receive a periodical stimulus from the visits of up-country maulavis, but their influence and preaching do not extend beyond the circle of true Muhammadans. In the whole of my census tours I only found one man entered as a new Musalman, *i.e.*, a recent convert. Cases, however, of individual conversion are by no means unknown: it is reported that many poor Hindus became Muhammadans in famine years to get a subsistence from the charity of Muhammadans, and even in ordinary years, poor persons of low castes, *e.g.*, a Pasin deserted by her husband embraces Islam to become dependent on the charity of rich Muhammadan zamindars, such as Nanhe Nawab and the late Abu Sabh. I have also found instances of conversion among Káyasths, in which the motive power of conversion seems to have been study of the Muhammadan religion and sincere conviction of its truth. In many instances such converts are Muhammadans secretly for fear of complete excommunication by their families. One notable case is known in which one Munshi Ganesh Dutta, a servant of the Maharaja of Deo, embraced Islam, and has been followed by his sons. In another case a Káyasth living in a Moslem village changed his religion to that of his neighbours and his caste to Sheikh. I have only heard of two cases in which a Brahman became a Muhammadan—one a constable; the other a pandit, whose reading of Muhammadan scriptures, led to his conversion. Generally Káyasths, especially towards Daudnagar and, to a certain extent, Bahhans furnished the material for conversion. Káyasths, *e.g.*, at Amas, Majhulia, Deo, Daudnagar, Hurna, not infrequently become Muhammadans simply from reading. One case, however, is known in which a whole family of Káyasths became converted by the preaching of a Muhammadan. The most frequent cause of conversion is that of a Hindu prostitute or mistress who is kept by a Muhammadan who first is admitted to Islam and then is married by *nika* to her lover. A somewhat similar instance is that of the outcaste Hindu who embraces Islam in compensation for the loss of his caste, *e.g.*, a Káyasth who was an outcaste through an intrigue with a Dom woman, and then proclaimed himself a convert to Islam. A curious case of simulated conversion was recently observed at Gaya town, where some *badmashes* claimed to be converted in order to set up a claim to respectability.

*Muzaffarpur.*\*—There is no regular missionary organisation of Muhammadans in this district. Individual maulavis occasionally preach the gospel of Islam in mosques and thoroughfares in towns. They also occasionally make preaching tours in the villages as well, and a few Hindus (both high caste and low) continue to become Muhammadans. The number of low-caste Hindu converts is comparatively much larger, but high-caste Hindus also adopt the Islamic faith. The conversion of high-caste Hindus is generally a matter of honest change of conviction. Amongst the instances of high-caste Hindus having recently joined the ranks of the faithful are—(1) Maulavi Abdul Aziz, private tutor to the sons of the late Babu Nandan Lal, zamindar of Muzaffarpur. This gentleman was a Rájput before he became a Muhammadan; (2) Maulavi Abdulla, who was formerly a Káyasth and has now settled at Rahimabad; (3) Maulavi Abdur Rahman of Sheohur. He was formerly a Rajput, and is well versed in Sanskrit. He is a learned maulavi and pandit, and has taken part in many religious controversies with Hindu pandits about the preferability of Islam.

The causes of fresh accessions to the faith from outside are—(1) the taking of low-class Hindu widows by both the Ashraf and Ajláf classes as second wives and concubines. These Hindu women often bring their Hindu offspring along with them, who all become converts to Muhammadanism; (2) the outcaste or run-away Hindu men and women becoming man-servants or maid-servants in Muhammadan and European families, or taking to prostitution; (3) conversion of Hindus and others, in consequence of the greater purity and simplicity of the Moslem faith. The above causes have been arranged in the order of their efficacy.

*Darbhangá.*†—Fresh accessions to the Muhammadan faith are still being received from outside, though in a limited degree. There is no organised propaganda for this purpose; no missionaries to spread the religion of Mahomet. Formerly the Kazi, who knew the code of religion, had the authority to proselytise a man. As the influence of the Kazi is disappearing, a Musalman has the injunction to proselytise a man who wishes to embrace the Muhammadan faith by reading to him the *Kalma* passages from the *Koran*. A Brahman, by name Babnai Jha, of Soondarpur, has become a Muhammadan and married a Muhammadan widow. A Christian female compounder from Lucknow at the Dufferin Hospital, Darbhanga, fell in love with a Muhammadan peon attached to the same hospital, became a Muhammadan, and married him. The other instances of such proselytism are as follow:—

1. Mussamat Chunya	...	...	A woman, <i>mehtrani</i> , at Manlariganj.
2. Chanchaliya	...	...	Suuri woman, Ditto.
3. Bachia	...	...	Mallahin, Ditto.
4. Wife of Bhagla chaukidar	...	...	Itams, Ditto.
5. Munniya	...	...	A woman, caste unknown, at Karkaoli.
6. Wife of Zulfan	...	...	Suuri, Rohillaganj.
7. Just Sanje	...	...	Bantar, Ditto.
8. Dukha	...	...	} ..... Ditto.
9. Dutta	...	...	
10. Billat	...	...	
11. Chandu	...	...	

*Saran.*†—Fresh accessions as a rule appear to me to be actuated by mixed motives. A few cases only of what appear genuine conversions have come to my knowledge. One, a

\* Written by a Muhammadan.

† Ditto by an Englishman.



Kahar who with his whole house became a Muhammadan; the other of a Kayasth. The others that have come to my notice are of two classes—

- (1) A very low-caste Hindu has become a Muhammadan.
- (2) Even less reputable recruits—outcastes of Hindu castes; most Hindu women outcasted for sexual irregularities or becoming prostitutes also call themselves Muhammadans.

Of organised propaganda there are practically none in this subdivision.

*Champaran.*\*—Fresh accessions to the Muhammadan faith are still being received from without. Islam, like Christianity, appeals to every human soul. It is not like the Hindu religion, which cannot admit converts.

It has been estimated by a maulavi, who is one of the religious preceptors in this district, that within his knowledge a little over thousand persons became Muhammadans during the last 15 or 16 years. The most important cause of conversion is poverty. During the time of famine or scarcity, poor people became Muhammadans or Christians by hundreds. Any Hindu who takes the food cooked by a Muhammadan does not remain a Hindu, and his place of shelter is only among the Muhammadans or the Christians.

Many persons embrace the Muhammadan faith in order to raise their social rank. Conversion for the sake of women is comparatively rare, and the number of persons who become Muhammadans from conviction is still less. There are no organised propaganda, but fresh accessions to the faith are slowly going on. Converts to Islam at first are called "Nau Muslims" (new Moslems), and in course of time this epithet disappears. Munshi Ram Nath, an old amlah of the collectorate, who has lately retired from service, had a son-in-law named Ram Narayan. This man accepted Islam with all his children several years ago. There is also one Waliullah at Dariapore, who was originally a Kayasth. At present he is said to work as a munshi. In village Jhumka there is one Abdur Rashid, son of Hafiz Abdul Karim. The latter is said to have been the son of a convert. Hafiz Abdul Karim and his brother, Abdur Rahim, were regular maulavis, and their family made many converts. It is said that gradually almost the entire village of Jhumka turned Muhammadan owing to their preaching. The two brothers were Ghair Mukallids. There are many Ghair Mukallids at Jhumka. An important point worth notice here is that a son of Abdur Kashid is said to have been married to a daughter of a Mir.

Several more cases can be given in which it is believed that the acceptance of Islam was due to conviction.

*Monghyr.*†—Fresh accessions to the Muhammadan faith are still being received from outside. The mullas, such as Maulavi Muhammad Ashraf, Maulavi Abdulla, and others usually come and preach on Islam. Their preachings have produced much effect on the audience. Non-Islamic notions and misconceptions of Muhammadan faith which had hitherto prevailed among the wild tribes, who were nominally Muhammadans, are giving way, and the true Islamic faith is being implanted in their minds to such an extent that now they are in a position to comprehend the golden qualities of the Almighty God and his Prophet. There are numerous instances showing persons of other religions becoming Muhammadans, amongst which the conversion of the brother of Raja Ram Naryan Singh of Khaira is the most notable. This man's name is now Maulavi Abdul Rahaman Khan, residing at mauzah Morecha in thana Sikandra.

*Purnea.*—Men of other persuasions, mostly low class people, sometimes embrace Muhammadanism. The causes of their renouncing their own faith are many—(1) their straitened circumstances, which lead them to marry Muhammadan widows having some property; (2) expulsion from their own society for some misdeed; (3) the falling in love with a Muhammadan, either male or female.

The year before last a Muhammadan woman of Khazanchi Hat fell in love with a Bania named Babu Lall, and the Bania embraced Muhammadanism. A well-to-do Brahman named Kumar Chowdhury of Dhubania, in the Raniganj thana, with his whole family, and a wealthy Kayasth of Gondwara thana also embraced Muhammadanism, as they were excommunicated from their society for some misdeeds. Inter-marriages of these converts from the high-class Hindus take place without much difficulty with the educated class of Muhammadans who call themselves Ashrafs.

*Malda.*—Fresh accessions to the Muhammadan faith are still being received from other Hindu and Christian people. The principal cause of conversion at present is reported to be the falling in love of non-Muhammadans with Muhammadan women, and *vice versa*. In former days people of the lowest class, in order to avoid their degraded position in the Hindu social system, welcomed a religion that proclaimed the equality of all men.

Hira Mani Adhikarini of Naidha falling in love with her Muhammadan servant, Ganga Shaikh, accepted Muhammadan faith. Bujguri Tiarni of Bishunpur fell in love with a low-caste man and was outcasted; ultimately she embraced Muhammadanism. Manasuri of Maripur in connection with the above case became Muhammadan. Ali Baurini of Bahadurtalla fell in love with Mahabir Shaikh and became Muhammadan. Jatan Meehuani fell in love with Akber Shaikh and became Muhammadan.

- (1) Tuni Harini, (2) Sunduri, (3) Kurtina of Bogohara, (4) Bina Goneshin, (5) Baghu Harini, (6) wife of Sani Charan Beldar, (7) Jhuno Meehuani, (8) Chaman Beldari

\* Written by a Muhammadan.

† Based on notes by a Muhammadan.



(9) Kanchan Harini, (10) Protima Keduani, and 12 or 13 other persons also became Muhammadans within the jurisdiction of Kharta thana.

*Sonthal Parganas.*—There are still fresh accessions to the Muhammadan faith from outside, e.g., Chhedi Dhanuk of Deoghar is now Abdul Rahaman. This man turned a Muhammadan through a female Dom convert. Chhoti Ojha is now Dil Muhammad. A Halwai turned Musalman.

The following may be called the chief causes for such conversion into Muhammadanism :—

Men through women, and *vice versa*.

Want.

Family quarrels.

*Cuttack.*—There are at present very few conversions or other accessions to the Muhammadan faith. The low-caste Hindus are not at all anxious to change their religion, and do not seem to find their degraded position in the Hindu social system so very galling. They even take a pride in being Hindus. Conversions of Hindu widows for marrying Muhammadan husbands are very rare. The lower castes of Hindus allow re-marriage of young widows, and the high-caste widows think it a great degradation to take a Muhammadan husband.



**APPENDIX III.—SHOWING THE EXCESS OR DEFECT IN THE NUMBER OF  
MARRIED FEMALES OF CHILD BEARING AGE IN CERTAIN TOWNS AS COMPARED  
WITH THE GENERAL POPULATION.**

Towns.	Population.	Number of females.	Number of married females between the ages of 15—45.	Corresponding number of females in general population.	Percentage of excess or deficiency of column 4 as compared with column 5.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>BURDWAN DIVISION</b>						
Burdwan	33,023	13,000	4,743	3,779	- 17.9	
Kalna	8,151	3,460	1,021	1,540	- 23.3	
Katwa	7,220	3,560	1,041	1,101	- 12.0	
Dinohat	5,615	2,807	744	997	- 19.7	
Raniganj	15,541	6,300	2,403	2,614	- 4.6	
Asansol	14,980	6,300	2,509	2,439	+ 5.7	
Suri	8,602	3,089	1,308	1,434	- 8.8	
Bankura	20,757	10,204	3,114	3,422	- 9.0	
Vishnupur	19,090	9,585	2,830	3,150	- 9.9	
Sonamukhi	13,448	7,000	2,000	2,319	- 9.4	
Midnapore	33,140	15,420	4,840	5,468	- 15.1	
Tanuk	8,063	3,005	1,138	1,334	- 14.7	
Ghatal	14,525	7,348	2,003	2,397	- 12.7	
Chandrakona	9,800	4,651	1,316	1,530	- 14.7	
Ranjiabanpur	10,264	5,310	1,004	1,034	- 3.3	
Khirpal	5,045	2,543	707	833	- 12.0	
Kharar	9,009	4,822	1,445	1,609	- 7.9	
Hooghly and Chinsura	20,383	11,000	3,781	4,846	- 22.4	
Serampore	44,431	17,530	5,682	7,334	- 22.5	
Uttarpara	7,000	2,333	708	1,161	- 31.4	
Baidyabati	17,174	7,815	2,073	2,834	- 26.9	
Bhadreswar	15,150	5,774	1,907	2,500	- 23.7	
Kotrang	5,944	2,444	780	981	- 20.5	
Banahalia	8,473	3,108	816	1,008	- 23.6	
Arnaugh	8,231	4,057	1,263	1,390	- 7.6	
Howrah	157,394	67,600	20,463	20,603	- 11.2	
Holly	18,662	7,270	2,342	3,070	- 33.9	
<b>PRESIDENCY DIVISION</b>						
Calcutta	247,736	280,200	21,502	100,886	- 33.8	
Cossipore-Chitpur	46,150	14,061	4,897	5,734	- 27.2	
Manicktala	32,367	13,243	4,259	5,344	- 19.7	
Barnagar	25,432	10,854	3,330	4,196	- 20.6	
Kamrathi	13,216	5,463	1,870	2,181	- 14.0	
South Suburbs	26,374	12,203	3,230	4,538	- 34.6	
Tollymore	12,921	5,009	1,700	2,115	- 16.4	
Garden Reach	24,211	11,283	4,230	4,633	- 9.0	
Rajpur	10,713	5,808	1,656	1,768	- 6.3	
Baridpur	4,217	1,067	580	600	- 10.4	
Jaynagar	8,810	4,400	1,428	1,484	- 1.0	
Bridge-Head	13,001	6,010	1,790	2,153	- 20.8	
South Dum-Dum	10,304	4,651	1,563	1,700	- 13.0	
North Dum-Dum	9,216	3,843	782	1,630	- 52.2	
South Barakpore	10,307	6,058	1,314	3,180	- 38.4	
Tilakpur	10,085	4,094	3,080	2,651	- 22.0	
Panbati	11,178	5,123	1,314	1,534	- 17.9	
North Barakpore	12,000	6,777	1,743	2,079	- 16.2	
Gariahat	7,073	3,334	906	1,217	- 13.2	
Barasat	6,634	4,073	1,253	1,425	- 13.1	
Naihati	23,733	9,623	3,124	3,919	- 20.0	
Bhatpara	21,540	7,502	2,002	3,654	- 13.3	
Gobardanga	5,805	2,989	801	908	- 8.0	
Bachhat	17,091	8,459	2,764	2,908	- 1.4	
Maduria	12,051	6,410	2,040	2,132	- 3.9	
Taki	5,080	2,033	770	840	- 8.3	
Krishnagar	24,547	12,204	2,935	4,030	- 44.3	
Nadia	10,880	6,905	1,408	1,795	- 21.0	
Santipur	20,808	14,334	4,377	4,438	- 1.4	
Ranaghat	6,744	4,315	1,194	1,443	- 17.2	
Kushiti	5,330	2,204	654	879	- 35.0	
Kumerkhali	4,684	2,408	729	759	- 3.0	
Meherpur	3,766	2,244	1,177	951	+ 23.9	
Birnagar	3,131	1,682	418	513	- 19.3	
Chakdaha	5,482	2,865	757	903	- 16.3	
Berhampore	24,307	11,304	3,040	4,081	- 24.3	
Marshallabad	13,169	7,510	2,303	2,503	- 8.0	
Alimnagar	13,365	6,004	1,492	2,309	- 32.9	
Jangipur	10,921	5,742	1,707	1,903	- 5.3	
Kandi	12,037	6,135	1,738	1,962	- 12.3	
Jessore	6,034	3,215	1,011	1,329	- 23.9	
Kotechandpur	9,043	4,136	1,348	1,406	- 9.9	
Maheshpur	4,130	2,145	615	600	+ 10.9	
Khalna	10,420	4,823	1,387	1,720	- 19.4	
Satkhira	8,006	3,920	1,310	1,370	- 5.0	
Debidaha	5,464	2,683	585	600	- 1.7	
<b>RAJSHAHI DIVISION</b>						
Rampur-Bailla	21,550	9,390	3,033	3,562	- 15.0	
Nalor	9,651	4,084	1,360	1,423	- 5.3	
Dinaipur	13,430	5,383	1,950	2,210	- 12.0	
Jalpaiuri	6,709	3,694	1,307	1,608	- 18.4	
Darjiling	10,034	6,483	2,341	2,742	- 19.7	
Kurseong	4,400	2,051	684	737	- 7.0	
Ranpur	15,000	5,582	2,101	2,635	- 17.9	
Saidpur	5,848	2,129	800	965	- 16.6	
Nilphamari	2,990	904	304	395	- 13.4	
Kupigram	1,777	541	189	203	- 6.3	
Gaidbandha	1,633	428	184	270	- 31.0	
Domar	1,868	768	270	308	- 12.8	
Bogra	7,004	2,996	1,023	1,171	- 13.0	
Sherpur	4,104	1,881	679	677	+ 1.4	
Pabna	18,424	8,793	2,772	3,040	- 8.3	
Serajganj	23,114	10,314	3,636	3,814	- 4.3	
<b>DACCA DIVISION</b>						
Dacca	90,342	40,270	12,940	14,000	- 12.3	
Naralinga	24,472	7,404	2,740	4,033	- 32.0	
Nasirabad	14,606	4,203	1,512	2,400	- 37.3	
Muktagacha	5,888	2,114	721	972	- 26.9	
Sherpur	12,545	3,489	1,885	2,005	- 5.8	
Kishorganj	10,240	7,820	2,607	2,851	- 8.8	
Basirpur	10,987	5,065	1,077	1,034	+ 1.4	
Netrokona	11,802	4,771	1,614	1,881	- 14.3	
Tanail	10,565	7,504	2,858	2,790	+ 5.0	
Jamalpur	11,963	5,222	2,747	2,964	- 7.8	
Faridpur	11,619	4,967	1,582	1,923	- 17.5	
Machipur	11,463	7,007	2,608	2,881	- 10.3	
Barisal	15,973	7,725	1,903	2,131	- 30.2	



APPENDIX III.—SHOWING THE EXCESS OR DEFECT IN THE NUMBER OF MARRIED FEMALES OF CHILD BEARING AGE IN CERTAIN TOWNS AS COMPARED WITH THE GENERAL POPULATION—*concluded*.

Town.	Population	Number of females.	Number of married females between the ages of 15-40.	Corresponding number of females in general population.	Percentage of excess or deficiency of column 4, as compared with column 5.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>DACCA DIVISION—<i>concluded</i>.</b>						
Nalchiti ...	2,940	466	123	370	- 67.1	
Jhalakati ...	5,234	580	106	864	- 87.7	
Pirojpur ...	14,119	5,369	1,940	2,330	- 16.4	
Patuakhali ...	5,000	1,380	640	825	- 21.4	
<b>CHITTAGONG DIVISION</b>						
Comilla ...	19,108	7,300	2,573	3,163	- 18.7	The entry in column 4 is only an estimate. The actual figures are not available.
Brahmanbaria ...	10,915	9,399	3,230	3,386	- 4.1	
Chandpur ...	9,303	2,490	870	1,544	- 43.1	
Sodharam ...	6,530	3,217	783	1,070	- 27.2	
Chittagong ...	22,144	8,430	2,724	3,653	- 25.3	
Cox's Bazar ...	3,845	2,000	500	634	- 11.7	
<b>PATNA DIVISION</b>						
Patna ...	134,785	67,747	21,867	22,340	- 1.6	
Barh ...	12,164	5,843	2,030	2,007	+ 1.6	
Bihar ...	45,063	23,725	7,679	7,435	+ 3.3	
Imaspore ...	33,609	17,103	4,062	5,600	- 26.4	
Phulwari ...	3,415	1,734	601	563	+ 6.7	
Mokameh ...	13,861	8,334	2,483	2,387	+ 3.5	
Khaganj ...	8,126	3,995	1,373	1,341	+ 2.4	
Goya ...	71,288	34,735	12,180	11,703	+ 3.4	
Tikuri ...	6,437	3,614	1,612	1,602	- 4.7	
Daudnagar ...	9,744	5,173	1,725	1,606	+ 7.3	
Aurangabad ...	4,585	2,323	723	773	- 6.5	
Sharghat ...	2,661	1,474	419	433	- 3.9	
Nawadah ...	5,908	2,920	1,025	975	+ 5.1	
Hastna ...	6,704	3,611	1,182	1,106	+ 6.7	
Jaimunabad ...	7,613	3,369	1,231	1,138	+ 8.0	
Arrah ...	40,170	24,131	8,000	7,613	+ 5.3	
Jogadipur ...	11,451	6,101	2,046	1,830	+ 8.3	
Basni ...	13,945	7,089	2,455	2,301	+ 6.6	
Dumraon ...	17,230	9,177	2,949	2,844	+ 3.7	
Bhalua ...	5,000	2,900	1,033	934	+ 10.8	
Sasaram ...	23,644	13,262	4,289	3,901	+ 9.9	
Chupra ...	46,061	23,240	7,778	7,574	+ 2.7	
Rowalganj ...	9,705	4,961	1,797	1,611	+ 6.0	
Swan ...	15,756	7,841	2,729	2,600	+ 6.5	
Mirganj ...	3,694	1,843	5,004	1,800	+ 212.7	
Motibari ...	13,730	6,730	2,065	2,265	- 7.9	
Betiah ...	24,696	12,355	3,962	4,075	- 4.3	
Muzaffarpur ...	45,617	21,152	7,467	7,627	- 1.8	
Hazipur ...	21,598	11,711	3,630	3,531	+ 4.5	
Lalganj ...	11,502	6,369	2,035	1,929	+ 5.3	
Sitamarhi ...	9,533	4,680	1,563	1,674	- 6.3	
Darbhanga ...	66,344	33,337	11,063	10,630	+ 1.3	
Rosera ...	10,245	6,303	1,965	1,600	+ 16.3	
Samastipur ...	9,101	3,356	1,304	1,501	- 7.3	
Madhubani ...	17,802	8,665	3,133	2,937	+ 6.7	
<b>BHAGALPUR DIVISION</b>						
Monghyr ...	35,880	18,867	6,723	5,380	- 23.3	
Jamulpur ...	13,929	6,333	2,087	2,398	- 9.8	
Khagaria ...	11,403	6,851	2,387	1,800	- 29.3	
Shakhpura ...	10,135	6,412	1,861	1,673	+ 11.3	
Bhagalpur ...	78,760	36,031	11,919	12,300	- 4.9	
Golgong ...	5,733	3,940	843	947	- 10.9	
Purnea ...	14,007	6,766	2,019	2,311	- 12.9	
Kibhanganj ...	7,671	3,280	1,103	1,276	- 7.7	
Kotihar ...	9,761	4,923	1,367	1,611	- 13.1	
Ennah Basar ...	13,657	6,233	2,073	2,256	- 8.1	
Old Mulde ...	3,743	1,669	654	613	- 16.4	
Newnaganj ...	17,616	8,750	12,333	2,808	+ 336.4	
Madhubpur ...	8,640	3,133	1,111	1,120	- 1.6	
Deoghur ...	8,898	3,941	1,536	1,498	+ 5.5	
Sahibganj ...	7,536	3,705	1,348	1,247	+ 9.1	
<b>ORISSA DIVISION</b>						
Cuttack ...	61,364	23,672	7,276	8,475	- 14.1	
Jajpur ...	12,111	6,206	1,944	1,803	- 6.7	
Kendrapara ...	15,240	7,700	2,450	2,513	- 3.4	
Balasore ...	20,890	9,994	3,163	3,445	- 8.0	
Boudrak ...	18,513	9,760	3,230	3,665	- 8.7	
Puri ...	40,364	25,402	8,403	8,140	- 3.9	
<b>CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION</b>						
Hazaribagh ...	15,700	7,076	2,477	2,907	- 9.3	
Chatra ...	10,500	5,610	1,307	1,740	- 8.3	
Giridih ...	9,433	4,417	1,630	1,566	+ 6.0	
Ranchi ...	23,270	13,683	3,613	4,385	- 13.0	
Lohardaga ...	9,123	2,369	925	1,010	- 8.1	
Palkote ...	3,246	1,764	495	536	- 7.0	
Bundu ...	5,469	2,834	758	802	- 1.0	
Baitonganj ...	5,337	2,674	661	903	- 0.2	
Garhwa ...	3,610	1,664	820	596	- 12.5	
Pinalla ...	17,301	7,960	2,700	2,353	- 5.0	
Jharkhand ...	4,577	2,425	700	805	- 4.5	
Raghunathpur ...	4,171	2,695	640	688	- 3.7	
Chakras ...	5,633	3,327	1,360	1,423	- 3.0	
<b>FUDATORY STATES</b>						
Nijhar (Dhenkanal) ...	5,809	2,626	908	983	- 3.0	
Bhuban ...	6,759	3,687	1,344	1,130	+ 11.1	
Boripada ...	5,013	2,464	759	920	- 20.2	
Nijhar (Keonjhar) ...	4,332	2,340	773	743	+ 3.3	
Koch Bihar ...	10,406	5,929	1,281	1,720	- 25.2	
Manik ...	1,307	548	104	199	- 47.7	
Mathabhanga ...	1,583	825	64	613	- 55.7	
Haldibari ...	1,112	323	132	183	- 30.0	
Agartala ...	9,813	3,166	1,367	1,570	- 19.9	



APPENDIX IV.—SHOWING THE NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN EACH MONTH DURING THE YEAR 1892—1900, THE PROPORTION TO THE YEARLY TOTAL OF BIRTHS, AND THE NUMBER OF FEMALE TO 100 MALE BIRTHS.

(i) BENGAL PROPER.

MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE ON YEARLY TOTAL.		Number of male births to 100 females.	MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE ON YEARLY TOTAL.		Number of male births to 100 females.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
JANUARY	622,533	558,538	9.88	9.93	105	JULY	596,259	568,507	6.23	6.18	107
1892	38,433	34,791	7.14	7.03	110	1893	28,908	26,007	5.38	5.37	108
1893	62,007	52,810	9.95	8.91	107	1894	51,444	47,085	6.98	6.99	109
1894	78,129	74,443	12.59	12.48	104	1895	40,094	37,609	6.31	6.31	106
1895	66,303	61,639	9.61	8.97	106	1896	45,737	43,093	6.62	6.08	106
1896	67,364	64,009	9.93	9.14	105	1897	41,297	39,614	5.63	5.57	107
1897	63,145	59,570	8.55	8.40	106	1898	47,799	44,121	6.47	6.39	108
1898	69,080	62,707	9.16	8.26	105	1899	44,533	42,022	6.21	6.21	106
1899	80,633	74,584	11.17	11.00	104	1900	40,062	42,670	6.11	6.02	107
1900	86,727	82,371	11.30	11.40	105		48,425	43,006	6.04	5.97	107
FEBRUARY	550,801	547,268	9.13	9.10	107	AUGUST	597,247	567,621	6.34	6.16	108
1892	58,839	53,541	10.03	10.25	100	1893	38,093	30,717	8.13	6.25	107
1893	62,650	57,915	8.59	8.46	108	1894	40,443	43,504	6.71	6.53	109
1894	69,431	53,303	9.35	9.26	107	1895	23,343	21,222	5.24	5.23	106
1895	61,490	57,501	8.90	8.99	106	1896	35,640	32,979	5.16	5.09	108
1896	70,965	66,003	9.40	9.48	107	1897	47,677	43,676	6.40	6.25	108
1897	66,133	61,347	8.92	8.58	105	1898	54,534	50,137	7.28	7.27	108
1898	56,832	53,617	7.88	7.93	105	1899	52,568	49,528	7.39	7.16	108
1899	72,646	68,373	9.66	9.03	108	1900	50,331	46,738	6.27	6.18	107
1900	73,134	68,673	9.22	9.40	106		40,544	37,685	5.28	5.17	106
MARCH	648,456	608,840	10.19	10.23	106	SEPTEMBER	410,568	379,783	6.30	6.37	108
1892	63,970	59,367	11.29	12.00	107	1893	51,470	34,807	5.65	5.84	108
1893	66,528	61,468	9.18	9.10	109	1894	45,129	44,394	6.53	6.49	108
1894	61,346	57,061	8.06	9.50	107	1895	36,675	32,793	5.77	5.65	108
1895	63,876	59,200	9.22	9.77	107	1896	48,191	40,313	6.25	6.21	107
1896	90,637	83,569	12.18	12.37	106	1897	51,689	47,446	6.94	6.77	108
1897	83,063	77,676	11.24	11.27	106	1898	51,798	47,519	7.11	6.98	108
1898	62,836	58,531	8.70	8.80	106	1899	62,192	48,754	7.33	7.26	107
1899	77,908	73,412	9.70	9.70	105	1900	60,797	46,961	6.32	6.23	108
1900	78,070	70,000	10.45	10.38	104		44,425	41,306	6.79	6.78	106
APRIL	545,752	510,564	8.54	8.57	106	OCTOBER	559,934	546,422	9.26	9.17	107
1892	44,601	41,312	8.32	8.25	108	1893	44,602	44,140	9.03	8.91	110
1893	61,212	50,694	8.21	8.30	108	1894	75,427	70,000	10.39	10.25	107
1894	57,694	54,212	9.06	9.16	104	1895	58,151	53,341	9.15	8.98	109
1895	67,146	63,333	9.72	9.76	106	1896	60,796	55,831	8.90	8.92	108
1896	65,712	61,830	8.58	8.23	106	1897	58,977	50,331	7.92	7.80	109
1897	69,672	66,348	8.13	8.21	105	1898	60,801	50,550	8.16	8.68	109
1898	30,943	47,791	7.06	7.05	107	1899	76,448	68,017	9.70	9.75	107
1899	67,019	63,731	8.36	8.41	105	1900	77,898	73,182	9.71	9.68	106
1900	62,119	60,129	9.01	9.01	106		78,442	75,098	10.38	10.11	107
MAY	475,565	444,917	7.47	7.46	106	NOVEMBER	656,597	617,756	10.32	10.37	106
1892	46,722	43,718	8.68	8.68	109	1893	67,297	53,108	10.60	10.72	107
1893	72,382	59,620	8.47	8.57	106	1894	70,045	63,203	9.60	9.56	107
1894	45,782	43,072	7.20	7.21	108	1895	62,372	54,809	9.81	9.67	105
1895	45,655	42,480	6.60	6.26	107	1896	60,609	60,293	10.00	10.08	105
1896	60,543	47,659	8.75	6.09	105	1897	70,798	67,179	9.61	9.60	105
1897	67,141	62,781	7.73	7.68	105	1898	60,555	75,949	10.21	11.01	106
1898	51,667	48,247	7.18	7.13	107	1899	58,194	62,063	12.23	12.25	105
1899	63,439	60,130	7.91	7.04	106	1900	80,564	76,580	10.98	10.98	105
1900	62,421	49,207	6.83	6.82	106		77,101	72,751	10.94	10.07	105
JUNE	391,179	366,063	6.15	6.13	106	DECEMBER	648,948	615,045	10.29	10.32	105
1892	32,922	30,186	6.12	6.00	108	1893	62,798	40,546	8.30	10.08	104
1893	44,353	42,205	6.29	6.28	108	1894	60,146	64,530	9.38	8.45	107
1894	32,877	33,663	6.64	5.07	108	1895	64,803	63,044	10.46	10.73	104
1895	40,231	38,694	5.28	5.28	103	1896	80,379	81,180	12.06	12.34	109
1896	53,991	52,538	7.22	7.50	106	1897	72,665	69,909	9.76	9.88	104
1897	50,385	47,183	6.31	6.54	106	1898	64,543	61,474	8.74	8.60	105
1898	43,083	40,491	5.96	5.98	106	1899	81,139	76,487	11.25	11.29	106
1899	44,204	45,511	5.75	5.75	106	1900	78,009	73,193	9.48	9.05	103
1900	40,350	37,910	5.24	5.24	108		80,130	76,444	10.44	10.35	104



## (ii) BIHAR.

MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE ON YEARLY TOTAL.		Number of male births to 100 females.	MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE ON YEARLY TOTAL.		Number of male births to 100 females.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>JANUARY</b> ...	<b>363,923</b>	<b>342,861</b>	<b>9.05</b>	<b>8.13</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>JULY</b> ...	<b>281,749</b>	<b>260,252</b>	<b>7.06</b>	<b>6.53</b>	<b>108</b>
1892 ...	23,301	22,709	7.65	6.90	111	1892 ...	23,397	21,342	6.49	6.45	110
1893 ...	26,643	23,669	8.59	8.55	108	1893 ...	20,240	27,523	7.09	6.95	102
1894 ...	49,183	45,485	11.70	11.77	105	1894 ...	28,840	26,078	6.74	6.90	108
1895 ...	36,177	32,709	8.27	8.20	107	1895 ...	29,396	26,922	6.91	6.73	109
1896 ...	39,002	37,037	8.22	8.21	102	1896 ...	32,760	30,651	6.21	6.88	108
1897 ...	37,204	35,222	8.29	8.23	105	1897 ...	35,212	32,571	7.83	7.29	108
1898 ...	34,154	32,007	7.75	7.74	106	1898 ...	27,449	24,951	6.24	6.01	110
1899 ...	28,582	26,478	10.51	10.46	104	1899 ...	33,320	30,165	8.84	8.77	106
1900 ...	43,211	40,070	10.32	10.39	104	1900 ...	30,823	34,244	7.88	7.72	106
<b>FEBRUARY</b> ...	<b>317,444</b>	<b>295,859</b>	<b>7.90</b>	<b>7.90</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>AUGUST</b> ...	<b>364,296</b>	<b>338,934</b>	<b>9.05</b>	<b>8.96</b>	<b>107</b>
1892 ...	34,023	31,164	9.45	8.45	109	1892 ...	35,329	32,100	9.97	9.75	119
1893 ...	27,048	24,075	8.34	6.23	109	1893 ...	42,846	39,641	10.04	10.01	109
1894 ...	37,075	35,805	9.03	8.99	103	1894 ...	28,856	25,101	6.34	6.35	108
1895 ...	30,660	28,689	7.19	7.19	108	1895 ...	30,290	28,138	7.12	7.05	107
1896 ...	27,083	25,413	7.93	7.93	100	1896 ...	44,531	41,662	9.39	9.23	108
1897 ...	36,547	34,261	8.13	8.00	106	1897 ...	46,736	43,264	10.29	10.21	107
1898 ...	20,982	25,868	6.12	6.25	104	1898 ...	47,570	43,522	10.81	10.59	108
1899 ...	47,851	45,642	8.65	8.54	105	1899 ...	52,131	49,606	9.30	9.28	105
1900 ...	38,673	37,345	8.28	8.42	103	1900 ...	37,073	35,580	8.12	8.03	106
<b>MARCH</b> ...	<b>341,097</b>	<b>317,543</b>	<b>8.48</b>	<b>8.40</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>SEPTEMBER</b> ...	<b>362,293</b>	<b>341,645</b>	<b>9.01</b>	<b>9.03</b>	<b>106</b>
1892 ...	30,455	28,221	8.46	8.59	107	1892 ...	32,481	29,364	9.03	8.92	110
1893 ...	29,030	26,596	6.90	6.71	109	1893 ...	30,012	24,908	6.65	5.71	107
1894 ...	39,235	36,815	8.33	9.27	107	1894 ...	32,676	30,147	7.75	7.45	107
1895 ...	30,456	28,129	7.16	7.15	108	1895 ...	41,316	34,318	9.72	9.73	100
1896 ...	29,100	40,210	10.26	10.23	108	1896 ...	43,802	43,124	9.64	9.65	105
1897 ...	46,582	42,708	10.14	10.28	100	1897 ...	39,520	38,322	8.89	9.95	104
1898 ...	27,120	25,338	6.16	6.12	107	1898 ...	46,055	43,345	10.46	10.32	105
1899 ...	40,261	40,261	8.79	8.94	106	1899 ...	47,810	46,128	8.53	8.63	103
1900 ...	36,761	37,424	8.51	8.44	106	1900 ...	39,202	37,633	8.46	8.49	104
<b>APRIL</b> ...	<b>301,193</b>	<b>281,542</b>	<b>7.49</b>	<b>7.44</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>OCTOBER</b> ...	<b>427,643</b>	<b>405,219</b>	<b>10.63</b>	<b>10.74</b>	<b>165</b>
1892 ...	25,290	22,667	7.22	6.69	111	1892 ...	34,370	33,057	10.11	10.31	107
1893 ...	20,479	24,716	6.25	6.24	107	1893 ...	58,682	55,042	13.63	13.50	105
1894 ...	38,694	36,303	9.17	9.17	106	1894 ...	45,082	39,670	10.25	10.00	108
1895 ...	34,052	31,231	8.01	7.33	109	1895 ...	48,920	40,418	11.51	11.94	105
1896 ...	33,810	30,723	7.51	7.67	105	1896 ...	40,170	35,330	8.47	8.00	105
1897 ...	33,681	31,309	7.49	7.41	107	1897 ...	34,535	33,015	7.75	7.79	105
1898 ...	27,830	19,892	4.96	4.81	109	1898 ...	59,832	57,280	13.56	13.54	104
1899 ...	47,977	43,405	8.45	8.51	104	1899 ...	56,479	54,086	10.07	10.11	104
1900 ...	38,657	36,247	8.16	8.12	104	1900 ...	40,996	47,963	10.71	10.32	104
<b>MAY</b> ...	<b>285,257</b>	<b>265,060</b>	<b>7.04</b>	<b>7.01</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>NOVEMBER</b> ...	<b>377,548</b>	<b>358,969</b>	<b>9.33</b>	<b>9.49</b>	<b>105</b>
1892 ...	29,817	26,823	8.23	8.13	110	1892 ...	34,680	22,526	9.64	9.00	108
1893 ...	30,244	28,181	7.21	7.11	109	1893 ...	42,802	39,965	10.91	10.00	106
1894 ...	31,199	29,498	7.42	7.45	105	1894 ...	35,515	33,954	6.43	6.59	104
1895 ...	23,444	20,453	5.98	5.08	106	1895 ...	48,142	40,267	10.42	10.33	108
1896 ...	21,026	20,650	6.61	6.63	106	1896 ...	40,039	39,134	8.44	8.56	101
1897 ...	34,432	32,714	7.67	7.73	105	1897 ...	40,052	34,437	6.90	6.07	104
1898 ...	23,079	20,946	5.24	5.07	109	1898 ...	63,357	52,737	12.59	12.74	104
1899 ...	41,844	44,044	3.26	3.41	104	1899 ...	43,221	41,121	7.71	7.69	105
1900 ...	29,477	24,030	6.23	6.45	105	1900 ...	40,847	34,753	8.75	8.75	105
<b>JUNE</b> ...	<b>245,861</b>	<b>228,860</b>	<b>6.11</b>	<b>6.05</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>DECEMBER</b> ...	<b>356,599</b>	<b>339,155</b>	<b>8.86</b>	<b>8.97</b>	<b>105</b>
1892 ...	22,754	20,268	6.33	6.16	112	1892 ...	20,085	27,888	8.33	8.47	107
1893 ...	24,497	22,544	6.74	5.71	108	1893 ...	40,054	34,013	9.60	9.78	106
1894 ...	23,071	22,020	6.43	6.57	104	1894 ...	34,535	28,089	8.28	8.35	106
1895 ...	22,080	21,216	5.40	5.25	108	1895 ...	51,241	40,563	12.05	12.77	103
1896 ...	17,730	14,708	7.26	7.79	108	1896 ...	30,106	27,083	8.96	8.32	105
1897 ...	31,890	31,500	7.13	7.07	107	1897 ...	30,484	29,297	6.77	6.80	104
1898 ...	22,482	21,032	5.11	5.00	106	1898 ...	48,304	40,464	11.90	11.22	104
1899 ...	31,418	30,137	5.60	5.64	104	1899 ...	40,824	38,579	7.28	7.17	106
1900 ...	26,105	24,229	5.39	5.49	107	1900 ...	40,679	39,129	8.71	8.72	105



(iii) ORISSA.

MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBERS OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE OF YEARLY TOTALS.		Number of male births to 100 females.	MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBERS OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE OF YEARLY TOTALS.		Number of male births to 100 females.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
JANUARY ...	54,187	50,830	8.14	8.11	106	JULY ...	55,944	53,495	8.30	8.38	103
1892 ...	5,155	5,006	8.43	8.68	100	1892 ...	4,320	4,045	7.31	7.54	100
1893 ...	4,722	4,470	6.90	7.32	105	1893 ...	6,585	6,216	9.63	9.81	103
1894 ...	5,637	6,229	11.23	11.32	108	1894 ...	4,935	4,493	7.67	7.40	109
1895 ...	4,624	4,390	7.09	7.10	105	1895 ...	6,350	5,847	9.59	9.64	106
1896 ...	5,704	4,542	6.48	6.50	105	1896 ...	6,098	6,371	7.80	7.33	105
1897 ...	6,830	6,323	8.15	7.98	107	1897 ...	6,510	6,315	7.73	7.90	104
1898 ...	5,480	5,000	7.80	7.53	100	1898 ...	6,411	5,000	7.59	7.40	103
1899 ...	10,310	9,411	10.37	10.58	103	1899 ...	7,204	7,206	8.03	8.01	100
1900 ...	6,953	6,023	8.30	8.40	103	1900 ...	7,505	7,392	9.20	9.27	104
FEBRUARY ...	48,631	45,345	7.30	7.24	107	AUGUST ...	51,954	49,344	7.30	7.21	104
1892 ...	5,825	4,573	8.36	8.32	100	1892 ...	4,912	4,476	8.38	8.34	100
1893 ...	3,355	2,945	4.91	5.05	113	1893 ...	5,703	5,554	8.45	8.72	104
1894 ...	5,261	4,910	8.38	8.01	107	1894 ...	5,848	5,819	6.13	6.40	100
1895 ...	5,434	5,431	8.50	8.50	105	1895 ...	6,044	4,582	7.73	7.43	110
1896 ...	4,915	4,611	6.23	6.26	104	1896 ...	6,789	6,455	8.40	8.04	105
1897 ...	7,329	6,614	8.67	8.34	109	1897 ...	6,834	6,630	8.15	8.06	104
1898 ...	3,831	3,561	6.19	5.30	107	1898 ...	6,115	5,958	8.03	8.01	102
1899 ...	6,199	5,958	9.79	10.11	104	1899 ...	3,987	3,677	7.43	7.53	104
1900 ...	6,167	5,714	7.47	7.33	107	1900 ...	5,562	5,422	8.78	8.88	103
MARCH ...	51,624	50,369	8.20	8.04	108	SEPTEMBER ...	44,672	41,793	6.71	6.67	106
1892 ...	5,645	5,184	9.61	9.06	105	1892 ...	5,390	5,091	5.70	5.75	100
1893 ...	4,202	4,701	6.15	5.54	113	1893 ...	4,623	4,293	6.01	6.78	103
1894 ...	5,226	4,869	8.34	8.24	107	1894 ...	5,763	5,588	5.90	6.07	104
1895 ...	4,222	3,980	6.57	6.46	107	1895 ...	5,794	5,340	6.58	6.07	108
1896 ...	6,757	6,366	8.54	8.55	100	1896 ...	5,714	5,608	7.24	7.30	103
1897 ...	8,504	7,938	10.28	10.01	108	1897 ...	5,371	4,718	6.28	5.95	111
1898 ...	4,821	4,130	6.73	6.19	113	1898 ...	5,273	5,007	7.40	7.45	105
1899 ...	5,450	7,023	8.98	8.95	106	1899 ...	5,748	5,345	6.12	6.09	107
1900 ...	6,790	6,547	9.23	7.93	108	1900 ...	5,300	4,903	6.31	6.22	106
APRIL ...	60,391	56,012	9.06	8.24	107	OCTOBER ...	55,503	51,924	8.34	8.45	104
1892 ...	5,321	4,837	9.41	9.01	114	1892 ...	4,180	3,966	7.12	7.31	100
1893 ...	5,781	4,704	8.43	7.20	118	1893 ...	7,840	7,108	11.17	11.22	107
1894 ...	6,320	5,770	9.08	9.76	109	1894 ...	5,130	4,978	8.41	8.43	100
1895 ...	6,104	5,745	9.23	9.32	108	1895 ...	6,167	5,982	9.26	9.00	108
1896 ...	7,009	6,713	8.88	9.03	104	1896 ...	5,409	5,023	6.84	6.74	107
1897 ...	7,940	7,531	9.40	9.52	105	1897 ...	5,132	4,961	6.18	6.25	104
1898 ...	4,700	4,266	6.90	6.50	109	1898 ...	7,195	6,830	10.11	10.18	103
1899 ...	8,792	8,306	9.35	9.45	104	1899 ...	6,024	6,215	7.02	6.99	106
1900 ...	8,127	7,624	9.35	9.09	106	1900 ...	8,062	7,808	9.76	10.02	102
MAY ...	67,647	63,806	10.16	10.15	106	NOVEMBER ...	56,766	54,019	8.63	8.63	103
1892 ...	7,806	6,761	13.15	12.63	113	1892 ...	4,875	4,700	8.51	8.70	103
1893 ...	7,185	6,521	10.48	10.77	105	1893 ...	6,254	5,609	9.18	8.99	110
1894 ...	6,200	5,733	9.20	9.75	108	1894 ...	4,900	4,328	7.81	7.60	104
1895 ...	5,125	4,780	7.92	7.77	107	1895 ...	6,046	5,038	9.27	9.23	100
1896 ...	7,314	6,974	9.27	9.37	104	1896 ...	7,008	6,534	8.29	8.78	104
1897 ...	8,771	8,337	10.47	10.58	105	1897 ...	6,863	6,651	6.19	6.20	102
1898 ...	6,508	6,180	9.21	9.18	106	1898 ...	8,300	8,109	11.77	11.71	115
1899 ...	10,511	9,896	11.19	11.21	105	1899 ...	6,853	5,744	6.44	6.47	105
1900 ...	8,303	8,042	10.01	10.21	102	1900 ...	6,800	6,046	7.53	7.67	103
JUNE ...	61,304	57,020	9.21	9.10	107	DECEMBER ...	54,549	52,182	8.25	8.39	104
1892 ...	5,566	5,166	9.63	9.01	108	1892 ...	4,356	3,913	7.43	7.29	111
1893 ...	6,242	5,842	9.23	9.25	105	1893 ...	6,013	5,740	8.79	8.46	104
1894 ...	5,267	4,877	8.50	8.25	104	1894 ...	4,944	4,861	7.85	8.20	101
1895 ...	5,237	4,860	8.03	7.63	107	1895 ...	6,946	6,858	10.05	10.50	104
1896 ...	9,310	8,479	11.34	11.30	109	1896 ...	7,410	7,043	9.38	9.48	104
1897 ...	8,700	8,416	10.40	10.21	104	1897 ...	4,944	4,935	8.89	8.10	103
1898 ...	5,840	5,702	8.21	8.03	105	1898 ...	7,080	7,204	10.55	11.01	104
1899 ...	8,034	7,433	9.55	8.70	108	1899 ...	5,706	5,457	6.97	6.13	104
1900 ...	6,540	6,573	8.42	8.34	105	1900 ...	9,536	6,856	7.92	7.93	104



## (iv)-CHOTA NAGPUR.

MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE ON YEARLY TOTALS.		Number of male births to 100 females.	MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE ON YEARLY TOTALS.		Number of male births to 100 females.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>JANUARY</b> ...	<b>63,970</b>	<b>60,177</b>	<b>7.90</b>	<b>7.96</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>JULY</b> ...	<b>73,563</b>	<b>69,175</b>	<b>9.28</b>	<b>9.15</b>	<b>106</b>
1892 ...	4,888	4,483	6.38	6.79	107	1892 ...	6,490	5,927	8.40	8.37	108
1893 ...	5,892	5,471	7.00	7.09	108	1893 ...	8,185	7,638	9.88	9.59	108
1894 ...	8,193	7,806	9.73	9.29	109	1894 ...	7,790	7,220	9.29	9.23	102
1895 ...	6,451	6,006	7.38	7.33	105	1895 ...	8,376	8,008	10.17	9.73	109
1896 ...	6,486	6,135	6.79	6.75	105	1896 ...	8,024	8,483	9.44	9.74	106
1897 ...	6,339	6,084	7.06	7.01	104	1897 ...	8,973	8,749	8.43	8.20	103
1898 ...	8,141	8,060	6.51	6.55	108	1898 ...	8,938	8,465	7.92	7.34	106
1899 ...	9,396	9,743	9.07	9.14	102	1899 ...	9,980	9,751	9.06	9.06	100
1900 ...	9,417	9,121	9.96	9.68	105	1900 ...	10,300	9,651	10.79	10.43	107
<b>FEBRUARY</b> ...	<b>53,681</b>	<b>50,947</b>	<b>6.87</b>	<b>6.83</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>AUGUST</b> ...	<b>79,887</b>	<b>75,989</b>	<b>10.08</b>	<b>9.93</b>	<b>106</b>
1892 ...	6,213	6,073	8.13	7.95	100	1892 ...	8,249	7,780	10.46	10.77	107
1893 ...	4,606	4,467	6.69	6.60	103	1893 ...	9,127	8,549	10.99	10.68	106
1894 ...	6,806	6,170	7.74	7.71	103	1894 ...	7,011	6,549	8.36	8.28	107
1895 ...	3,639	3,960	6.46	6.32	107	1895 ...	7,792	7,310	8.93	8.79	106
1896 ...	6,230	5,819	6.31	6.41	106	1896 ...	9,099	8,431	10.40	10.39	106
1897 ...	4,808	3,609	7.13	7.31	104	1897 ...	8,390	7,090	10.61	10.71	104
1898 ...	3,083	3,088	6.06	4.95	108	1898 ...	10,406	9,174	12.60	12.05	109
1899 ...	7,344	7,127	6.68	6.60	109	1899 ...	12,047	11,498	10.94	10.79	104
1900 ...	7,371	7,095	7.61	7.68	102	1900 ...	7,330	6,933	7.88	7.51	106
<b>MARCH</b> ...	<b>62,971</b>	<b>57,710</b>	<b>7.83</b>	<b>7.63</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>SEPTEMBER</b> ...	<b>68,783</b>	<b>66,574</b>	<b>8.68</b>	<b>8.81</b>	<b>103</b>
1892 ...	6,737	6,023	8.80	8.42	111	1892 ...	6,175	5,323	8.68	8.74	106
1893 ...	8,701	5,345	6.87	6.53	104	1893 ...	6,984	6,671	8.37	8.40	104
1894 ...	7,064	6,443	8.40	8.11	108	1894 ...	6,716	6,617	7.99	8.27	101
1895 ...	6,196	5,703	7.11	6.87	106	1895 ...	8,374	8,076	9.60	9.63	101
1896 ...	8,460	8,049	8.88	8.60	105	1896 ...	8,166	8,023	8.54	8.87	101
1897 ...	8,331	7,858	10.07	9.74	108	1897 ...	6,368	6,065	7.08	7.19	100
1898 ...	4,922	3,679	8.14	4.90	109	1898 ...	9,730	9,438	12.33	12.71	103
1899 ...	7,668	7,275	6.96	6.85	105	1899 ...	10,600	9,636	9.99	9.65	103
1900 ...	7,010	7,483	8.28	8.10	102	1900 ...	6,327	6,362	6.63	6.80	99
<b>APRIL</b> ...	<b>64,805</b>	<b>62,303</b>	<b>8.17</b>	<b>8.24</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>OCTOBER</b> ...	<b>70,903</b>	<b>68,265</b>	<b>8.94</b>	<b>9.03</b>	<b>103</b>
1892 ...	6,371	5,972	8.76	8.35	106	1892 ...	6,062	5,680	7.94	7.84	106
1893 ...	8,326	6,090	7.69	7.75	109	1893 ...	6,787	5,181	10.88	10.48	107
1894 ...	7,083	7,398	9.15	9.12	106	1894 ...	7,311	7,118	9.58	8.78	101
1895 ...	7,649	7,714	9.00	9.28	101	1895 ...	7,040	7,994	9.11	9.21	99
1896 ...	7,791	7,160	9.15	7.92	108	1896 ...	6,728	6,463	7.16	7.14	104
1897 ...	7,677	7,313	9.28	9.21	104	1897 ...	5,335	6,051	6.93	6.43	103
1898 ...	3,399	3,334	4.29	4.34	106	1898 ...	10,149	9,604	12.86	12.88	104
1899 ...	6,588	6,393	7.60	7.78	103	1899 ...	10,880	10,565	9.89	9.89	103
1900 ...	9,372	9,223	9.70	9.59	100	1900 ...	7,843	7,609	8.21	8.30	102
<b>MAY</b> ...	<b>69,889</b>	<b>66,363</b>	<b>8.82</b>	<b>8.78</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>NOVEMBER</b> ...	<b>61,859</b>	<b>59,236</b>	<b>7.73</b>	<b>7.84</b>	<b>103</b>
1892 ...	9,256	7,793	10.81	10.89	105	1892 ...	5,363	4,412	7.98	7.58	108
1893 ...	8,220	7,066	9.34	10.14	103	1893 ...	6,288	5,000	7.97	7.69	105
1894 ...	7,078	6,318	8.40	7.90	112	1894 ...	6,412	6,104	7.63	7.63	105
1895 ...	6,239	5,029	7.15	7.13	106	1895 ...	7,307	7,011	8.26	8.44	102
1896 ...	7,118	7,423	6.29	8.78	100	1896 ...	6,814	6,413	7.12	7.07	105
1897 ...	8,708	8,323	10.64	10.59	105	1897 ...	5,915	5,806	7.15	7.39	101
1898 ...	4,264	4,096	5.40	5.43	105	1898 ...	9,093	8,574	10.51	11.06	104
1899 ...	9,548	9,337	8.67	8.77	102	1899 ...	8,050	8,025	7.31	7.53	100
1900 ...	9,536	9,343	9.98	10.01	103	1900 ...	5,718	5,632	5.98	6.10	101
<b>JUNE</b> ...	<b>61,876</b>	<b>59,639</b>	<b>7.81</b>	<b>7.90</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>DECEMBER</b> ...	<b>62,383</b>	<b>59,989</b>	<b>7.89</b>	<b>7.93</b>	<b>104</b>
1892 ...	6,197	5,352	8.11	8.19	104	1892 ...	5,148	4,630	6.74	6.85	106
1893 ...	6,104	5,715	7.96	7.28	106	1893 ...	6,813	6,460	9.26	8.25	106
1894 ...	5,605	5,465	6.76	6.96	103	1894 ...	6,028	6,303	7.98	7.88	100
1895 ...	5,084	6,738	6.83	6.87	107	1895 ...	8,712	8,479	10.90	10.30	108
1896 ...	10,871	10,365	11.28	11.37	105	1896 ...	7,044	6,967	7.97	7.70	100
1897 ...	8,061	7,674	9.77	9.77	105	1897 ...	4,463	4,449	5.80	5.86	107
1898 ...	6,142	5,972	8.25	8.21	107	1898 ...	8,796	8,688	11.15	11.32	104
1899 ...	7,514	7,247	6.82	6.93	100	1899 ...	8,447	8,091	7.67	7.60	104
1900 ...	6,319	7,861	6.70	8.64	106	1900 ...	6,102	5,955	6.45	6.45	100



(v) FAMINE DISTRICTS.\*

MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE ON YEARLY TOTALS.		Number of male births to 100 females.	MONTH AND YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		PERCENTAGE ON YEARLY TOTALS.		Number of male births to 100 females.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
JANUARY	205,439	192,492	8.97	8.97	100	JULY	163,296	150,876	7.13	7.03	108
1898	14,848	13,134	8.98	8.79	115	1898	13,814	12,468	8.61	8.48	110
1899	20,512	18,914	8.42	8.34	104	1899	17,793	16,273	7.90	7.19	109
1900	25,179	20,771	11.06	11.73	105	1900	16,137	14,832	8.47	8.13	108
1901	25,917	19,239	8.55	8.40	108	1901	18,464	16,004	7.65	7.23	111
1902	22,004	20,893	7.96	8.04	105	1902	18,704	17,424	8.77	8.73	107
1903	20,115	18,836	8.93	8.07	104	1903	19,045	17,809	7.28	7.04	104
1904	18,245	16,766	7.29	7.15	108	1904	16,919	15,363	8.76	8.61	119
1905	33,447	31,895	10.67	10.68	104	1905	22,207	21,172	7.08	7.09	104
1906	27,176	25,938	10.60	10.70	104	1906	20,268	18,888	7.90	7.79	107
FEBRUARY	178,504	167,494	7.80	7.81	106	AUGUST	208,331	193,783	9.10	9.09	107
1898	20,561	18,338	9.09	9.48	112	1898	20,866	18,966	9.98	9.81	110
1899	14,677	13,590	8.03	8.20	107	1899	25,067	23,290	10.29	10.25	108
1900	21,843	18,688	9.09	8.16	104	1900	10,673	14,039	8.48	6.44	107
1901	17,171	16,303	7.08	7.15	105	1901	18,242	17,011	7.44	7.41	107
1902	21,711	20,212	7.86	7.70	107	1902	24,753	23,098	8.98	8.88	107
1903	32,100	19,707	8.02	8.01	107	1903	25,000	23,246	10.01	9.93	107
1904	14,013	13,291	6.66	6.67	195	1904	21,072	27,650	11.90	11.70	108
1905	28,737	25,431	8.53	8.52	106	1905	23,825	27,842	9.19	9.30	104
1906	21,683	20,308	8.40	8.07	103	1906	19,764	18,250	7.71	7.63	104
MARCH	199,273	176,905	8.31	8.34	107	SEPTEMBER	198,897	187,693	8.69	8.75	105
1898	18,928	16,827	8.69	8.70	108	1898	18,675	17,078	8.90	8.83	109
1899	16,988	14,800	8.66	8.62	108	1899	20,606	19,066	8.46	8.44	104
1900	22,472	21,083	9.30	9.28	106	1900	19,523	17,311	7.66	7.68	107
1901	18,801	15,400	8.92	6.75	107	1901	23,820	22,702	9.66	9.63	106
1902	28,671	26,310	10.28	10.11	109	1902	24,559	23,161	8.98	8.93	106
1903	21,235	22,554	9.66	9.63	107	1903	20,256	19,617	8.07	8.29	103
1904	14,146	13,132	5.73	5.85	107	1904	27,183	25,840	10.86	10.93	105
1905	27,464	25,618	8.76	8.68	107	1905	26,760	24,830	8.22	8.21	103
1906	22,317	21,178	8.79	8.73	106	1906	19,781	18,868	7.71	7.63	104
APRIL	173,138	172,632	7.66	7.63	106	OCTOBER	231,191	219,084	10.10	10.21	103
1898	16,307	13,927	7.81	7.30	109	1898	20,710	19,344	9.78	10.00	107
1899	15,347	14,320	6.36	6.37	107	1899	22,921	20,988	13.52	13.60	100
1900	22,817	21,473	9.44	9.45	106	1900	23,844	22,304	9.87	9.78	107
1901	10,294	17,920	7.80	7.80	107	1901	26,595	25,070	11.04	11.18	105
1902	21,080	19,860	7.62	7.65	106	1902	20,677	19,863	7.59	7.66	106
1903	18,612	17,121	7.49	7.33	108	1903	17,322	16,262	8.91	7.07	104
1904	11,490	10,630	4.29	4.75	104	1904	33,199	31,929	18.25	13.61	104
1905	26,000	24,594	8.58	8.57	105	1905	29,640	28,262	9.45	8.96	104
1906	22,343	21,202	8.70	8.74	106	1906	25,452	24,279	9.24	10.01	104
MAY	185,469	172,471	8.08	8.04	107	NOVEMBER	206,128	195,386	9.09	9.11	105
1898	17,911	16,240	8.44	8.40	110	1898	18,844	16,604	9.40	9.07	104
1899	18,520	17,907	7.73	7.70	108	1899	23,343	21,990	9.68	9.68	106
1900	18,509	15,374	7.80	7.65	107	1900	19,604	18,540	8.67	8.16	105
1901	14,966	14,103	6.12	6.14	106	1901	25,116	24,008	10.27	10.49	104
1902	27,065	26,791	8.79	8.91	105	1902	21,824	20,624	7.95	7.96	106
1903	20,354	26,066	11.03	11.13	112	1903	20,464	19,225	8.17	8.34	104
1904	19,818	11,085	3.72	5.96	109	1904	31,330	29,548	12.60	12.60	104
1905	27,098	26,236	8.30	8.22	103	1905	23,258	22,179	7.41	7.43	104
1906	11,861	17,360	7.13	7.13	106	1906	21,430	20,279	8.36	8.36	106
JUNE	147,992	136,833	6.46	6.38	108	DECEMBER	198,393	189,297	8.71	8.89	103
1898	13,796	12,287	6.55	6.36	112	1898	17,348	15,946	8.13	8.25	104
1899	16,956	15,850	8.19	8.14	109	1899	23,298	21,984	9.67	9.71	105
1900	18,501	12,893	9.03	8.68	105	1900	20,460	19,308	8.44	8.50	106
1901	14,829	13,042	8.73	8.68	107	1901	28,037	27,688	11.50	12.15	103
1902	23,459	21,308	8.48	8.44	107	1902	21,420	20,464	7.75	7.66	104
1903	26,209	18,916	8.70	8.09	106	1903	19,768	18,604	8.29	8.25	106
1904	13,880	12,408	5.35	5.33	107	1904	27,560	26,381	10.95	11.25	103
1905	18,621	17,829	5.93	5.92	104	1905	22,647	21,918	7.38	7.17	107
1906	16,092	13,643	6.12	5.93	113	1906	22,078	21,274	8.61	8.77	103

\* This statement is for the districts that suffered from famine in 1896-97, viz., Sagan, Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Patna, and Manbhum.



## APPENDIX V.

*Note by A. EARLE, ESQ., C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling, on polyandry in Sikkim and Tibet.\**

1. *Preliminary.*—In speaking of Sikkim in connection with polyandry, the people of Tibetan origin only living in Sikkim are, of course, referred to. The indigenous Lepcha population of Sikkim is not, and never was, addicted to polyandry; while the immigrant Nepalese notoriously have no such custom. The inhabitants of Sikkim of Tibetan origin, called in Tibetan, Denjongpa, and, in English, Sikkim Bhotias, have derived their religion and customs from Tibet. In speaking, therefore, of polyandry in Sikkim, it is impossible not to consider simultaneously the same practice in Tibet. I shall, therefore, in the following notes, mention both countries, and state how far the custom of Sikkim differs from that of Tibet. I now proceed to reply *seriatim* to the questions put by Mr. Risley in his note of 4th November 1891.

2. *Mr. Risley's question No. 1.*—It is stated that polyandry was, in olden times much more prevalent in Sikkim than at present. It is said also to be on the decline in Tibet. The following form of polyandry exists in Sikkim and Tibet:—If the eldest of a group of brothers marries a woman, she is regarded as the common wife of all the brothers. It does not, however, necessarily follow that she will cohabit with all the younger brothers. She exercises much liberty in this respect, and it will depend on her pleasure as to whether she will cohabit with any particular younger brother. If the eldest brother (*i.e.*, the real husband) dies, the wife passes to one of the younger brothers according to her own selection. Should her choice fall on the next brother, she will still be the common wife of the younger brothers. Should, however, she select any of the younger brothers, she will be the common wife only of those younger than him, and, if he be the youngest, she will be his wife only. If the eldest brother of a group of brothers does not marry, but the second or third brother does so, then the wife will be the common wife of such second or third brother and his younger brothers only. Elder brothers, in such cases, will separate and leave the family, having no claim on the wives of the younger brothers. Cousins, both on the father's and mother's side and half-brothers may be admitted as members of the group of brothers *only if the husband agrees and has no brothers of his own*. Several cousins cannot take a wife between them except in the instance just quoted. There are instances in the Darjeeling district, but apparently not in Sikkim or Tibet, of a number of men, not brothers or near relations, taking a wife between them, but this appears to be a novel practice introduced for purposes of economy. There appears to be no tradition of any such custom in Sikkim and Tibet in former times.

3. *Mr. Risley's question No. 2.*—From close questioning those examined it would appear that the origin of polyandry is to be found in the desire to prevent the division of property, the country being poor. Every man, who separates from the family group and settles elsewhere, is assessed separately to revenue. Polyandry tends to check this, and, hence, is popular. Fantastic replies were given to this question to the effect that family love keeps groups of brothers together. There is no true property in land, as explained in reply to question 6 below, but only a customary right to use the same. Property in land, as thus understood, may be sub-divided in the same way as moveable property. Polyandry appears, as indicated above, to be primarily connected with the division of moveable property. The practice of polyandry arose in Tibet which, agriculturally speaking, is a poor country as compared even with Sikkim. It is apparently on this account less prevalent in the latter than in the former country.

4. *Mr. Risley's question No. 3.*—The eldest brother of the group is the real husband. It is only when he is absent from home that a younger brother can cohabit with the common wife. It is always entirely in the power of the wife to decide with whom she will sleep, and she need not sleep with any of the younger brothers unless she likes; she may, if she prefer it, sleep alone. There is no custom for brothers to spend the night with the common wife by turns. It is usual for one only of the group of brothers to remain at home, the others being away on business or travel. It never happens that the eldest brother or any particular one of the younger brothers always remains at home. This is arranged among themselves. There is no sexual intercourse by day. There is no such custom or device as that of leaving shoes or a stick at the door to secure privacy. The above answers apply to Tibet and Sikkim equally.

5. *Mr. Risley's question No. 4.*—Sikkim Bhotias, as well as the Tibetans, have clan or sept names, but not nicknames, of the supposed ancestors, and practice exogamy. But marriages occasionally occur within the clan, if the parties are removed by at least seven or more generations. The children take the clan name of the father, which is the same as that of the group of brothers. There is no tradition that, in former times, they took the clan name of the mother. This answer applies to Sikkim and Tibet equally.

\* This enquiry was made by Mr. Earle on the basis of a set of questions drawn up by Mr. Risley some years ago.



6. *Mr. Risley's question No. 5.*—If a younger brother of a polyandric household takes a separate wife, he leaves the family and lives in a separate house. He has no further claim on the common wife, and his other younger brothers will have no claim on his wife, unless he agrees and takes one or more of them with him to his new home. He has, in all cases, a right to a share of the moveable property, but will be allowed a share of the use of the land only if he remains in the same neighbourhood. Specific instances have been furnished by Rai Ugen Gyatso Bahadur, and will be found in the Appendix to this note.

7. *Mr. Risley's question No. 6.*—

(a) It must be stated at once that there is no true property in land. The practice is as set forth in Mr. Edgar's book entitled "*Sikkim and Tibet Frontier*" pages 62-64. Land is assessed to revenue, but belongs to the State. It is only the customary right to make use of certain land and to pay revenue therefor that is, by practice, inherited. The only true property is moveable property.

(b) **TIBET.**—The ordinary custom is for property to pass, on the death of the eldest brother, to the remaining brothers and the sons as joint property. There are no traces of any custom that a man's sister's son should *necessarily* be his heir. A man's sister's son may inherit in the absence of nearer male relatives. Adoption of sons is allowed, and an adopted son is, for purpose of inheritance, in the same position as a real son. The adopted son becomes the husband of the daughters, if there are any. A near relative cannot be adopted, if there are daughters, as he cannot, on account of near relationship, become the husband of the daughters. Women can only inherit in the absence of male relatives. A woman, who has inherited property and married, retains her right to her property as against her husband. Such property will, however, pass to her issue on her death, and to her husband only if she has no issue. If a widow with daughters, who has inherited property, re-marries, the property will pass to the daughters on her re-marriage. In the absence of heirs property passes, after the payment of funeral expenses, to the Lamas and the State, but in what proportions I have been unable to obtain satisfactory evidence.

(c) **SIKKIM.**—The customs described above as being in vogue in Tibet are modified as regards Sikkim. There women are, in no case, allowed to inherit the use of landed property, but inherit moveable property in the absence of male relatives.

8. *Mr. Risley's question No. 7.*—The proportion of men and women in Sikkim and Tibet is fairly equal. The cause of celibacy among the Lamas is not dearth of women, but religious zeal. Female infanticide is not practised. Polygamy, as well as polyandry, prevails, but the latter to a much larger extent. Superfluous women become nuns, prostitutes, or remain single. Polygamy does not take the form that it does in the plains of India, *viz.*, of keeping several wives in one house or compound, but that of keeping several wives in different houses in different places. This custom prevails only among the rich.

9. *Mr. Risley's question No. 8.*—Groups of brothers do not marry groups of sisters. It sometimes, however, happens that after the eldest sister of a family has been married to a group of brothers, (or rather to the eldest brother), a younger sister of the common wife is married to a younger brother. In such cases the younger brother will separate from the family and live elsewhere.

10. *Mr. Risley's question No. 9.*—The father of a child, in a polyandric family in Sikkim and Tibet, is the eldest brother. The other brothers are called uncles (*Akhu*). It is not an insult to ask a man who is his father. A man is not spoken of as the son of such and such a family, nor as the son of his mother. After the death of the eldest brother the children will speak of the deceased as their father.

11. *Mr. Risley's question No. 10.*—

(a) **TIBET.**—The feeling of the people, men and women, as to children and child-bearing is that the more children (especially males) that are born, the better. The more children people have, the more they can please the ecclesiastical authorities by dedicating sons and daughters to monasteries and nunneries. Every family has to send one son (if there are sons) to a monastery. If there be only one son, he will be devoted to monastic life, and an adopted son will inherit the property. Everything, therefore, makes for child-bearing among the laity. On the other hand, Lamas are specially revered if they are celibate. The origin of polyandry is not, as suggested by Turner, to be found in the fact that the upper classes look on marriage as something odious and shameful. Probably he thought that the Lamas were drawn from the upper classes only; whereas, on the contrary, they are taken from among the families of all classes of the laity.

(b) **SIKKIM.**—The rule about sending sons to monasteries is less strict, and, if there is only one son, there is no obligation to devote him to monastic life.

(a) 12. *Mr. Risley's question No. 11.*—Individuals of mature age are allowed, as in Europe, to select their own partners in life. Marriages are also arranged by parents in the case of minors.

(b) Astrologers are consulted as to whether a marriage will prove felicitous or otherwise, and proposals for marriages are only proceeded with if the result be favourable. The calling in of astrologers is called *Thuntsi*—calculation. Astrologers class women as follows:

(1) **YELI CHEN CHIK**—A person with a clean eye, *i.e.*, a virtuous woman. In such cases astrologers take particular pains.

(2) **LEHAZA THOOK KHYER**—A person whose family name is poisoned, *i.e.*, a woman who has had intercourse with men. Less attention is paid in such cases by astrologers.



(3) **MOZA THOONJ BHUT.**—A person whose ill (family) name has been noised abroad, i.e., a woman of bad name or a widow. In such cases the astrologer is seldom consulted.

(c) After the astrologer has been consulted, and his verdict has proved favourable, *Barmis*,—go-betweens—are called in. These are, generally, the uncles of the proposed bridegroom and bride respectively. They are called to the house of the proposed bridegroom, and from there are sent to the house of the proposed bride in order to arrange the marriage. For their trouble they get presents of money (about Rs. 5), called *Barsen*.

(d) **NANGCHANG AND KHELEN.**—When the Barmis go to the house of the proposed bride, they take with them money (Rs. 5 to 50), Marwa, and white silk scarves as presents for the parents of the proposed bride. When they arrive, they offer the presents, and ask for the girl in marriage. The parents then consult their relatives. If the parents consent, the presents are accepted, a feast is given to the Barmis, and the blessings of heaven are invoked on the happy pair. The price to be paid for the bride is also settled on this occasion. It varies from Rs. 80 to Rs. 500 or more. The giving of presents to the parents of the proposed bride is called *Nangchang*—marwa-giving—while the invocation of the blessings of heaven on the happy pair is called *Khelen*. *Nangchang* and *Khelen* are the preliminaries to marriage, and, after they are over, the proposed bride and bridegroom, can see each other as much as they like, but it will be three years before they are finally married; the ceremony called *Nyen* taking place one year after the *Nangchang* and *Khelen*, that called *Changthoang* two years thereafter, and that called *Phalokh* three years thereafter.

(c) **NYEN.**—The Nyen, i.e., marriage-feast, takes place one year after the *Nangchang* and *Khelen*. It is held in the house of the bride, the expense being borne by the parents of the bridegroom. All relations on either side are invited. The price of the bride is paid on this occasion.

(f) CHANGTHOONG.—A year after the *Nyen* comes the *Changthoong*, i.e., drinking of murwa. The following is the procedure:—

(1) The astrologer is consulted as to what would be an auspicious day for the departure of the bride from her parents' house in the manner described in clause (5) below, what kind of pony she should ride, &c., &c., &c.

(2) A grand feast is held to which Lamas are invited, the Head Lama being called, for the time being, the Tashi Lama.

(3) Part of the ceremony is for two men called *Kunchan*—thieves—to attempt to force their way inside the house of the bride with the supposed intention of carrying off the bride. A sham fight then takes place between these men and the guardians of the bride. The supposed thieves are beaten with stinging nettles, and half-roasted meat with ground chillies is thrust into their mouths. They escape from this treatment by giving presents of money to the guardians of the bride. After two days the supposed thieves are honoured, and called *Thapon*, i.e., successful strategists.

(4) During the feasting the guests give presents of money and silk scarves to the bride and her parents.

(5) The bride and bridegroom with their respective relatives and followers then leave for the house of the bridegroom, singing, dancing, firing guns, &c., &c., all the way.

(6) The parents of the bridegroom meet the party on the way, and after conducting them to their home, entertain them with feasting for two or three days.

(7) After this the bride and her party return to the bride's house.

(9) PHALOKH.—A year after the ceremony called *Changthoong* the bride again goes to the house of the bridegroom—this time to stay. The parents of the bride now give her her dowry, which is, generally, double the price which has been paid for her, and, in the case of rich families, much more. The dowry is called *Pizong*.

(b) SIKKIM.—The above ceremonies are not now-a-days practised in Sikkim in their entirety. The procedure in that country is usually much less elaborate and prolonged.

*Appendix to paragraph 6 of this note, giving instances of the division of property as furnished by Rai Ugen Gyatcho Bahadur in his own language.*

(a) "In Chongbung Busti in Sikkim there was a family of three brothers, Athup, Chaynga, and Passang, the two former being laymen, and the youngest, Passang, a novitiate monk of the Pamiongehi monastery. Athup married a wife in the joint names of all three brothers, and they all lived as joint husbands for some time. After some time Chaynga married a wife separately, and lived in another house. The youngest, Passang, lived as a joint husband of Chaynga's wife. The two younger brothers lived in a separate house with their joint wife, while Athup and his wife continued in the former house. A panchayat distributed the moveable property of the family in equal portions, giving the two brothers half and the eldest half. The land was not partitioned, but the fields which were cultivable, were divided equally, and the household servants were allowed free choice of masters, to serve whichever they preferred. Some time later Chaynga died, leaving of masters, to serve whichever they preferred. Some time later Chaynga died, leaving this open step of Passang's marriage coming to the notice of the elders of the Pamiongehi monastery, he was expelled from the priesthood. There are several instances of this kind."



(b) "Again in Lingdam there is a man called Lichook, who has two brothers, Dukda, and Golay Wangdi. Lichook married a wife in the joint names of all three brothers. They lived together for some time as joint husbands of Lichook's wife. After some time Dukda married a wife separately, and got his own share of the household properties appor- tioned by a panchayat. The youngest brother Golay Wangdi lived sometimes with one, and sometimes with the other brother's wife. But this uncertain mode of life was rendered impossible by the two wives' jealousy, and he also ended by marrying a wife for himself. The two elder brothers then gave him some property, whereupon he removed to Ralang, where he is at present. In this case there was no land to be divided. There may be several instances of this sort too.

(c) "In Lingnu there is a family of four brothers, 1st Nimsring, 2nd Lodan, 3rd Sengkyap and 4th Dubzang. They all four lived as joint husbands of Nimsring's wife. Last year the 3rd brother Sengkyap married a wife for himself, and went away to live in the house of his wife's parents at Gangla. He did not get any portion of the household property, as the property was very small and not worth dividing. Nimsring, Lodan and Dubzang are still living as joint husbands of Nimsring's wife. These are also common ryots, and had no land to divide, nor much property either."



## APPENDIX VI.—ABSTRACT OF CASTE TABLE, WITH SHORT EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Abasān ... ..	2,035	2,010	Midnapore ...	Included in Namasudra.
Abdāl ... ..	2,394	3,214	Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Patna and Purnea.	A low Muhammadan caste. The men castrate bullocks and the women act as midwives.
Adarkī ... ..	2,550	2,436	Gaya ... ..	A Baniya caste. Sell vegetables and deal in grain. Some are cultivators.
Afghān ... ..	211	300(M)	Patna ... ..	Traders from Afghanistan.
Afridi ... ..	5	(M)	Gaya and Khulna.	
Agariā ... ..	6,754	6,463	Chota Nagpur ...	The Agariās are a hill tribe who employ Brāhmans and claim Kshatriya descent. They must not be confounded with the Agariās who are a sub-tribe of Asura. Some still speak their own language (Agariā).
Agarwāla ... ..	18,613	18,495	Bihar and Upper India.	Traders and bankers.
Agarwadā ... ..	...	...	Bhagalpur ... ..	Sweepers, probably immigrants from Nepal. Included in Agarwāla as it was found impossible to separate them.
Aghori or Aghora-panth ... ..	2,594	2,501	Bihar ... ..	The lowest class of Śaivite religious mendicants.
Agradāni ... ..	7,256	7,597	Throughout Bengal	Brāhmans degraded for receiving presents at the first Śrāddha.
Agrahārī ... ..	2,622	2,974	Bihar and Upper India.	Traders and cultivators; allied to the Agarwālas.
Aguri (Ugra Kshatriya.) ... ..	44,607	45,702	Western Bengal ...	Cultivators and traders.
Ahīr ... ..	1,934,715	1,894,223	Bihar ... ..	Cowherds. Includes the figures for Godā also.
Ahīr Gaura ... ..	305	298	Orissa ... ..	Acrobats, jugglers and exhibitors of puppets. Similar to Kālā. Possibly the same as Aheriā or Gopāl.
Ajām ... ..	145	270(H)	Bihar ... ..	Included in Kallar.
Ajāt ... ..	5,062	7,937(M)	Bihar ... ..	Muhammadans of very low social position who do not belong to any of the recognised functional groups.
Ajānāl ... ..	25	10	Muzaffarpur ...	
Akhundjī ... ..	17	8(M)	Mymensingh ...	A term applied to teachers and others who know the Persian Alphabet as a token of respect.
Amāt ... ..	29,073	30,806	Bihar ... ..	Cultivators; frequently employed as domestic servants.
Amre ... ..	558	652	Hill Tippera ...	Included in Kālā.
Aoghar ... ..	141	49	Gaya, Shahabad, Saran and Hazaribagh.	A sect of Śaiva ascetics founded in Gujarat by a Dandami mendicant named Brahmagiri.
Arakanese ... ..	20	1	Calcutta ... ..	Included in Magh.
Arākhi ... ..	25	4	Calcutta and Orissa.	
Arys ... ..	61	54	Patna and Ranchi.	
Ashraf ... ..	29	28(M)	Mymensingh ...	
Assamese ... ..	79	60	Chittagong Hill and Hill Tippera.	
Asur ... ..	1,828	1,664	Chota Nagpur ...	Iron smelters. The Asur language is still spoken in many parts.
Atashbāz ... ..	37	24(M)	Dinajpur and Patna	Muhammadan firework-makers: they are reported to form an endogamous group.
Atith ... ..	23,130	23,912	Bihar ... ..	Devotees.
Atrai (Ajlāf) ... ..	234,716	220,485	Throughout Bengal	A general name for Muhammadans who are not Shikhs, Sainis, Moghals or Pathāns, i.e., for the lower classes.
Bābhan ... ..	572,475	571,687	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	Landholders and agriculturists; often call themselves Zamindar Brāhmans or Bhuihar Brāhmans.
Bāgāl ... ..	5,525	5,236	Midnapore ... ..	Included in Ahir and Godā.
Bāgdi ... ..	399	530	Bankura ... ..	Ditto Bāuri.
Bāgdi ... ..	509,912	522,154	Western and Central Bengal.	Labourers and fishermen.
Bāghuti ... ..	3,859	4,038	Orissa ... ..	Distinct from Bāgdi, with which it seems to have been classed in 1891.
Baheliā ... ..	4,441	3,718(H)	Bihar and North Bengal.	Catch birds and sell feathers, &c. Sometimes treated as a sub-caste of Dosadh.
Baheliā ... ..	71	75(M)	Ditto ... ..	Included in Badiyā.
Bahurupi ... ..	14	19(M)	Nadia ... ..	Included in Badiyā.
Baidya ... ..	42,060	42,560	Throughout Bengal	The physician caste.
Bairāgi ... ..	27,761	33,449	Ditto ... ..	Included in Baishab.
Bāia Baniya ... ..	21,016	19,663	Bhagalpur ... ..	A trading caste.
Baishuab (Baistam) ... ..	214,363	232,394	Throughout Bengal	Converts to Vaiṣṇavism who desert their original caste. Includes Bairāgi.
Bāiti ... ..	8,750	8,490	Western, Central and Eastern Bengal.	The same as Chumārī, Lime-burners, mat-makers, etc. There is a Musalman caste of the same name.
Bākālī ... ..	557	649(M)	Bhagalpur ... ..	Vegetable sellers and grain dealers.
Bakho ... ..	1,315	1,543	Bihar ... ..	Persons who sing at the birth of a child.
Bālija ... ..	161	65	Orissa ... ..	
Banadulā ... ..	572	536	Patna and Muzaffarpur.	A sub-caste of Baciya, Kurmis, Kumhars, Dhānaks, Tantiis, Souris, Dosadhs and Kalwars; also a section of Kājputis and Kaserias.



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Males.	Females.		
1	2	3	4	5
Banchar ... ..	173	24	Mumfarpur ...	Included in Banpur.
Banohwat ... ..	3,554	3,984	Hazratnagh ...	A cultivating caste: claim to be Rājputs.
Banpa Banik ... ..	65	85	Dinajpur ... ..	Included in Baniya.
Bangadari Banāt ... ..	272	297	Paraes ... ..	Included in Baniya.
Baniya ... ..	103,006	106,515	The whole Province	A generic name of various trading castes including Bala, Gandhabanik, Khatri, Mahesri, Raunār, Subarnabanik, Kalwar, &c.
Banjārā (Labānā) ... {	161	149(H)	Tributary States of Chota Nagpur.	Forest pedlars and cattle graziers. Called Lam- bādi or Banjāri in Madras.
Banjōgi ... ..	3	3(M)		
Banjogi ... ..	247	340	Chittagong Hill Tracts.	Live by jhuming. Language Banjōgi.
Banpar ... ..	2,500	2,841	Bihar ... ..	A boating and fishing caste. From ban (wood) and phār (to split).
Bāntar ... ..	10,343	11,908	Do. ... ..	Basket and mat-makers; thatchers.
Banwār ... ..	426	425	Southal Parganas ...	A small Dravidian tribe.
Bāolia ... ..	630	874	Hooghly and Mur- shidabad.	A sect of Vaishnava devotees.
Barhi ... ..	150,501	155,962(H)	{ Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur.	Carpenters.
Bāri ... ..	2,107	2,896(M)		
Barna Bīpra (Barna Brāhman). ... ..	7,351	7,445	Bihar ... ..	Leaf-plate makers.
	24,003	23,224	Throughout Bengal	The Brāhmins who act as priests to the lower castes including Sutnāhars, Sāhās, Chandāls, Bhuinmālis, Dhobis, Kapālis, Gōālās, Bāgālis, Kālārttas, Kalas, Subarnabanika, Kaserās, &c.
Barna Sankar ... ..	3,378	3,019	Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Midnapore.	Persons of mixed descent.
Barnawar ... ..	12,302	12,184	Bihar ... ..	A sub-caste of Baniyas engaged in trade agricul- ture and service in Bihar.
Bārci (Bacal) ... ..	145,379	147,884	Bengal and Bihar...	Betel-leaf growers. Also called Pāneri.
Bāthodi ... ..	22,641	22,899	Orissa, including Tributary States.	A small aboriginal tribe. Language Bāthodi.
Bātri ... ..	293,504	301,296	Orissa, Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur.	Pāiki-bearers, earth-workers and cultivators.
Beda ... ..	10,733	12,163	Chota Nagpur ...	A small agricultural tribe; allied to the Kurmis.
Bediyā (Bādiyā) ... {	6,574	5,777(H)	{ Bengal and Bihar	
	16,445	16,173(M)		Gipsies, acrobats, &c.; not to be confused with the Bedās of Chota Nagpur. There are several distinct groups of Bediyās including Babajis, Mirchikāri, Shāndar, Mal and Sāmparīs.
Behārā ... ..	23,753	23,559(M)	Eastern Bengal ...	Said to be a true caste in Kuch Bihar and among the Muhammadans of East Bengal.
	6,054	5,051(H)	.....	Included in Daki in Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Dinajpur.
	7,731	6,063	.....	
Feldār ... ..	49,233	48,217(H)	{ Bihar, Chota Nag- pur and Eastern Bengal.	Earth-workers. In Backergunge this is the name of a Muhammadan caste of drummers.
Fangali ... ..	2,817	2,865(M)		
	1,541	1,510	The whole Province, except Chittagong Division.	Any native of Bengal.
Berrā ... ..	2,455	2,308	Eastern Bengal ...	Fishermen and cultivators; allied to the Chandāls.
Devāti ... ..	279	251(M)	Bihar ... ..	Pedlars and vendors of miscellaneous goods.
Deysā ... ..	1,462	13,231	Throughout Bengal	Prostitutes. The term in no sense indicates caste, but, as the persons concerned have lost caste, there is no better heading.
Dhagawāni ... ..	52	63	Jessore ... ..	A sectarian group, partly Hindu and partly Muhammadan.
Dhakat ... ..	1,528	1,766	Midnapore ... ..	A Vaishnava sect.
Dhandāri ... ..	50,185	51,785	Orissa ... ..	Barbers; also called Hajjān.
Dhār ... ..	449	533(M)	Bihar ... ..	A Muhammadan caste, also known as Bhāras, whose men and women dance and act. The men are often pimps.
Dhar ... ..	21,700	180,807	Bengal, Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	Cultivators.
Dhārang ... ..	160	117	Khulna ... ..	Included in Namastudra.
Dhāroti ... ..	17	6	Hazratnagh ...	Included in Gousin.
Dhārad ... ..	67	109(M)	Shahabul ... ..	Included in Bhanr.
Dhāskar ... ..	231	184	Calcutta and Pala- msa.	Make idols of stone, wood or metal. Also painters.
Dhāt ... ..	15,841	16,194(H)	{ Throughout Bengal	Genealogists and family barda.
Dhathārā ... ..	6,304	6,963(M)		
	976	1,300(M)	Bihar ... ..	A very low Muhammadan caste whose women cut grass, do syces' work and cook for Muhammadan travellers.
Dhātīyā ... ..	144	116(H)	{ Calcutta and Rangpur.	A low mendicant caste. Live by dancing, juggling and singing.
Dheriār ... ..	695	1,036(M)		
Dhisti ... ..	3,496	3,703	Bihar ... ..	Included in Gareri.
Dhogtā ... ..	222	276(M)	Champanan ...	
	37,987	40,224	Chota Nagpur ...	Parch rice. Sometimes said to be a subdivision of Kharwār.
Dhoi ... ..	167	167	Midnapore, Cuttack and Balasore.	
Dholla ... ..	2,325	2,091	Birkham and Mur- shidabad.	Included in Edgi.
Dhotan Dhotia (Drak- pā or Dharan Dhotia.) ... ..	1,272	1,121	Darjeeling ... ..	Included in Dhotia.
Dhotia ... ..	11,960	10,600	Jalpaiguri and Dar- jeeling.	
Bhuinmāli ... ..	45,165	44,200	Eastern and North Bengal.	A menial and scavenging caste; allied to the Hāris.



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Bhuiyā (Bhulbhar) ...	320,267	343,104	Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Orissa Tributary States, Western, Central and North Bengal.	An aboriginal tribe which probably came originally from the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur.
Bhumij ...	160,207	133,238	Chota Nagpur, Orissa Tributary States and Western Bengal	A non-Aryan tribe. Still speak the Bhumij language in the Tributary States of Orissa and Singhbhum, &c.
Biloch ...	7	...	Howrah ...	...
Hind ...	66,914	71,830 (M)	Bihar and Upper India.	Usually labourers or fishermen.
Binjhiā ...	1,990	4,897	Chota Nagpur ...	An agricultural and landholding tribe. Claim to come from Bindhicheal.
Birhor ...	943	890	Ditto ...	Lives by snaring hares and monkeys and collecting jungle products. Speak their own language (Birhor).
Birjia ...	2,876	2,832	Chota Nagpur ...	Jhumer. Included in Binjhiā as the words were difficult to distinguish accurately.
Brāhman ...	1,447,837	1,428,428	The whole Province	Priests.
Brāhman Nepali ...	4,859	4,092	Darjeeling and Sikkim.	...
Brāhmo ...	1,381	820	The whole Province	Theists.
Buddhist (Unsp.) ...	49	1	Bhagalpur ...	...
Burmese ...	760	118	Calcutta ...	Language Burmese. Buddhist by religion.
Chādi ...	6,147	4,303	Bhagalpur ...	Included in Gourh.
Chāin ...	65,522	63,480	Bihar and Central Bengal.	A cultivating and fishing caste.
Chākiāi ...	60	47	Jessore ...	A class of Mussalmans in Manirampur; degraded for selling fish.
Chākmā ...	26,425	23,293	Chittagong Hill Tracts.	A tribe of Mongolian origin. Buddhists by religion. Their language is Chākmā Bengali.
Chamār ...	573,535	613,580	Throughout Bengal	Tanners and workers in leather. In Orissa they are basket-makers and toddy-drawers.
Chamba ...	1,208	1,494	Dachhanga ...	Beggars, mostly Muhammadans, who extort alms by scarifying their skin.
Chāndar ...	1,057	1,233	Muzaffarpur ...	Included in Aurai.
Chāpota ...	4,014	4,135	Purnea, Bhagalpur and Soanthal Pargannas.	Cultivators.
Chāsā ...	419,573	426,105	Orissa ...	The chief cultivating caste of Orissa. [In Bengal and Bihar the term is applied to cultivators of any caste.]
Chāsādhobā ...	14,563	14,933	Central Bengal, Hooghly and Pabna.	A cultivating and trading caste. Also called Satchāl.
Chāsati ...	22,322	20,301	Murshidabad and Malda.	Silkworm-rearers; allied to Chāsādhobā.
Chattria ...	3	23	Murshidabad ...	A caste of out-castes and bastards. Included in Barmasantar.
Chattarkhāi ...	433	775	Orissa ...	Persons who lost caste in the famine of 1896 by eating in the Government soup kitchens (chattrā). Included in Kollar.
Chatur ...	51	37	Backergunge ...	A Mussalman weaving caste.
Chaudālī ...	699	560	24-Pargannas ...	A Muhammadan fishing caste. Included in Nilari.
Chaudhuri ...	543	560 (M)	Ditto ...	...
Chaupāl (Chapāl) ...	2,483	2,342	Purnea ...	Weavers. Are said to have come from Nadia during a famine.
Chero ...	12,073	12,037	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	A landholding and cultivating caste.
Cherna ...	3,236	3,362	Chota Nagpur ...	Included in Kaur.
Chāstri or Chāstri ...	2,476	835	Chota Nagpur ...	Included in Rājput.
Chhipigār (M) ...	13	15	Saran ...	Persons who dye cloths, cushions, quilts, &c.
Chhippi ...	22	22	Patna ...	Calico printers.
Chākur ...	323	157	Orissa ...	Male children of prostitutes. Included in Barmasantar.
Chik ...	20,448	21,584 (H)	Chota Nagpur ...	Same as Barak.
Chin ...	1,355	1,270 (M)	Chota Nagpur ...	...
Chinese ...	1,905	234	China ...	Language Chinese. Usually Buddhists.
Chitrakar ...	456	623	Orissa ...	Painters.
Chuzāri ...	189	236 (M)	24-Pargannas and Jessore.	Lime burners. Same as Bāiti.
Chunākar ...	151	117	Bhagalpur ...	Included in Doodh.
Churliār ...	7,723	8,330 (M)	Bihar ...	Bangle-makers of any caste. In parts of Bihar it is said to be a separate caste.
Dabgar ...	433	430	Palamau ...	Included in Chamār.
Dafādār ...	185	282 (M)	Dacca ...	A mat making Muhammadan caste of East Bengal similar to Nakīā.
Dafāli ...	4,059	4,401	Bihar ...	A Muhammadan caste of drummers.
Dāi ...	10,722	10,897 (M)	Bengal Proper	Midwives.
Dalbajna ...	14,812	15,114	Ditto ...	An astrologer. May be an Ancharji Brāhman or a Napi, &c.
Dalit ...	68	88	Puri ...	Menial servants (of non-Aryan descent) of temple at Jagannath. Sell rice and curry for offerings to Jagannath.
Dālu ...	2,493	2,343	Mymensingh ...	Probably of Garo origin.
Damāi ...	3,173	2,742	Darjeeling ...	Tailors and musicians. They speak the Khasura language.
Danda Mājhi ...	11,559	12,111	Orissa States and Midnapore.	Fishermen and day labourers. Also called Danda-chattrā Mājhi. Included in Rājput.
Darā Dād ...	55	21	Saran and Purnea ...	...
Darzi ...	1,499	1,526 (H)	Whole Province ...	Muhammadan tailors. Also a caste of Hindu tailors in Orissa.
	14,555	17,377 (M)		



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Dasnāmi ... ..	48	9	Darbhanga ... ..	Mendicants usually followers of the ten sects of followers of Sankarāchāryya.
Dātiyā ... ..	702	740	Mymensingh ... ..	A Muhammadan fishing caste. They are looked down on by other Muhammadans who do not intermarry with them.
Delti Khariā ... ..	230	235	Chota Nagpur States	Included in Khariā.
Deohar ... ..	1,991	2,152	North Bihar	Inoculators.
Dasi ... ..	47,810	45,047	Northern Bengal ...	A cultivating caste; allied to the Rājbanśa and Paliyā.
Desi Tipdrā ... ..	181	162	Hill Tippera ... ..	Included in Tipdrā.
Dewan ... ..	23	10 (M)	Dacca and Mymensingh.	
Dhāmin ... ..	443	333	Bihar ... ..	A low caste, who make fans and brushes, and sell jungle drugs. Also persons who act as priests to pilgrims at Gaya.
Dhannā (Dalañā) ...	3,460	3,503	Orissa States ... ..	Cultivators.
Dhānuk ... ..	238,136	305,403	Bihar ... ..	A cultivating caste. Many act as domestic servants.
Dhāri (Dhārhi) ...	2,257 38	1,913 (H) 32 (M)	Do. ... ..	A criminal class. Many are chankidars and cultivators. The Muhammadan Dhāris are musicians and prostitutes.
Dharihar (Derihar) ...	783	863	Ranchi ... ..	Also called Japi or Gosain. Make and sell strings worn in charms round the neck or waist. Included in Gosain.
Dhawā ... ..	9,435	8,908	Bengal ... ..	Muhammadan pālki-bearers.
Dhennār ... ..	244	243	Chota Nagpur ... ..	A small tribe; possibly allied to the Mundas.
Dhimāl ... ..	333	299	Darjeeling and Nepal Terai.	The Dhimāl often call themselves Rājbanśa. Their title is Maulik. They have a language (Dhimāl), but many now speak Bengali.
Dhimar ... ..	619	639	Darbhanga ... ..	Pālki-bearers, etc. Allied to Kāhār.
Dhotā ... ..	281,677	284,694	Bengal and Orissa ...	Washermen.
Dhobi ... ..	24,762	26,083	Bihar ... ..	Ditto.
Dhumā (Dhonkar) ...	1,069 95,303	1,220 (H) 104,391 (M)	Do. ... ..	Muhammadan cotton-carders.
Dipumbhari ... ..	52	37	Ranribagh ... ..	Included in Jain (Ustap.)
Doai (Dāyāki) ... ..	14,602	12,740	Northern and Eastern Bengal	Wood-cutters, pālki-bearers, fish-vendors and mat-makers. Probably allied to the Hājanga or Kochh Mānda.
Dogārd ... ..	958	1,243	Orissa ... ..	Formerly dāk-runners.
Dogā ... ..	1,476	1,229	Bihar ... ..	Bastards of low social position. In some places, in its strict sense, the term indicates the offspring of female Kāyasths by men of low caste. Included in Barnanankar.
Dom ... ..	177,624	181,123	Throughout Bengal	Basket and mat-makers. Some now live by cultivation. In Orissa they are often drummers. In Chittagong (as in the Assam Valley) they are fishermen and correspond to the Pātnia of Bengal and the Dom Pātnia of Rangpur and Sylhet.
Donādh ... ..	576,594	599,287	Bihar ... ..	Labourers and watchmen.
Dud Khariā ... ..	83	85	Chota Nagpur States	Included in Khariā.
Dulā ... ..	36,575	36,330	Western Bengal ...	Included in Bāgdi.
Drengā ... ..	183	47	Chota Nagpur States	Included in Khariā.
Fakir ... ..	33,010	35,394	Bihar ... ..	A Muhammadan religious mendicant.
Gaddi ... ..	4,012	4,352 (M)	Do. ... ..	A Muhammadan caste of converts from the Hindu Gōlās who keep cows and buffaloes and live by dealing in milk and butter.
Gāia ... ..	12	15	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.	Medicines. Language Khaskura.
Gajendra Dār ... ..	762	729	Mymensingh ... ..	Included in Kaibartta Chāsi.
Gandopāl ... ..	308	251	East Bengal ... ..	Included in Gaurar.
Gandhabanik ... ..	69,513	69,938	Bengal Proper ... ..	Grocers and spice-sellers.
Gandhār ... ..	21	37	Bihar ... ..	Musicians. Included in Gandharb.
Gandharb ... ..	444	391	Bihar ... ..	The caste which supplies Hindu dancing girls.
Gandhi ... ..	255	156 (M)	Do. ... ..	
Gangāi or Gonesh ...	31,360	30,664	Dinajpur, Purnea and Malda.	Cultivators, weavers and lime-burners.
Gangantā ... ..	39,064	39,521	Bhagalpur ... ..	Cultivators.
Gaurār ... ..	1,933	1,732	Eastern Bengal and Kuch Bihar.	A boating and fishing caste. Often call themselves Shikāri.
Gāwari ... ..	49,783	50,373	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	Same as, Sherihar. Shepherd, goat-herds, and blanket-weavers.
Gāro ... ..	12,240	18,377	Jalpaiguri, Kuch Bihar and Eastern Bengal.	Their home is in the Gāro Hills in Assam. Their language is Gāro.
Gaur ... ..	209,206	222,208	Orissa ... ..	The Orissa milkman caste. Pālki-bearers, herdsmen and cultivators.
Gaur Banā ... ..	43	49	Rajshahi ... ..	Included in Agardā.
Gaybed ... ..	163	153	Gaya ... ..	Included in Brāhman.
Ghani ... ..	259	309	Mayurbhanj and Balasore.	Possibly a sub-caste of Kaibarttas.
Ghāntā ... ..	224	298	Orissa States ... ..	Workers in brass and iron.
Ghorā ... ..	5,443	5,006	Midnapore ... ..	Included in Kadma.
Gharti ... ..	2,186	1,967	Darjeeling ... ..	Manumitted slaves. Language Khaskura.
Ghāsi (Ghāsiya) ...	27,270	27,733	Chota Nagpur, and Orissa States.	Fishers, musicians and sycas. In Singhbhum and Gangpur they are sweepers.
Ghātāl ... ..	31,134	35,337	Hazaribagh, Bhagalpur, Gaya, and Central Bengal.	
Ghāsi ... ..	69	58 (M)	24 Parganas and Nadia.	
Ghogā (Gani) ... ..	247	237	Chota Nagpur States	Beggars and sellers of wooden necklaces.
Ghoserā ... ..	963	1,185	Orissa ... ..	Fig-rearers.
Gingiriā ... ..	1,863	2,334	Orissa States ... ..	Fishermen. Sometimes regarded as a sub-caste of Kaibarttas.



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
<i>Giri</i> ... ..	207	93	<i>Hooghly</i> ... ..	<i>Included in Gossin.</i>
<i>Godā</i> ... ..	...	...	<i>Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.</i>	<i>Included in Ahir and Godā.</i>
<i>Godā</i> ... ..	544	596	Angul and Orissa States.	A non-Aryan tribe. Basket-makers.
<i>Gokhā</i> ... ..	22,399	23,802	Orissa ... ..	Catch and sell fish.
<i>Golā</i> ... ..	30,739	30,987	Do. ... ..	Cultivators.
<i>Golām</i> ... ..	32	23(M)	Monghyr.	
<i>Gond</i> ... ..	161,457	100,836	Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur.	A non-Aryan tribe from the Central Provinces. Many claim to be Hindus. Their language is Gond, but many now speak Hindi or Oriyā.
<i>Gond (Gondh)</i> ...	33,923	37,747	Bihar ... ..	Fry and sell <i>dhya</i> and <i>ratia</i> and sometimes serve as menial servants; allied to Kānda.
<i>Gonrhi</i> ... ..	71,857	70,390	Do. ... ..	A fishing and cultivating caste.
<i>Gorāit</i> ... ..	5,378	4,944	Chota Nagpur ...	Musicians, comb and drum-makers and cotton-carders. [Not to be confused with the Dom headmen in Bhagalpur or the watchmen of Bihar (usually Dosadhs), or village servants in Manbhūm, whose title is Gorāit.]
<i>Gossin</i> ... ..	15,033	14,501	Ditto ... ..	A sectarian group similar to Atith.
<i>Gossin Parda</i> ...	2,250	2,373	<i>Ranchi</i> ... ..	<i>Included in Gossin.</i>
<i>Gujār</i> ... ..	136	16	Calcutta, Gaya and Puri.	
<i>Gujarāti</i> ... ..	29	40	Midnapore.	
<i>Gulgulā</i> ... ..	363	383	Chota Nagpur and Bihar.	Hunters and beggars. Probably a branch of the Bediyās.
<i>Gurer</i> ... ..	167	167	Bihar ... ..	Shop-keepers.
<i>Guriā</i> ... ..	62,656	71,058	Orissa ... ..	Confectioners.
<i>Gurung</i> ... ..	7,226	7,302	Darjeeling and Sikkim.	One of the fighting tribes of Nepal. They have their own language (Gurung), but those found in the Darjeeling district usually speak Khaskura. Some are Buddhists by religion.
<i>Hābahi</i> ... ..	2	2(M)	Monghyr.	
<i>Hādi</i> ... ..	11,193	11,054	Mymensingh ...	Cultivators and labourers. Allied to Gāra. Not to be confounded with Hāri.
<i>Hājang</i> ... ..	13,133	12,400	Mymensingh ...	A tribe allied to the Gāra. Speak Hājang.
<i>Hājām</i> ... ..	185,138	195,148(H)	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	Barbers.
<i>Haladhar</i> ... ..	19,359	21,315(M)	<i>Jessore</i> ... ..	<i>Included in Chāndāld.</i>
<i>Haladhar Chāndā</i> ...	2,201	3,211	<i>Maldā</i> ... ..	<i>Included in Chāndā.</i>
<i>Haladhar Chāndā</i> ...	14,164	12,075	Bihar ... ..	Sweepers.
<i>Hālākhōr</i> ... ..	559	632(M)	Hill Tippera ...	A hill tribe. Speak their own language (Hālām).
<i>Hālām</i> ... ..	8,037	8,600(H)	Confectioners.	
<i>Hālām</i> ... ..	1,090	1,125	Scavengers, often identified with Bhumāh. In Purnea they call themselves Mānji. In Orissa they are also basket-makers and bamboo-workers.	
<i>Hālāi</i> ... ..	78,759	75,579	Bihar ... ..	
<i>Hāri</i> ... ..	150,817	150,799	The whole Province	
<i>Hatnā</i> ... ..	643	700	Orissa Tributary States.	
<i>Hāyu</i> ... ..	30	7	Darjeeling ... ..	A tribe living in the Terai. Their language is Hāyu.
<i>Hijrā</i> ... ..	165	81(M)	Bihar ... ..	The term means "Eunuch." It is also employed to indicate people who sing and play at the birth of a child, and in this sense may be a synonym for Pāwarā.
<i>Ho</i> ... ..	187,795	197,227	Singhbhum, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur States.	Also known as Larka Kol. They speak their own (Ho) language.
<i>Irikā (Idiga)</i> ...	199	201	Puri (Khurda sub-division).	Tend goats: immigrants from Madras.
<i>Jādā</i> ... ..	64	99	<i>Palas</i> ... ..	<i>Included in Brāhman.</i>
<i>Jadupetia</i> ... ..	238	240(H)	Manbhūm and Sonthal Parganas.	A mixture between Hindus and Muhammadans. Many are brass-workers.
<i>Jagwā</i> ... ..	39	44(M)	Gaya ... ..	Attend at Śraddhas of high-caste people. Claim a Brāhmanical origin.
<i>Jain (Unsp.)</i> ...	67	25	Hazaribagh and Calcutta.	
<i>Jāliā</i> ... ..	385	267	Central and Western Bengal.	<i>Included in Kaibarta Jāliā.</i>
<i>Jāliā Dom</i> ... ..	10,954	11,789	Chittagong ... ..	<i>Included in Dom.</i>
<i>Jamatia</i> ... ..	10,314	11,861	Hill Tippera ...	<i>Included in Tiprā.</i>
<i>Jamatia</i> ... ..	2,680	2,250	Calcutta.	
<i>Japanese</i> ... ..	23	40	Buckhunge ...	<i>Included in Barnasankar.</i>
<i>Jāraj</i> ... ..	101	39	Bihar ... ..	<i>Included in Gaddy.</i>
<i>Jāt</i> ... ..	1,118	1,129(M)	Midnapore ...	<i>Included in Hāri.</i>
<i>Jātor</i> ... ..	271	158	Bihar and Palaman	<i>Included in Telī.</i>
<i>Jāunpuri</i> ... ..	2,653	2,790	Bengal and Bihar ...	<i>Same as Mālo. A boat-building and fishing-caste. Included in Mālo.</i>
<i>Jhālā</i> ... ..	1,633	1,510	Chota Nagpur and Orissa States and Ranchi.	Goldwashers. [The term is also used by Kewats as a title.]
<i>Jhorā</i> ... ..	3,565	4,000	The whole Province	Devotees, beggars and weavers.
<i>Jogi and Jugi</i> ...	188,295	156,611	<i>Ranchi, Palaman and Chota Nagpur States.</i>	<i>Included in Gossin.</i>
<i>Jogi</i> ... ..	432	453	Bengal, Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	The Muhammadan weaver-caste. Sometimes called Karigar, Momin or Nurhāt.
<i>Jolāhā</i> ... ..	598,925	642,036	Orissa Tributary States.	Their language is Juāng.
<i>Juāng</i> ... ..	5,655	5,434	Eastern Bengal ...	(See Jogi and Jugi).
<i>Jugi</i> ... ..	...	...	Orissa ... ..	Astrologers. In Bengal the term indicates function only, the occupation being followed by Achārji Brāhman.
<i>Jyotish</i> ... ..	13,791	14,035		



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Kabirpanthi ...	621	265	Bihar ...	A follower of the religious reformer Kabir.
Kachhri ...	404	454	East Bengal.	
Kachhara ...	843	553	Eastern Bengal ...	Bracelet-makers. Many have become traders and shop-keepers.
Kachhi ...	138	74	Orissa ...	Cultivators.
Kachra ...	5,560	5,064	Do. ...	Dealers in glass bangles. Many have taken to cultivation and to trading in bell-metal utensils and piece-goods.
Kadar ...	5,874	9,818	Bhagalpur and Sontal Parganas.	Cultivators, fishermen and day-labourers.
Kadma ...	22,140	22,940	Orissa and Midnapore	
Kagbazi ...	100	87(M)	Hooghly and Faridpur.	Paper makers. The term probably merely refers to occupation.
Kahalia ...	195	208	Puri ...	Dancing girls at temples; offspring of prostitutes.
Kahar ...	286,785	298,601	The whole Province	Palki-bearers. Frequently domestic servants.
Kaibartta ...	1,249,474	1,235,151	Bengal Proper and Purnea.	This figure includes Chasi and Jaliya.
Kaibartta (Chasi or Halia).	975,945	983,558	Bengal ...	Cultivators.
Kaibartta (Jaliya) ...	133,600	132,949	Do. ...	Fishermen.
Kalsigar ...	62	62(M)	Champan and Bhagalpur.	
Kalal ...	14,185	16,380(M)	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	Muhammadian distillers, probably descended from Hindu Kalwars. Some now carry palkis.
Kalander ...	156	176(M)	Midnapore and Bihar	A class of Muhammadan fakirs. Many are jugglers.
Kalicha ...	6	4	Mymensingh ...	A mixed breed of Kachhis and Manipuris. Included in Kallars.
Kalita ...	150	155	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.	A respectable cultivating-caste whose headquarters are in Assam.
Kallar ...	3,611	4,112	Tippera, Purnea and Bhagalpur.	A class of people who (like the Chattarkhans of Orissa) lost their caste during a famine. Live chiefly by begging.
Kaltuya (Koltha) ...	2,420	2,199	Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur.	Cultivators. Also called Koltha Chasi.
Kalu ...	78,394	76,603	Western and Central Bengal and Manbhum	Oil-pressers and sellers.
Kalwar ...	120,289	118,239	Bihar ...	Distillers and spirit-vendors.
Kamipuri ...	151	142	Ranchi ...	Included in Baniya.
Kamir and Lohar ...	376,920	380,257	Whole Province ...	Metal workers; also known as Karmakar. It includes Lohar.
Kamil ...	7,391	6,640	Darjeeling and Sikkim.	Blacksmiths and goldsmiths. Speak Khaskura.
Kan ...	59	9(H)	Calcutta ...	A low caste of musicians; allied to the Doma.
Kandari ...	195	245(M)	Malda ...	Included in Patni.
Kandri ...	214	232	Orissa ...	An aboriginal tribe found chiefly in the Khondmals. Their language is Kandh or Kudi.
Kandh (Khond) ...	61,275	63,065	Do. ...	Kandh. They call themselves Kuf or Kui-rinja.
Kandri ...	74,600	76,795	Do. ...	Village chankidars, ayas, day-labourers, &c.
Kandu ...	244,124	262,044	Bihar ...	Grain-parchers.
Kanjar ...	1,763	1,396	Do. ...	Gipsies. Twist rope; hunt jackals, and catch and eat snakes.
Kansari (Kasari) (Kansarbanik).	22,085	20,997	The whole Province	Beasiers. It includes the figures for Kasari.
Kantabudiyah ...	489	516	Cuttack ...	Tobacco-sellers.
Kantai ...	59	99	Rajshahi and Malda	Allied to Koch.
Kaura ...	57,986	54,007	Central and Western Bengal.	Pig-rearers, thieves and labourers.
Kapali ...	75,623	70,218	Central and Eastern Bengal.	Weavers of canvas gunny-bags, and cultivators of jute.
Kapuri ...	43	64	Cuttack and Howrah	Included in Kapuri.
Kapuris ...	358	229	Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Dinajpur and Cuttack.	A wandering class of beggars from United Provinces who beg and steal and deal in ponies and goats. The Kapuris of Orissa belong to an entirely different community. They act as priests to the Kurais, Gaura and Kaibarttas.
Karal ...	1,047	1,300	Malda ...	Included in Namasudra.
Karan ...	92,227	97,259	Orissa ...	The writer-caste of Orissa.
Karanga ...	8,904	8,063	Western and Central Bengal and Orissa.	Cart-wheel and basket-makers, etc.
Karni ...	3,289	2,808	Eastern Bengal, Pabna and Bangpur.	A degraded caste of weavers.
Kartia ...	443	441	Puri ...	Fishermen.
Kasarwani ...	15,715	15,283	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	One of the Baniya castes.
Kasundhan ...	1,775	1,843	Ditto ...	Ditto.
Kasbi ...	3	2(H)	Patna ...	Included in Baniya.
Kasbi ...	911	7,930(M)	Bengal, Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	Kasbi means prostitute. It is not a caste but a profession.
Kasra ...	6,061	5,817	Bihar ...	The brown-founding caste of Bihar. Included in Kandari.
Kashmiri ...	11	5(M)	Daoga and Patna.	
Kasab (Kasbi) ...	5,022	6,011(M)	Bihar.	
Kashta ...	13,900	13,900	Midnapore ...	A cultivating and landholding caste.
Kathak ...	300	345	Bihar ...	Singers and dancers. Claim a Brahmanical origin.
Kathamla ...	1,453	1,306	Bihar.	
Kathuria ...	311	303	Eastern Bengal ...	Wood-cutters. Included in Namasudra.



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Males.	Females.		
1	2	3	4	5
Katicbhwa ... ..	1,961	1,960	Tippera ... ..	Hindus who have lost caste through eating or marrying with Tiprás. They now form a separate group. Are also known as Tripurá Dás. Included in Kallár.
Kanr ... ..	31,589	30,952	Tributary States of Chota Nagpur and Ranchi.	A Dravidian tribe of cultivators. Some are Hindus, but others are not.
Kawáli ... ..	503	577	Eastern Bengal and Sonthal Parganas.	Musicians; from Kawál, a kind of singing. According to some they were originally Kapália.
Kāyasth ... ..	672,937	674,894	The whole Province	The writer-caste.
Kāzi ... ..	613	391 (M)	Throughout Bengal	The word Kāzi is used as a title by the descendants of Muhammadan Magistrates. It has no reference to caste or tribe.
Kelá ... ..	5,193	5,414	Orissa ... ..	A wandering tribe with occupations like those of the Bediyás.
Kowat ... ..	182,663	189,785	Bihar, Orissa, Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal.	Fishermen and cultivators. Probably the same as the Káhartias of Bengal.
Khádál ... ..	6,437	6,825	Orissa and Midnapore.	
Khairá ... ..	27,406	29,475	Midnapore, Angul and Orissa States.	Vegetable-growers and day-labourers. In the Tributary States of Orissa they prepare khair (catechu) and cultivate.
Khambo ... ..	23,027	21,955	Darjeeling and Sikkim.	Inhabit the country between the Arun and Dud-Kosi Rivers; also called Jimdár (a corruption of Zamindar). They speak their own language (Khambo or Jimdár). Their title is Rai.
Khán ... ..	5,005	4,431 (M)	Eastern and Western Bengal.	A title of Pathán, but in Mymensingh, where the persons so returned are chiefly found, it is used as the designation of the descendants of converts from respectable Hindu castes.
Khāndrá ... ..	11	11	Shahabad ... ..	Included in Barnasankar.
Khandáit ... ..	352,007	366,841	Orissa ... ..	Swordsmen; now cultivators. Also called Mahá-láik.
Khandelwál ... ..	119	72	Gaya and Bhagalpur	A trading-caste similar to the Agarwála.
Khandul ... ..	38	53	Singhbhum ... ..	Included in Akér and Góidá.
Khánjár (Kánjár) ... ..	95	107 (H)	Bihar ... ..	A wandering tribe. Tattooers. Many of their women are prostitutes.
Kharsáti ... ..	49	32 (H)		
Khariá (Aheriá) ... ..	121	152 (M)		
Khariá (Aheriá) ... ..	52,273	52,479	Chota Nagpur, Orissa States, Jalpaiguri and Midnapore.	Resemble Mundas in physique and speak a similar language, called Khariá.
Kharurá ... ..	4,486	4,539	Orissa ... ..	Makers of brass-ware.
Kharwár (Kherwár) ... ..	50,947	50,662	Chota Nagpur and Bihar.	Cultivators and landholders.
Khas ... ..	8,479	6,910	Darjeeling and Sikkim.	One of the dominant tribes of Nepal. Their language is Khasura.
Khásiá ... ..	3	...	Chittagong.	
Khatá ... ..	1,626	1,732	Orissa ... ..	Fish-sellers.
Khatik ... ..	3,961	3,780	Bihar ... ..	Vegetable-sellers.
Khatrí ... ..	35,608	31,222	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	A mercantile-caste of Punjab origin.
Khátwa ... ..	49,309	53,596	Bihar ... ..	Pálki-bearers and cultivators.
Kháwas ... ..	559	493	Darjeeling, Sikkim, and Champaran.	The slave-caste of Nepal. Language Khasura.
Kbeltá ... ..	390	559	Bhagalpur and Sonthal Parganas.	A dancing-caste similar to the Gandharb. The males play and sing, while the women sing and dance.
Kbetauri ... ..	1,941	1,791	Sonthal Parganas and adjoining districts.	Land-owners, cultivators and day-labourers.
Khitibana ... ..	1,056	1,120	Orissa ... ..	School-masters and exhibitors of the image of Sitá. Also called Mátibana. Their title is Nalk or Abdhán.
Khoja ... ..	301	152	Champaran, Purnea Singhbhum.	Muhammadan traders.
Khulu (Kulo) ... ..	62,181	62,347	Bengal and Bihar	Muhammadan oil-pressers.
Khwádkár ... ..	353	324 (M)	Bengal Proper ... ..	A Muhammadan teacher or school-master, irrespective of his race.
Khyán (Khen) ... ..	13,561	13,151	North Bengal ... ..	Petty traders and cultivators. A Bráhmañ will take water from their hands.
Khyang ... ..	206	210	Chittagong Hill Tracts.	An aboriginal tribe.
Kichak ... ..	57	58	Dacca ... ..	Scavengers, formerly dacoits. There are also Kichaks in the Nepal Terai who are gipsies.
Kisán ... ..	8,900	7,842	Chota Nagpur Division.	A synonym of the Nagaswar tribe. In Gangpur, Orissa settlers call themselves Kisán. Included in Nagaswar.
Koch ... ..	36,139	34,236	East Bengal and Purnea.	Cultivators. Same as Rájbaná.
Koiri ... ..	624,962	642,057	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	Market-gardeners.
Koli ... ..	230	203	Orissa States and Angul.	
Koná ... ..	16,844	17,911	Birbhum and Murshidabad.	There are two sub-castes—Cháel and Kurur. The former are labourers and cultivators, and the latter labourers and drummers. The latter eat buffaloes. Are, perhaps, allied to the Muchia.
Kondá ... ..	103	106	Purnea ... ..	Included in Kuráir.



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Korā (Kará)... ..	44,120	43,649	Western and Central Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Bhagalpur Division.	Earth-workers; allied to the Mundas.
Korwā ... ..	20,538	20,152	Chota Nagpur ...	Live by <i>jāmīng</i> and trading in honey, bees'-wax and other jungle products. Speak the Korwā language. There are two sub-castes, Karāku and Parahiya.
Kohtā ... ..	1,551	1,574	Chota Nagpur and Orissa.	Weavers and cultivators.
Kotāl ... ..	5,289	5,403	Burdwan and Murshidabad.	A small cultivating-caste, frequently employed as village watchmen. Their title is Pradhān.
Krishnapakshi ...	1,033	1,050	Midnapore and Bihar.	The offspring of Kāyastha fathers and females of the Dhānk, Kurmi or some other caste whose water is taken by the higher castes. Their water is taken by the higher castes. In Puri they are also called Anturpas, and are said to be the offspring of concubines of Karans and Kshatriyas. Included in Barmanbar.
Kuki ... ..	4,523	4,547	Hill Tippera and Chittagong Hill Tracts.	A hill tribe. Speak the Kuki language.
Kumarbhag ... ..	1,216	1,614	Rajshahi and Santal Parganas.	Included in Mālpahāriā.
Kumbhār (Kumbhā-kār) ... ..	371,085	374,252 (H)	The whole Province	Potters.
Kumi (Khami) ...	151	167 (M)		
Kumti ... ..	761	798	Chittagong Hill Tracts.	A tribe allied to the Kukis. Speak their own language, Kumi.
Kunchbandhwā ...	1,654	1,692	Orissa ... ..	Traders, chiefly in articles of food. Said to have immigrated from Madras.
Kunchbandhwā ...	02	103 (H)	Bihar ... ..	Included in Nat.
Kunjra ... ..	3	2 (M)	Saran ... ..	
Kunwar ... ..	83,540	93,679	Bihar ... ..	Muhammādan vegetable-millers.
Kurariār ... ..	129	04	Chota Nagpur States	Included in Bādi.
Kurariār ... ..	329	322	Purnea ... ..	A low caste who live in the jungle and subsist largely on jungle products. Shoot birds and sell fuel. A criminal class.
Kuri ... ..	22,954	40,423	Eastern and Central Bengal.	A synonym for Mayrā. Included in Mayrā.
Kuriāda ... ..	72	63	Jessore and Faridpur.	A Muhammādan caste allied to Bediā, but their women do not appear in public. Included in Bediā.
Kuri Sajjan ... ..	266	130	Kach Bihar and Rangpur.	A mixed breed of Meek and Koch. Included in Meek.
Kurmi ... ..	693,546	702,863	The whole Province. Specially Bihar and Chota Nagpur	Cultivators and domestic servants in Chota Nagpur allied to Bhumij and Santāl. Speak their own language (Kurmāl.)
Kusmāid ... ..	6,831	6,606	Western Bengal ...	Included in Bādi.
Lāheri ... ..	7,065	6,186 (H)	Bihar ... ..	Lao bangle-makers.
Lāheri ... ..	6,795	7,041 (M)		
Lālbogi ... ..	2,756	2,247 (H)	24-Parganas, Calcutta and Darjeeling.	Sweepers. Some call themselves Muhammādans, but do not practise circumcision nor abstain from pork. Others return themselves as Hindus.
Lālbogi ... ..	863	369 (M)		
Lepcha ... ..	9,068	8,968	Darjeeling, Sikkim	Their language is Lepcha.
Let ... ..	14,996	15,250	Birahm and Murshidabad.	Included in Bādi.
Limbu ... ..	12,322	10,909	Jalpatguri, Darjeeling and Sikkim.	Their language is Limbu. Some are Hindus and some are Buddhists. Their title is Subha.
Lohāt Kuri ... ..	737	711	East Bengal ...	Fishermen.
Lohār (Loar) ... ..	...	...	Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Western Bengal and Darjeeling (Nepal).	Blacksmiths. In Bankura they are said to resemble Bādiā and are not blacksmiths. In Ranohi they are recruited from the aboriginal tribes and rank below Orāns and Mundas. In Darjeeling the term indicates occupation only. The blacksmith-caste is there Kāmi. See Kāmar and Lohar.
Lushei ... ..	62	73	Hill Tippera ...	Their language is Lushei.
Māchhā ... ..	664	604 (M)	Nadia, Bhagalpur and Midnapore.	A general term for various fishing and fish-vending castes. Included in Mallāh.
Madāriā ... ..	1,160	671 (M)	Bihar.	
Madhunāpiti ... ..	20	11	24-Parganas and Manbhum.	Confectioners. Distinct from Madak.
Madrasāi ... ..	196	188	Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts.	Immigrants from Madras.
Magh ... ..	53,944	55,554	Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts.	Buddhist immigrants from Arakan. Their language is Arakanese.
Mahar ... ..	488	684	Orissa States, Cuttack and Midnapore.	
Mahdima ... ..	1,722	1,771	Tippera ... ..	Included in Jogi and Jugi.
Maheri ... ..	1,769	690	Calcutta, Darjeeling, Rangpur and Kuch Bihar.	Traders.
Māhifarosh ... ..	1,960	1,989	Murshidabad and Mymensingh.	Muhammādan fish-vendors.
Māhima ... ..	23	...	Mymensingh ...	Muhammādan fishermen.
Māhmar ... ..	2,003	2,095	Chota Nagpur States	Included in Akh and Gollā.
Māhli ... ..	29,700	31,365	Chota Nagpur, Santal Parganas and Orissa States.	Bamboo-basket and mat-makers. Their language is Mahli, but many speak Hindi.
Māhūri ... ..	14,577	14,244	Bihar and Ranchi ...	Traders and money-lenders.
Māhūriā ... ..	941	958	Orissa ... ..	
Mājwār ... ..	2,959	2,630	Chota Nagpur States	
Māl ... ..	72,746	72,931	The whole Province	A Dravidian tribe found also in South Mirzapur.
Mālār ... ..	1,106	1,209	Chota Nagpur ...	Cultivators. Many are employed as chāukidars. Work in brass and bell-metal.



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Mâlô (Sauriâ) ...	24,841	23,429	Râjmahâl Hills in Sonthal Parganas.	The actual name is said to be Mâl. The third person Mâlô is used to distinguish the tribe from the Mâl caste of Bengal and the Mâl Pahariâs of the Southern Hills. They are not usually Hindus. Their language is Malto or Râjmahali. Collect wild honey.
Mâlhar ...	756	711	Orissa States and Hazaribagh.	
Mâli or Mâlâkar ...	66,983 1,518	65,109(H) 1,703(M)	The whole Province	Garland-makers. In Tippera Mâli means Bhuin-mâli, and the Sudra Mâlîs are known as Phulmâli.
Mallâh ...	186,937 1,666	202,361(H) 1,547(M)	Bihar ...	A boating-caste. [Many persons of other castes, such as Kewat, Surahiya, Gourhi, Mâlo, Châin, Bind, Tiyar, etc., are often loosely called Mallâh.]
Mallik ...	3,406	3,549(H)	Manbhum ...	Included in Mâl.
Mallik ...	15,462	17,329(M)	Bihar and Western Bengal.	The reports regarding this caste are very divergent. In Champaran they are said to be the descendants of Saiads, and in Shahabad they are a low caste of singers. In South Bihar, where they are numerous, it is stated that they are the descendants of Salâd Ibrahim and his soldiers, mostly his own tribesmen and relations.
Mâlô ...	117,193	119,882	Bengal and Bihar	A boating and fishing-caste. Also called Jhâlô.
Mâl Pahariâ ...	15,146	16,069	Râmgarh Hills in Sonthal Parganas.	Lived until recently by hunting and jhum cultivation. They are not as a rule Hindus. Their language is Mâl Pahariâ.
Mâlôddâ ...	31	7	Kuch Bihar ...	The offspring of prostitutes. Included in Deyâ.
Mândal ...	91	70(M)	Burdwai ...	A village head-man.
Mangar ...	10,307	8,709	Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and Sikkim.	One of the fighting tribes of Nepal. Their language is Mangar.
Mangtâ ...	66	34(H)	Muzaffarpur ...	Included in Kullâr.
Mangta ...	6	10(M)	Saran ...	Usually beggars, but some are cultivators.
Mani Bishau ...	75	100	Hill Tippera ...	Included in Manipuri.
Manipuri ...	6,793 195	6,109(H) 211(M)	Hill Tippera ...	Immigrants from Manipur. Speak the Manipuri language.
Manipuri Brahman ...	229	204	Ditto ...	Included in Manipuri.
Manipuri Khatriya ...	5,714	5,128	Ditto ...	Included in Manipuri.
Manipuri Sudra ...	687	690	Ditto ...	Included in Manipuri.
Mânjhi ...	1,081	948	Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and Sikkim.	The boating-caste of Nepal. Language Khakura.
Mânjhi ...	9,150	9,250	West Bengal ...	Included in Bâgdi.
Marâthâ ...	494	421	Orissa ...	Cultivators.
Marikanda ...	9,249	9,687	Bhagalpur Division	A trader from Rajutana, includes Agarwâlas, Mahesris, Oswâls, Samogis.
Mârwarî ...	2,741	1,878	Bihar ...	Iron-workers.
Mârâyâ ...	94	102	Sonthal Parganas	Traditional occupation is torch-bearing but at the present day nearly all of them are cultivators.
Manâchî ...	672	706(M)	Jessore and Faridpur.	They form an endogamous group and belong to Dudhu Miyân's sect.
Mâstân ...	2,064	1,993	Orissa ...	Included in Brâhman.
Mâtiâ ...	10,781	11,768	Western Bengal and Mymentingh.	Included in Bâgdi.
Mâtiâ ...	6,145	6,513	Central Bengal ...	Included in Muchi.
Maulik (Laiyâ or Nâiyâ) ...	3,508	3,556	Manbhum and Sonthal Parganas.	Probably allied to Mâl Pahariâs.
Mayrâ ...	78,058	69,760	Bengal ...	Confectioners. The same as Madak.
Mech ...	13,096	11,455	Northern Bengal ...	An aboriginal tribe. They have a language of their own (Mech), but most now speak Bengali.
Mohanâ ...	64	61(M)	Nadia and Sonthal Parganas.	Mohanâ seems to be a title of Dhâk. The men act as drummers and the women as naval-string cutters.
Mehtar ...	11,775 671	9,553(H) 695(M)	The whole Province except Orissa.	The generic name of various sweeping castes, including the Lalbegis, Hâris, Halâkhars, Sekras, Doms, etc.
Mehtar Muchi ...	68	68	Jessore ...	Included in Muchi.
Minor Foreign castes	1,532	1,083	Throughout Bengal	A contraction of "Amir" a chief or leader. usually a title of Saiads, but it is sometimes used by Shukhs as well.
Mir ...	1,310	1,176(M)	Throughout Bengal	The term means a village overseer, or head of pears, and does not denote caste.
Mirdhâ ...	80	118(M)	Eastern and Western Bengal.	A very low Muhammadan caste whose members sing at marriages and other ceremonies, play on the tom-tom and tablâ and deal in, and apply, leeches.
Mirâsin ...	427	612(M)	Bihar ...	Included in Bâgdi.
Mirâshîrî ...	167	186	Patna and Palamau	A title, but in some parts of Bihar it is said to be the name given to children of Saiads, or dignitaries of Muhammadan times, by women of lower rank.
Mirâ ...	800	788(M)	Western Bengal, Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	A title of respect.
Miyân ...	221	189(M)	Sonthal Parganas ...	A Muhammadan race.
Moghal ...	9,540	9,138	Throughout Bengal	Cultivators.
Morangia ...	1,292	1,169	Kuch Bihar ...	
Muchi ...	230,224 1,804	209,398(H) 1,871(M)	Bengal ...	Leather-dressers and cobblers.
Mukerî ...	2,962	3,237	Bihar ...	A Muhammadan caste of soap-makers, shop-keepers, saltpetre sellers and cultivators.
Mullah ...	553	361(M)	Western Bengal ...	Included in Saiad.
Munda ...	190,336	191,292	Chota Nagpur ...	Allied to Santâls and Hos. Speak Mundâri. Are not usually Hindus.
Muriyâri ...	5,876	5,984	Bhagalpur Division	A boating and fishing-caste.
Murmi ...	16,394	16,429	Darjeeling and Sikkim.	Mostly Buddhist. Language Murmi. Title Lâma.
Murung ...	1,111	1,122	Hill Tippera ...	Included in Kuki.
Murung (Mrâ) ...	5,394	5,197	Chittagong Hill Tracts	An aboriginal tribe. Language Murung or Mrî.



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Musahar ...	299,730	306,067	Bihar ...	Palki-bearers and field labourers.
Musalman (Unsp) ...	9,556	8,772(M)	.....	.....
Nāgar ...	17,600	20,414	Bhagalpur Division	Cultivators.
Nāgarohi ...	9,317	9,088	Eastern Bengal ...	A Muhammadan drummer-caste. Also called Bādyakar.
Nāglasai ...	6,872	3,581	Chota Nagpur States	Included in Munda.
Nāgoar (Nāgoia) ...	15,440	16,634	Chota Nagpur ...	Are not ordinarily Hindus.
Nahara ...	337	360	Angul and Khondmals.	An aboriginal tribe.
Nāik ...	3,969	4,261(H)	} Bankura.	Priests of the aboriginal forest deities. Their title is Pujāhā.
Nāiyā ...	15	14(H)		
Nāiband ...	568	624(M)	Bhagalpur and Monghyr.	A functional designation.
Naliyā ...	1,341	1,370(H)	Bihar ...	Sea fishermen and boatmen. Immigrants from Madras.
Namasandra ...	3,031	4,043(M)	Orissa ...	A boating and fishing-caste.
Nānakabāhi ...	985,662	925,222	Bengal Proper ...	.....
Nanbāi ...	1,409	945	Bihar ...	Bakers.
Nāpit ...	72	51(M)	Bihar ...	The barber-caste.
Nāpit ...	294,802	226,738	Bengal ...	Muhammadans descended from local converts.
Nasya ...	106,902	94,825	North Bengal ...	A gipsy tribe of Bihar and Upper India. Often used in a wide sense as corresponding to Bediyā in Bengal Proper.
Nat ...	7,406	8,240(H)	} Bihar and Eastern Bengal	Recent converts to Muhammadanism from amongst the lower castes.
Nat ...	4,087	5,617(M)		
Nau Muslim ...	5,182	5,802(M)	Bihar ...	A small community of cultivators found only in the 24-Parganas.
Nekūā ...	179	218	24-Parganas ...	.....
Nepālī (Unsp) ...	608	392	Jalpaiguri and Bhagalpur.	Included in Gomia.
Nepālī Gomia ...	28	16	Darjeeling ...	Included in Sanyāsī.
Nepālī Sanyāsī ...	576	511	Darjeeling ...	The original inhabitants of the Nepāl Valley.
Newār ...	6,176	4,679	Darjeeling ...	There are various castes amongst Newārs, including Chamākhalā, Kasāi, Kumhā, etc. Their language is Newār. Some are Buddhists by religion. Their title is Pradhān.
Nichondā ...	988	1,089	Gaya and Hazaribagh.	One of the Baniya castes.
Nikāri ...	21,745	22,642	Bengal ...	Muhammadan fishermen and fish-sellers. Also called Pakār.
Niyāri ...	6,264	7,520	Orissa ...	Sift ashes of goldsmiths' shops in search of scraps of gold or silver. In Bankura they are cultivators and labourers.
Noatid ...	7,331	7,045	Hill Tippera ...	Included in Typrā.
Nodh (Lodhā) ...	4,402	3,771	Orissa ...	Field labourers.
Nouidr ...	15,333	14,865	Bihar ...	Included in Kausidr.
Nuniyā ...	169,181	174,248	Bihar ...	Saltpetre-makers. Are now chiefly earth-workers.
Nuri ...	453	519	West and Central Bengal.	Makers of lac bangles, &c.
Or ...	603	330	Ranchi ...	Included in Mahli.
Orāon ...	294,862	295,765	Chota Nagpur ...	Speak a language of their own (called Kurnukh or Kachnakhra in Ranchi, and Kolboli in Palamau). Are not usually Hindus.
Oriyā ...	7,141	6,693	Midnapore.	Muhammadan circumcisers. Included in Bediyā.
Oudā ...	507	592	Bachergunge ...	
Oswāl ...	4,731	1,578	Bihar and Palamau	Traders.
Pahirā ...	433	573	Manbhum ...	A small tribe found mainly in Pargana Dalma in Manbhum.
Paliyā ...	153,250	136,251	North Bengal and Malda in Purnea.	Allied to the Koch or Rājansī.
Patwār ...	238	378(H)	Malda and Murshidabad.	Traders and tradesmen's muharrira. Also boatmen, cultivators, &c. Said to be descended from up-country Tiya and Dosādha.
Paludr ...	37	30(M)	.....	Included in Mallā.
Paludrī ...	305	202	.....	Included in Ganwar.
Pān (Pānikā) ...	220,952	225,575	Chota Nagpur and Orissa.	A weaving and basket-making caste.
Pāneri ...	636	510(M)	Saran and Champaran.	A functional designation, and means a man who sells betel-leaves.
Pānkhu ...	76	63	Chittagong Hill Tracts	An aboriginal tribe.
Parlatid ...	414	176	Bhagalpur ...	Included in Nepālī.
Parghā ...	6,100	6,616	Bhagalpur, Sonthal Parganas.	Cultivators and labourers.
Parhaiyā ...	3,994	4,079	Chota Nagpur ...	Ditto.
Pāsi ...	76,983	74,624(H)	Bihar ...	Toddy-drawers and distillers.
Pāsi ...	417	415(M)	.....	Included in Kaldī.
Pathān ...	214,287	209,353	Throughout Bengal	A race of Muhammadans.
Pothari ...	166	256	Chota Nagpur States	Included in Kairatia.
Pātiāl ...	3,009	4,047	East Bengal ...	Mat-makers. Called Patita in Pabna.
Pātnī ...	32,676	31,111	Ditto ...	Fishermen. Originally Doma. In Rangpur the Pātnis are basket-makers. In Backergunge and Kuch Bihar they are ferryman and look on fishing as a degrading occupation.
Pātnī ...	144	152(M)	Central and North Bengal.	Included in Mallā.
Pātrā ...	19,216	21,652	Orissa ...	Dealers in silk cloth and piece-goods.
Pātnā ...	627	678	Tributary States of Orissa.	The same as Jūng. Speak the Jūng language.
Patwā ...	7,508	7,981(H)	} Bihar ...	Included in Poted.
Patwā ...	822	632(M)		
				Makers of fancy silk strings and fringes.



CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Pāwarīā ... ..	441 3,243	435(H) 4,008(M)	Champanan, Sonthal Parganas and Bamnibagh.	Singers and musicians. Usually Muhammadans.
Pendhāri ... ..	190	203	Orissa Tributary States.	
Pod ... ..	234,700	230,215	South Bengal ...	A fishing, cultivating and trading caste.
Porawāl ... ..	134	144	Hazaribagh and Cuttack.	A caste of Banīyas.
Pundāri (Puro) ...	17,571	18,269	Birbhum, Murshidabad, Rajshahi and Malda.	Silkworm rearers. Originally Poda.
Panjra ... ..	43	32	Hooghly and Jemore	Same as Māhifaroah. Muhammadan fish-sellers. Included in Māhifaroah.
Purua ... ..	2,640	3,140	Chota Nagpur ...	Included in Bhoiyā.
Purua Tipārd ...	19,481	18,827	Hill Tippera ...	Included in Tipārd.
Rājbanai ... ..	1,030,908	999,070	North Bengal ...	Cultivators. The term probably includes two distinct ethnic groups.
Rājbbhar ... ..	8,484	5,943	Bogra, Mymensingh, Gaya and Shahabad.	Gardeners and cowherds. Their traditional occupation is agriculture.
Rājbbhat ... ..	5,647	5,515	Bihar.	
Rājpot ... ..	708,885	688,185	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	The fighting and land-owning caste of Northern India.
Rāju ... ..	56,450	53,348	Midnapore and Orissa.	Cultivators.
Rajwār ... ..	76,519	83,179	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	An aboriginal tribe; found chiefly in the south of Shahabad.
Rāmdayal ... ..	844	790	Burdwan, Bankura, Hooghly and Nadia.	A sect of Vaishnava devotees. Included in Banishah.
Rangroo ... ..	3,994	5,393(M)	Bihar ... ..	Dyers.
Rāstogi ... ..	1,003	1,127	Do. ... ..	Cloth-sellers and money-lenders.
Rārhi ... ..	14,505	16,642	Orissa ... ..	Prepares and sell parched rice.
Rauniār ... ..	38,302	39,274	Bihar ... ..	Traders in grain, cloth, etc., and money-lenders. Also called Noniār.
Rautiā ... ..	20,858	20,180	Chota Nagpur ...	A cultivating and land-holding caste.
Riyang ... ..	9,196	8,683	Hill Tippera and Chittagong Hill.	A class of Tipārd who were formerly Kulī.
Sabākhā ... ..	103	93	Orissa ... ..	Included in Tipārd.
Sābangan ... ..	14	20(M)	Shahabad ... ..	A wandering tribe. Possibly a sub-caste of Kelā.
Sadgop ... ..	288,871	289,902	Bengal ... ..	Soap-makers.
Sādhu ... ..	1,094	262	Bihar ... ..	Cultivators.
Sabar ... ..	36,104	36,637	Orissa ... ..	Devotees.
Saiad ... ..	119,508	116,962	Throughout Bengal and Midnapore and Bardwan.	Day-labourers.
Sair ... ..	137	140	Do. ... ..	A race of Muhammadans.
Sajgar ... ..	368	357(M)	Darbhanga ... ..	Allied to Bāghia. Cultivators.
Sāmanta ... ..	1,906	1,782	Bankura and Midnapore.	Included in Muehi.
Sasai ... ..	224	273	Orissa States and Cuttack.	Their habitat is Sāmantabhum. Now claim to be Kshātriyas.
Sākhāri (Sankha-banki) ... ..	7,271	7,044	Bengal and Orissa	Menial servants; similar to Hāri.
Saonyāsi (Saniāsi) ...	14,607	12,012	The whole Province	Shell-bracelet makers.
Santal ... ..	911,171	918,972	Sonthal Parganas and neighbouring districts.	Devotees.
Stpurid ... ..	72	13	Midnapore ... ..	Speak a language of their own (Santālī or Har).
Sarak (Srawak) ...	9,691	9,386	Chota Nagpur and the Tributary States of Orissa.	Are not usually Hindu.
Sarāogi ... ..	590	453	Calcutta, Patna and Gaya.	Included in Bediyā.
Sardār ... ..	12	16(M)	Howrah ... ..	Cultivators. Those in Chota Nagpur are believed to have been Jains formerly. In the Orissa States they are Buddhists.
Sāriki ... ..	1,186	1,015	Darjeeling and Sikkim.	Traders. Mostly Jains by religion.
Sarnadār ... ..	24,811	25,186	Bengal ... ..	A headman of any caste.
Sayar ... ..	19,127	19,476	Midnapore, Singhbhum and Orissa (including Tributary States).	Leather-workers. Their language is Khaskura.
Sawarkharid ... ..	123	42	Singbhum ... ..	Title Mijhar.
Saouārayani ... ..	93	47	Gaya and Shahabad	Gold and silversmiths. Included in Sodar.
Sāgāirupeshā (Sāgar-peshā) ... ..	21,167	25,914	Orissa ... ..	A Dravidian cultivating and servile tribe, of whom the Mālē are probably an outlying branch. Their occupation in Cuttack is cutting and selling firewood.
Shah ... ..	322	511(M)	Western Bengal.	Included in Khariā.
Shamri ... ..	592	774	Bihar ... ..	A religious sect found in Bihar.
Shāndār ... ..	51	46	East Bengal ...	Illegitimate offspring of Kayasths and other high castes by women of the Udash, Bhandāri and other indigenous castes.
Sharpa Bhotia ...	2,315	2,108	Darjeeling ... ..	Traders.
Shakh ... ..	10,904,289	10,715,883	Throughout Bengal	Included in Bediyā.
Shlah ... ..	257	127(M)	Bihar.	Included in Bhotia.
Shikāri ... ..	702	793	Kuch Bihar, Rangpur and Mymensingh.	The great majority of Muhammadans thus describe themselves.
Siamese ... ..	11	...	Calcutta.	
Sikh ... ..	628	407	Ditto ... ..	Kill fish and tortoises by means of spears. Included in Gaurār.
Sikalgur ... ..	1,064	1,107(M)	Bihar ... ..	This is the name of a religion. It is professed by persons of various castes, including Jat, Rājput, Saini, Kombh, Brāhmān, Arora, Banis, Khatri, Lohār, &c.
Sikkim Bhotia ...	4,000	4,219	Sikkim ... ..	It means a person who closes swords.
Sinduriā ... ..	9,197	9,492	Bihar ... ..	Included in Bhotia.
Sinhalese ... ..	21	...	Calcutta.	Vendors of Sindur. Sometimes said to be a sub-caste of Kāyasth.



xlii APPENDIX VI—ABSTRACT OF CASTE TABLE WITH SHORT EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CASTE.	NUMERICAL STRENGTH.		Where chiefly found.	REMARKS.
	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5
Sitaliyā ... ..	79	102	Orissa States ...	Nomadic brass workers.
Siyāl ... ..	3,193	3,213	Orissa ...	Toddy-drawers.
Siyalgir ... ..	300	298	Midnapore and Balaore.	Came from Gujarat five or six generations ago. Inhabit Mohanpur outpost in Dantun thana. Speak Siyalgir, a dialect of Gujarati.
Sokār ... ..	5,773	6,334	Hazaribagh ...	A clean, cultivating caste.
Sonār ... ..	122,162	123,365 (H)	{ The whole Province	The goldsmith caste of Bihar.
Subarnabanik ...	67	37 (M)		
Sudhā ... ..	79,094	76,613	Bengal and Orissa	Traders.
Sudhā ... ..	23,742	34,027	Orissa ... ..	Formerly engaged in personal service. Now chiefly cultivators.
Sudra ... ..	90,309	95,460	Eastern Bengal ...	Descended from maid-servants by their masters of good caste; also called Golām or Golām Khyashta.
Sukli ... ..	12,615	19,063	Midnapore, Hooghly and Howrah.	Cultivators.
Sukli Tānti ...	823	907	Howrah ...	Included in Sukli.
Sunni ... ..	5,022	4,935 (M)	{ The whole Province	Distillers and wine-sellers. Many have taken to trade and some have become samindars.
Sunni or Shāhā (Sas)	304,689	311,554		
Sunuwār ... ..	2,753	2,455	Darjeeling ...	A cultivating tribe. Originally hunters. Their language is Sunuwār.
Surahiyā ... ..	5,391	5,793	Bihar ... ..	A boating and fishing caste.
Surajbanui ... ..	3,116	3,022	Dacca ... ..	Probably Koch Mundis by origin. Assumed the sacred thread in 1871.
Suratcald ... ..	69	126	Bihar ... ..	In Gayā illegitimate descendants of Gaydwals by women of the Rājput, Bādhān and Bādī castes. Elsewhere a general term for bastard. Included in Barua Santar.
Surbhāng ... ..	189	295	Champaran ...	Included in Barāi.
Sutikār ... ..	83	60	Purnea ... ..	Carpenters.
Sutradhar (Chhatār)	63,215	53,985	Bangal ... ..	Included in Jain (unspecified).
Sutradhar ... ..	74	11	Hazaribagh ...	Allied to the Bhumiij. Their language is Tamariā or Bhumiij.
Tamariā ... ..	3,595	3,906	Singbhum and Tributary States of Orissa and Chota-Nagpur.	
Tāmbuli (Tamoli) ...	41,968	42,681	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	Prepares and sells betel-leaf. Many now deal in grain or keep small shops.
Tānti ... ..	} 473,333	473,120	The whole Province	Wearers.
Tatwā ... ..			Orissa ... ..	Do.
Tauā ... ..	10,627	11,511	Orissa ... ..	Do.
Telaga ... ..	1,174	1,174	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	Oil-processers. Many have taken to trade. It includes the figures for Tel also.
Teli ... ..	689,354	706,065	Midnapore, Calcutta, Bankura, Rangpur and Kuch Bihar.	Said to be descended from Madras sepoys.
Telingā ... ..	1,110	884	Western Bengal ...	Included in Bāgdi.
Tentaliā ... ..	20,300	20,150	Champaran ...	Cultivators. Rājput converts to Mohammedanism.
Thākari ... ..	1,479	1,618	Calcutta, Jalpiguri and Sikkim.	The Thākari of Nepal are of Royal descent.
Thākuri ... ..	74	17	Darjeeling ...	Language Khakura.
Thāni ... ..	133	105	Champaran ...	Their language is Thāni.
Thāru ... ..	14,326	13,493	Champaran ...	Cultivators and hunters. Their language is Thāru.
Thāthorā ... ..	13,687	13,533	Bihar ... ..	Dealers in brass.
Thāwāi ... ..	59	80	Saran ... ..	Muhammadan masons.
Thoria ... ..	5,494	7,052	Orissa ... ..	Podlars. Perhaps a sub-caste of Gola.
Tibetan ... ..	933	843	Darjeeling ...	
Tiklīhār (Tiklīhār) ...	853	790 (H)	{ Bihar ... ..	Spangle makers.
Tiklī ... ..	83	77 (M)		
Tilā ... ..	51,567	57,069	Bengal Proper ...	Are mostly traders or cultivators.
Tipārā ... ..	52,569	48,949	Chittagong Hill and Hill Tippera.	A wandering tribe of Hill Tippera and Chittagong Hill Tracts who live by Jām cultivation. Some still speak the Tipārā language. There are three endogamous divisions which are practically separate castes (1) Jamtiā, the fighting class, (2) Nontā or descendants of new admissions, (3) Rhyang or Kukis who have become Tipārās.
Tiyar (Thār or Thar)	123,634	133,626	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	A boating and fishing caste. Some also make reed mats.
Toto ... ..	72	99	Jalpaiguri ... ..	A small tribe allied to the Bhotias. They speak their own language (Toto).
Tulābhiniā ... ..	1,634	1,853	Orissa ... ..	Cotton-spinners. Sometimes claim to be Tāntiā.
Turāhā ... ..	35,860	41,073	Bihar ... ..	Musicians. [Also a sub-caste of Kshāra and Nuntā.]
Turi ... ..	23,657	25,765	Chota Nagpur ...	Workers in bamboo and basket-makers; also cultivators. The Turia language is still spoken in Ranchi and Jashpur. Said to be a sub-caste of Dom in Machhism.
Tutiā ... ..	4,341	3,330	Midnapore ... ..	Silk worm rearsers. Muhammadans.
UPā ... ..	3,247	3,361	Balaore and Tributary States of Orissa.	A degraded caste of fishermen.
Valaya ... ..	4,112	4,117	Bengal ... ..	Traders.
Yaktā ... ..	1,334	1,043	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.	A small agricultural tribe. Their language is Yaktā. Their title is Dewan.



## APPENDIX VII.—ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN SUBCASTES.

## ĀGURI or UGRA KSHATTRIYA.

JĀNĀ ĀGURI (c) ... West Bengal.

| SAT ĀGURI (c) ... West Bengal.

The head member of a Jānā Āguri family wears the sacred thread and he alone can take part in the performance of the religious and *Śradh* ceremonies, in which the other members are not allowed to join. The Sat Āguris have no such distinction and none of them wears the thread.

Each subcaste considers itself superior to the other. Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden. Dining and smoking together do not seem to be forbidden in Birbhum. In Burdwan they will eat, drink and smoke in the house of a Brāhman only. Members of one subcaste cannot gain admission to the other. Each has its own administration.

Each subcaste is divided into Kulin, Satgrihashta and Manlik. A Kulin is not forbidden to marry in the family of a Satgrihashta or Manlik, but to do so brings a certain amount of discredit on his family, and a series of such marriages would reduce it to the rank of the Satgrihashta or Manlik. The Jānā subcaste is further subdivided into four sections:—(i) Shagrami, (ii) Paschim Taraṣ, (iii) Kasipuri, and (iv) Bargrami—named after their places of residence.

## BAGDI.

KHETRI ... West Bengal.  
KUSMETIA (a) Ditto.TENTULIA (a) West Bengal.  
TRAYODAS (c) Ditto.

NODA (f) ... West Bengal.

The differentiation by subcastes arose partly from residence in different localities and partly from occupation. The Nodas who are generally fish-mongers rank low in consequence. The Tentuliā occupies the highest rank in Birbhum. In Birbhum intermarriage is not allowed, but the members of the different subcastes can smoke and eat cooked rice together. In Howrah intermarriage is allowed between the Tentuliā and Trayodas subcastes, but rarely between the Kusmetiā and Noda, who will not eat rice with each other. The period of mourning varies. It is observed for 31 days by the Kusmetiā and Tentuliā and for 13 and 11 days by the Trayodas and Noda respectively.

## BARAI.

MAGAHIA (t) ... Bihar.  
JAISWAR (f) ... Do.  
CHAURASIA (f) Do.  
SEMERYA (f) Do.  
SOEHWA (c) ... Do.  
TAMBOLI (f) ... North Bihar.UNAIŚWĀN (a) North Bihar.  
BIŚWĀN (a) ... Ditto.  
KANAUJIA (t) South Bihar.  
MĀSAJIA ... Ditto.  
EKUŚĀ (a) ... Ditto.  
BĀIŚĀ (a) ... Ditto.

BIRĀŚĪĀ (a) ... South Bihar.

The Chaurasia is so called for cultivating, and the Jaiswar and Semeryā for selling, betel-leaves. Sokhwa is named after Sokha, its tutelary deity. The Kanaujia and the Magahia are so called from the places where they originally resided. Each subcaste claims a higher rank than the others, but in some districts the Chaurasia is admitted to rank above the Magahia, because it abstains from drinking, in which the latter indulges freely. Intermarriage is strictly forbidden except in a few districts. All the subcastes will drink water from each other's hands and sometimes smoke, but they will not eat together. Admission to other sub-castes is not allowed, and each has a separate punchayat.

## BARHI.

MAGAHIA (t) ... Bihar and Chota Nagpur.  
KANAUJIA (t) ... Ditto.  
KOKĀS (d) ... Ditto.  
KAMAR KALLĀ (a) Bihar.  
LOHAR (f) ... North Bihar and Chota Nagpur.AURANGIA ... North Bihar.  
LOHAR (t)  
MUNGERIA (t) ... Ditto.  
TIRHUTIA (t) ... Ditto.  
GURHA ... Ditto.

Tradition says, that while constructing the dwellings of Heaven Viswa Karma perspired, and the Magahias were born from the drops of sweat that fell from his forehead, and the Kāmār Kallās from those that fell from his waist. The Kokās say that once, when they were ordered by a certain Raja to complete a piece of timber work within a specified time, having left their measuring tape behind, they cut their sacred thread and used it instead, for which they were degraded. The Barhis are also gun-makers in Mouzhyr. The Magahias are there the highest, and the Kāmār Kallā the lowest in rank, the rest being all equal. In Bhagalpur Magahia is the first, Kanaujia the second, Kāmār Kallās the third, and Aurangia Lohar the lowest in rank. Intermarriage amongst all the subcastes is strictly forbidden, on penalty of excommunication, but Magahias who intermarry with the members of the other subcastes, though degraded from their own, are accepted in the subcaste in which they have married. In Bhagalpur, intermarriage between the Magahias and the Aurangia Lohars is allowed.

The various subcastes drink and sometimes smoke, but, as a rule, do not eat together. In Bhagalpur the Magahias will eat with the Aurangia Lohars and the Kanaujias will eat rice cooked by the Magahias. The Magahias and (in Bhagalpur) Aurangia Lohars alone, can gain admission to other sub-castes. Each subcaste has a separate punchayat, but in important cases, influential members of other subcastes are asked to assist.

NOTE.—The list of subcastes and of the places where they are found is not exhaustive. It contains merely the names of the subcastes actually reported on in certain districts. The object of these notes is to analyse the causes of caste differentiation and not to give a complete list of subcastes. For information on this point the tribes and castes of Bengal should be consulted. The letters added after the name of subcaste indicate the cause of the distinction thus:—(a)=Ancestral. (c)=Ceremonial. (d)=Degraded. (f)=Functional. (t)=Territorial.



## BARUI.

RÁRHI (t)	... West, Central and East Bengal.	NÁTHÁN	... West Bengal.
BÁRENDEA (t)	... Bengal.	JESSORI (t)	... Ditto.
UTTAM	... West Bengal.	SUKLI (a)	... 24 Parganas.
ORIYÁ (t)	... Ditto.	SANÁTAN (a)	... Ditto.
GHAZIPURI (t)	... Ditto.	HIRÁMOHAN (a)	... Ditto.
GANGATIN	... Ditto.	GAUTAM (a)	... Ditto.

The Baruis claim their descent from one Madhab, who was created by Brahmá, at the request of the Bráhmans, to relieve them of the labour of betel-vine cultivation. Madhab had four sons named Sukli, Sanátan, Hirámohan and Gautam, and the four sub-castes of the 24-Parganas took their names from the four sons. The two ordinary sub-castes in Bengal are Rárhí and Bárendra which are purely geographical names. The Rárhís are further subdivided into two sections; Uttar Rárhí and Dakshin Rárhí. The former do Puja to their *Pán* gardens on the 9th day of Agrahayan, while the latter observe the ceremony on the 5th day of Baisakh. In Jessore the Bárendra has two subdivisions, Náthán and Kota. The women of the former wear nose-rings, but those of the latter do not. Inter-marriage is permitted among the subsections. Oriyá is also a territorial name.

The relative rank of the two main sub-castes (Rárhí and Bárendra) varies according to their numerical strength. The Oriyá ranks higher than the Uttam. The Gangatin subcaste is looked on as superior in Howrah. In the 24-Parganas the Oriyá stands first.

Inter-marriage is absolutely forbidden, except in Nadia, where it is gradually coming into vogue. In Nadia and 24-Parganas, all the sub-castes freely eat, drink and smoke together, but in other districts, commensality is confined to *pakki* food. Each of the sub-castes has a separate administration.

The practice of *kulinism* is in vogue. The Kulins take money when marrying a son or a daughter to a Maulik.

## BAURI.

DHULIÁ	... East, West and Central Bengal.	MÁLUÁ	... East Bengal.
JHÁTIÁ (t)	... West Bengal.	PATURIA	... Ditto.
MALLÁ BHU.		THATIA	... Ditto.
MIÁ (t)	... Ditto.	MALLÁ BHUMIA (t)	... Ditto.
KÁTHURIA (f)	... East and West Bengal.	MOLA	... East and Central Bengal.
PANCHA KOTI (t)	... Ditto.	SIKHARIA (t) OR GOBARIA	... West and Central Bengal.

Mallá Bhumiá denotes a group who were originally residents of Manbhūm, and Sikharia, those of Sikharbhūm, the tract between the Kusai and Barakar rivers; Panchakoti is also a territorial name and refers to Pacher in Manbhūm. The word Gobaria is said to refer to the practice of using cowdung to clean up the place where food has been eaten. Jhátíá is the name of a subcaste, whose members simply sweep away the fragments of a meal without washing the place.

The sub-castes are all equal in rank, and local superiority generally depends on the numerical strength.

The social customs differ in various districts. In Burdwan, Hooghly and Birbhūm inter-marriage is forbidden on pain of social excommunication. In Faridpur and Nadia the same rule is in vogue, but the offending party may be readmitted to his own subcaste on paying a penalty. In Bankura inter-marriage is freely allowed to all.

In Burdwan they neither drink nor smoke with each other, but in Hooghly they do so except on ceremonial occasions. In Birbhūm and Faridpur they smoke, but will not eat or drink together. In Nadia and Bankura they freely eat, drink and smoke with each other. In Bankura a member of one sub-caste, by giving a feast, can gain admission to any other subcaste, and one single panchayat governs them all. This is not the case in other districts.

## BHANDARI.

BENGALI (t)	... Orissa.	GOLA (d)	... Orissa.
DAKSHINI (t)	... Do.	HÁTUÁ (f)	... Do.
DESI (t)	... Do.	SASANI (c)	... Do.
KHARIA (f)	... Do.	JHARIA (t)	... Chota Nagpur Plateau.
KHARDÁ (t)	... Do.	OBYIA (t)	... Ditto.

Difference of locality or occupation account for the origin of several sub-castes. The Khariá Bhandáris are so called from having worked as coolies in the salt manufactories and are somewhat degraded. The Hátuás and Golas are lowest in social rank. The Golas shave the Muhammadans and also cut the nails of the fingers (not of the toes) of the Golas, who are a very low caste. The Hátuás are those who shave the Hátuás (i.e., people who carry on trade and frequent hāts or markets), without any distinction of caste, such as Guriás, Telis, Gauras, etc. The Desis are said to be the original inhabitants of the country, and therefore were called by that name. They are further subdivided in Puri into Chamás and Kanamutias. When the Káyasthas emigrated to Orissa, they brought with them Bengali Nāpits who afterwards came to be known as Bengali Bhandáris. The Sāsani Bhandáris take their name from the fact that they serve the high class Bráhmans of that subcaste. The Dakshini Bhandáris lived originally in the south of Orissa. The Khardás claim superiority of rank, because the Rájá of Puri used to employ them. The rest are all equal in social rank. The Oriyá and Jhariá are reported from Angul only. The Oriyás are considered superior to the Jhariás.

Except in Puri where it is punished with social excommunication, inter-marriage, though unusual, is not absolutely forbidden, and in any case the offending party has only to pay a fine to avoid serious consequences. Bengali Bhandáris, however, cannot as a rule, intermarry with the other sub-castes.

Except in Balasore and Puri, they drink and smoke together and eat *pakki*, but not cooked rice. In Balasore and Puri they neither eat, drink nor smoke together.

The sub-castes have separate panchayats in Cuttack. In Balasore and Puri, where the panchayat system is not in vogue, each subcaste has its own head-man.



## BHUIYA.

RAJKUAR (a)	... Singhbhum	RIKHIASAN (e)	... Manbhum.
BICHWAR	... Ditto.	MUSHAHAR (e)	... Ditto.
BATHURI	... Ditto.	RAIGHATWAR (f)	... North Bihar.
KATRAS	... Ditto.	RAIMANJHI (f)	... Ditto.
GHATWAR OR GHATWAL (f)	... Manbhum.		

In Singhbhum, the Rajkuars, who claim descent from the old kings of Singhbhum, are first in rank. Intermarriage between the subcastes is absolutely forbidden under penalty of being out-casted.

Bhuiyas of the northern part of Manbhum claim descent from the Solar Kshatriyas and wear the sacred thread. Others claim descent from Paban, the god of wind, and say that their ancestors were the soldiers of Hanumanth, the monkey general of Ram Chandra.

The Ghatwars, who rank first, are the keepers of ghats or mountain-passes, employed by the Rājās and zemindars. Rikhiasan is derived from Rikhya, a bear, and Asan, to eat. The members of this subcaste are said to have formerly eaten bear's flesh. Musahar probably means mouse-eater. Raighatwar ranks above Raimanjhi. In Birbhum, there are no subcastes.

Each subcaste is practically an independent caste and intermarriage or commensality is absolutely forbidden. No one can gain admission to another subcaste. They have no panchayats, but they follow the *Vyavastha* or decision of their Brahmans.

## BHUMIJ.

KOL	... Chota Nagpur.	BARABHUMIÁ (t)	... Chota Nagpur.
MURA	... Ditto.	SIKHARIÁ (t)	... Ditto.
THAKUR	... Ditto.	PATKUMIÁ	... Ditto.
MANKI	... Ditto.	TAMARIÁ (t)	... Ditto.
DESI (t)	... Ditto.		

The first four sub-castes are found in Manbhum and they rank in the order in which they are entered. The rest are found in Singhbhum where the Desi stands first, the Barabhumia and Sikharia second, and the Patkumia third in rank. The Tamaria ranks last. The Desis are the original inhabitants of the country. The Mura can intermarry with the Sikharia, Patkumia and Barabhumia. All of them, except the Tamaria, drink together. The Barabhumia can intermarry and drink with the Sikharia only. The Patkumias are not allowed to marry with the Desi or Tamaria. No one of any sub-caste can gain admission to another.

In Manbhum, there is one panchayat for the whole caste, but in Singhbhum, every subcaste has its own panchayat.

## BIND.

LODHIYA	... North Bihar.	RAJWAR (a)	... South Bihar.
GONR (a)	... Bihar.	NUNIYA (f)	... Ditto.
KHARIAT (f)	... Ditto.	BINDEKHARA (f)	... Ditto.
JULANTIA	... Ditto.	AWADHIA (t)	... Ditto.
NUN (f)	... South Bihar.		

The Awadhia subcaste is said to have come from Oudh; the Khariat is so named from their making *kharī* (saltpetre).

Julantia means eldest or best, and Nun means salt. It is said in Monghyr that the Nun Binds are not Binds at all, but Nuniyas, whose hereditary occupation is to prepare salt and saltpetre. The Gonr subcaste ranks first, and the Khariat second, the rest being all equal. The Bindkhara claims to be a subcaste of the Nuniyas, but some say it is a subcaste of Mallah and is so-called from its occupation, i.e., making fishing nets.

The Binds of Saran say that they have no subcastes, but it appears that all belong to the Khariat subcaste. Intermarriage between the subcastes is strictly forbidden under penalty of being outcasted. They neither eat, drink nor smoke together, except in Purnea, where they smoke and drink, but do not eat in company.

## BRAHMAN.

BARHI (t)	... } West, Central and East	BAIDIK (a)	... East Bengal.
BARENDRA (t)	... } Bengal.	MADHYA SRENI	... } West Bengal.
VYASOKTA (f)	... West Bengal.	(t)	... }
BARNA BRAH-		KANYAKUBJA (t)	... South Bihar and Chota
MAN (f)	... Ditto.		Nagpur.
AGRADANI (f)	... West and East Bengal.	KANAUJIA (t)	... West Bengal.
JYOTISH OR	... West Bengal.	SARWARIA (t)	... } West Bengal.
GRAHACHAR-	... } South Bihar and Chota	TAILANGI (t)	... }
YA (f)	... } Nagpur.	KARNATI (t)	... }
MAITHIL (t)	... } West Bengal and Chota	MAHARASHTRIYA	... } Chota Nagpur.
UTKAL (t)	... } Nagpur.	(t)	... }
MAGHUA (d)	... East Bengal.	NAGOR (t)	... }
MARA BRAH-		GURGURETA	... }
MAN (f)	... South Bihar.	PANCHAGRAM (t)	... }
DRAVIRI (t)	... Ditto.	JAIPURIA (t)	... } Chota Nagpur, Plateau.
SARASWAT (t)	... South Bihar and Chota	DAKHINDIGNA (t)	... }
	Nagpur.	GURJORA (t)	... Ditto.
SANDWIPI (t)	... East Bengal.	GANGAPCTRA (f)	... Ditto.
DHAMI (f)	... South Bihar.	MAHAPATRA (f)	... Chota Nagpur.
GAYAWAL (f)	... Ditto.	PANCHADESI (f)	... Ditto.
GAURA (t)	... South Bihar and Chota	SASAN (e)	... Orissa.
	Nagpur.	LAUKIK (e)	... Do.
SAROTRIA (e)	... Ditto.	SARACHATIA (t)	... Do.
SAKADWIPI (e)	... Ditto.		



Nearly all the sub-castes are territorial.

The Rārhi and Bārendra Brāhmana of Bengal, trace their origin from the five priests brought from Kanauj in the ninth century, by Adisur, for the purpose of performing some Vedic sacrifices. Although the priests brought their wives with them, they contracted marriages with the women in Bengal, and their children by the latter were the ancestors of the Bārendra subcaste, while the Rārhis represent the offspring of the original Hindustāni wives.

The Baidiks are divided into two sections. Pāsebātya, that is of Western India, and Daskhinātya that is of Southern India. They claim to be the original settlers in Bengal who refused matrimonial alliances with the new-comers. The Rārhi claims superiority over the other two subcastes, but in Dacca the Baidiks claim higher rank on the score of purity and learning and the fact that, until recently, no member of their class accepted service of any kind, though the Rārhis and Bārendras had done so long ago.

The Vyasokta, Barna-Brāhman, Agradāni, Jyotish or Grahāchārya, and Mahā Brāhmana are functional subcastes who are regarded as degraded on account of their low occupations. Food and water touched by them are considered impure by other Brāhmana and even by all the clean castes. The descendants of Brāhmana who degraded themselves by officiating as priests at the religious ceremonies of the low-caste Hindus, are called Barna Brāhmana. Agradāni are called so, on account of their accepting the *dān* or offerings at a *Sradā* ceremony. Jyotish or Grahāchārya (Jyotish means astrology, graha, a planet, and āchārya, a professor) means one versed in the science of astrology. They are looked down upon for receiving the *dān* or offerings made to propitiate the evil influence of the planets. It is doubtful if their origin is the same as that of the pure Brāhmana. A good Brāhman would not return the salutation of a Grahāchārya but would say "*Nabagrahaya nama*" (I bow to the nine planets).

The Maghnās were originally good Brāhmana, but are now degraded because Maghs entered their houses and defiled them. Mahā Brāhman is an ironical nickname given on account of their officiating in funeral ceremonies. Their touch defiles and they are not allowed to enter the house. The Sandwipi Brāhmana rank low because in the time of Rājā Dilal, the people of Sandwip were compelled to marry indiscriminately by breaking caste rules. The Dhāmīs and the Gayāwāls derive their names from *Gayā dhām*. They are priests who officiate at the offering of *Pindas* and take the offerings made. The Gauras are divided into two sub-classes, viz. (i) Madhya Gaura, and (ii) Adi Gaura. The Sarotrias derive their names from *Srutī*. Originally they were great Pandits, but now they are often quite illiterate.

The Sakadwipi, it is said, were brought from Sakadwipa by Srikrishna through Narada's advice to perform the worship of the Sun. They did so and the Prince recovered. Srikrishna then persuaded them to settle in India. The Kānyakubja were present at a *Yajna* held by Rājā Dasarath and were offered *dān* or remuneration which they refused to accept, and so had to leave the place and settle elsewhere. They are now divided into many sub-classes viz.—(1) Kanaujia proper, (ii) Sarjupari, (iii) Sarwaria, (iv) Juhutia, and (v) Banandhia, according to the places they settled in.

It is said that the Panchadesis were members of lower castes elevated by the Rājā of Orissa, who exercised full authority in caste questions. The Brāhmana imported to Orissa by the *Kesari* or Lion dynasty are called Sāsana Brāhmana, and those who emigrated to Orissa previously and were subjected to Buddhist influences are called Laukik Brāhmana. Others say that the Rājā of Puri divided the Brāhmana into two classes and that those who regarded all the injunctions of the *Shastras* were called Sāsana and that those who did not were called Laukik. The Laukik Brāhman is further subdivided into three classes, e.g. Sarka (whose occupation is to grow *sara* or *kachn*, a kind of vegetable), Sarabhatia or Mastān (whose chief occupation is cultivation), and Dānād (who accept offerings in religious ceremonies). Sarabhatia is not a subcaste, but the name of the rich Brāhmana who live near the *Sukhī Gopal* temple and deal in coconuts.

It has already been said that the clean Brāhmana will not even smoke with those who are of low class. The higher classes will smoke, drink and eat pakki food together, but will not on any account take cooked rice in company.

Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden. No one can gain admission to a different subcaste of equal or higher status. The higher subcastes may, however, be degraded to lower ones by adopting their profession. Each subcaste has a separate *Samaaj* of its own.

## CHAIN.

BARA CHAIN ... Malda.

CHOTA CHAIN ... Malda.

The Bara Chains rank above the Chota. The former will smoke and drink, but will not eat with the latter. If a Bara marry a Chota, he is degraded to that subcaste. Each subcaste has its own Panchayat.

## CHAMAR.

CHAMAR TĀNTI (♂) Bengal and North Bihar.  
DOHAR ... Ditto.  
DHĀRH (s) ... North Bengal and Bihar.  
DHUSIA ... Bengai, Bihar and Chota Nagpur.  
GORIA (s) ... Bengal and Bihar.  
JAISWAR ... Ditto.  
JANAKPURI (t) } North and East Bengal  
JAUNPURI (t) } and Chota Nagpur.  
MAGAHIA (t) ... North and South Bengal and Bihar.  
PACHHIĀN ... North Bengal and South Bihar.  
KHATIMĀHĀRĀ ... Bengal.  
KURAR ... Do.

LARKOR ... Bengal.  
RABIDAS ... Do.  
RISHI ... Do.  
MAGHA (♂) ... East Bengal.  
KHUNTIA CHA- ... Ditto.  
MĀR.  
BARABHĀGIĀ (s) North Bengal.  
KORI ... Ditto.  
KANAUJĀ (t) ... North Bengal and North Bihar.  
CHUNITTARN ... North Bihar.  
KUPRAN ... Ditto.  
TIRHUTIA (t) ... Ditto.  
KORACHAUN ... Ditto.  
MOCHI (♂) ... North Bihar.

The Gorias claim to be descended from a Chamār father and Gōālā mother. Magahia and Kanaujia are mere geographical names. The Maghnās were degraded because Maghs entered their zenanas. Rabidās is superior to all in rank. In Dinajpur Barabhāgiā is superior to Gorias, and Jaiswar to Dhusia; but in Mymensingh and Shahabad Dhusia is superior to all the other sub-castes. In Saran Kanaujia stands first, Dhusia second, Jaiswar third, Chamār Tānti fourth, and Magahia fifth in rank. The rest are all equal.



Intermarriage between the subcastes is strictly forbidden on pain of being outcasted. But the son of a Rishi can marry the daughter of a Rabidás on payment of a fine. If a Jaiswar marries a Dhusia in Dinajpur, he or she becomes a Dhusia. Male Dhusias can marry Kanaujiá women, but if a Dhusia girl marries a Kanaujiá man, the latter must give a feast to the girl's relatives.

The members of different subcastes will not usually eat, drink or smoke together, but a Rabidás may eat and drink with Rishi, and the Jaiswar and Dhusia subcastes freely eat, drink and smoke with each other. In Mymensingh Goris and Dhusia only drink together. In Saran, Dhusia, Kanaujiá and Jaiswar may smoke together.

A Rishi can become a Rabidás on payment of a fine. No member of any other subcaste can gain admission to another, except in a few cases by intermarriage as noted above. Every subcaste has its own panchayat.

## CHANDAL OR NAMASUDRA.

HÁLIÁ (f)	... Central, East and North Bengal.	BAGGÁL	... Central and East Bengal.
JÁLIÁ (f)	... Ditto.	JÍANI	... Ditto.
SIÁLI	... West, Central and East Bengal.	NÁLO	... Central Bengal.
NUNIA (f)	... West and Central Bengal	KORÁ	... Ditto.
CHÁSI (f)	... Ditto.	PANFALIA (f)	... West Bengal.
GOLUK	... Ditto.	MECHO (f)	... Ditto.
KESHURA (f)	... Ditto.	BÁRHAI (f)	... East Bengal.
RÁJBANSI (f)	... Ditto.	KARATI (f)	... Ditto.
KOTALIA (f)	... Ditto.	CHANDÁL	... Ditto.
NAMASUDRA	... Ditto.	HAWA	... Ditto.
TIYAR	... Ditto.	KAHÁB	... Ditto.
DHANI (d)	... Central and East Bengal.	BERUÁ (f)	... Ditto.
KÁRÁL	... Ditto.	KÁTURIÁ (f)	... Ditto.
		PACHIMÁ	... Ditto.

Most of the Chandál subcastes are functional.

Berná is from *bar*, a bamboo fishing contrivance used by the subcaste so named. Bárhái and Karati are carpenters; the Kárhár is a paliki bearer; the Keshura deals in the root of that name; the Pánphalia deals in panphal and makes traps and snares; the Kotália is a village watchman; the Nunia prepares salt; the Káturiá makes wooden utensils and burns shells for lime; the Jáliyá is a fisherman; the Chási a cultivator, the Rájbansi a mason; the Baggál a pedlar, and so on. The Dhani sub-caste is said to have been degraded because of pollution by Maghs. The Háliá and Berná are said to have become separated because they use different kinds of fishing nets. In some parts Siáli and Jiáni are looked on as sub-divisions of Háliá and not as independent subcastes.

The Namasudra, properly so called, ranks highest, and then in order the Rájbansi, Tiyar and Kotáli. In Howrah the Chási subcaste forbids widow marriage and is on this account awarded the first place; it is followed by Háliá, Barhi, Berná, Jáliyá, and Pachimá, while the Dhani, Nunia and Kárál are said to come last.

Intermarriage is generally forbidden. When it occurs the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, is degraded to the subcaste of the other party, but the Namasudras, Rájbansis and Tiyars can intermarry on payment of a fine. The Háliás and Bárháis permit intermarriage between themselves, but not with other subcastes. A Pachimá can marry a Háliá on payment of a fine. A Jiáni marrying a Dhani will himself become a Dhani. In Faridpur, where the Jiánis are most numerous, a Jiáni girl, if married to a Namasudra proper, will be admitted to her husband's subcaste. In Nadia, a Jiáni can be readmitted to his own subcaste, after intermarriage with a lower subcaste, by giving a feast to the people of his own group.

The subcastes do not generally eat or drink together, but there are some exceptions. The Pachimás can dine with the Háliás. In Khulna and Nadia, a Háliá and a Siáli will eat together. The Korás and Nálós eat, drink, and smoke together. In Bankura the Pánfalías and the Kotáliás freely eat, drink and smoke together, but in Midnapore they will only smoke. The Nunias and the Siáliás will eat, drink, and smoke with others in Bankura, but they will do so only with the Mecho subcaste in Howrah. The Keshura will smoke only with the Pachimá subcaste. A Dhani may take food in the house of a Siáli but not *vice versa*. In the 24-Parganas the different subcastes will smoke and drink and eat sweet-meats, but will not partake of cooked rice, in each others company. In Backergunge they may freely drink and smoke together. A member of one subcaste can there gain admission to a higher one by paying money and by giving up his occupation and taking to that of the higher one, *eg.* a rich Jáliyá by giving a feast may become a Háliá. The lowest subcastes, however, can by no means gain admission to higher ones.

Each subcaste has its own administration, usually with its priest at the head.

## CHASA.

ORH (f)	... Orissa.	SUKULIYÁ (c)	... Orissa
BENÁTIYÁ (a)	... Do.	KOLTHÁ (a)	... Do.
CHUKULIYÁ (f)	Do.		

The Orh Chásás, it is said, were the first of the aboriginal tribes who settled in Orissa and began to cultivate the soil. They were very numerous and the country was called after them. The Benátiyá is said to have been created, from a tuft of the *Bena* grass or to be descended from those who first made the land fit for cultivation by clearing away the *Bena* grass. There is no material difference between the Chukuliya and the Sukuliya, save that the latter do not allow their females to appear in public; they both extract salt from the sea water.

The Benátiyá subcaste stands first in rank and the Sukuliya and the Chukuliya lowest. In Puri there is no restriction on intermarriage or eating together. In Cuttack a Benátiyá may intermarry with the other subcastes on payment of a fine to his Panchayat; all the subcastes may drink and smoke together but may not partake of cooked rice. In Balasore intermarriage and commensality are both prohibited, except between the Chukuliya and Sukuliya subcastes. Rich members of the Sukuliya or Chukuliya subcastes can obtain wives from the higher classes, but are not allowed to eat, drink or smoke with them. The Kolthá subcaste is reported from Abgul, but it seems to be really a separate caste.

All the subcastes have separate Panchayats, except in Puri, where one single Panchayat governs the whole caste.



DHANUK.

DUOHWÁR	... Bihar.	SIGHA	... North Bihar.
JAIŚWAR	... Do.	KANAUIJIA (t)	... Ditto.
MAGAHIA (t)	... Do.	SURAI	... Ditto.
BANAUDHIYA	... North Bihar.	CHIRAUT (t)	... Ditto.
KATHAUTIA	... Ditto.	KHAPARIA	... South Bihar.
SILHOTIA (t)	... Ditto.		

Most of the subcastes are territorial. The Khaparias are so-called from their living in thatched huts. In Monghyr it is doubtful whether the Jaiswars are Dhánuka or Kurmis.

The Dudhwars rank higher than the Jaiswars in Monghyr and Bhagalpur where they do not eat the leavings of higher castes as the Jaiswars do, but the latter rank above all the other subcastes in Bhagalpur. The Dudhwár and the Magahia are considered superior to all in Darbhanga. In Patna all are equal.

Inter-marriage is forbidden. Commensality is strictly prohibited, but in Monghyr they will drink water from each other's hands.

A member of one subcaste cannot gain admission to another except in Monghyr, where a Dudhwár can become a Jaiswar by intermarriage. Each subcaste has a separate panchayat.

DHOBA.

BÁNGLÁ	... Bengal Proper.	TÁNTI (a)	... West Bengal.
BALWAR (a)	... North Bengal and Bihar.	BARA SAMÁJ (a)	... Ditto.
MAGHAYÁ (t)	... Ditto.	CHOTA SAMÁJ (a)	... Ditto.
KANAUIJIA (t)	... Ditto.	18-22 SAMÁJ (a)	... Ditto.
TIRHUTIÁ (t)	... North Bengal.	BALUNSAMÁJ (a)	... Ditto.
ORIYÁ (t)	... West, and Central Bengal and Chota Nagpur Plateau.	SARO KHANA (a)	... Ditto.
JHÁRUÁ	... Chota Nagpur Plateau.	RÁRHI SAMÁJ (t)	... Ditto.
CHÁSÁ DHOBA (t)	... Central Bengal.	RÁMA DHOBA (a)	... East Bengal.
DHOBASIN	... Ditto.	SITÁ DHOBA (a)	... Ditto.
NITISIN	... Ditto.	BHULUA	... Ditto.
BARSHAY	... West Bengal.	JUGIDIA	... Ditto.
ATERHAY	... Ditto.	SUNDIP (t)	... Ditto.
KANDU	... Ditto.	GORSAR	... Bihar.
GADHPADYA	... Ditto.	AWADHIYÁ (t)	... Do.
KHOTTA (t)	... Ditto.	GADHYA	... Do.
		BATHAM	... South Bihar.

The Ráma Dhoabá and Sitá Dhoabá claim descent from the men who washed the clothes of Rám and his consort Sitá, respectively. There is a tradition that Siva created a Dhoabá from a *Bel* fruit to wash his wife's clothes, and thus the Belwar Dhoabá came into existence. Kanauijá, Maghayá, Tirhutia and Oriyá are geographical divisions. The Oriyá and Jhárúa subcastes appear to have the same origin, but their residence in separate places caused them to become separate. Chásá Dhoabás are so-called because they have taken to cultivation. The Khotas emigrated from Bihar to West Bengal. The Tánti Dhoabás are Tántis who took to washing and gradually came to be classed as Dhoabá. Others hold that they have been so named from the fact that they are employed by the Tántis. They wash only clothes fresh from the loom. In Hooghly there are two different Samájes. Bara Samáj, Chota Samáj. Originally there was one Samáj and one headman. After the death of a certain headman his two sons divided the Samáj between them. Those who joined the elder brother came to be known as members of the Bara Samáj and those who joined the younger brother were termed Chota Samáj. There is no hard and fast distinction between the 18-22 Samáj, Balun Samáj and Barakhána subcastes.

In West Bengal the subcastes are all of equal rank, but in Rajshahi the Maghayá stands first and the Kanauijá lowest of all. The Chásá Dhoabás are considered highest in rank in Central Bengal. They have three subdivisions, Uttar Rárhí, Dakshin Rárhí, and Bárendra, among whom intermarriage is forbidden, but they will eat together and smoke from the same *huká*. In Noakhali, Bhulua stands first, Jugidia second, and Sundip third in rank. The Oriyá stands first in Angul. The Maghayá ranks first in Patna, second in Gaya, third in Shahabad, and below the Awadhiyá in Bhagalpur. The Kanauijá stands first in Gaya and Sasaram, and second in Patna and Buxar. Generally the position and social rank of the subcastes vary from place to place according to their numerical strength.

Inter-marriage is forbidden among all the subcastes on pain of social ostracism, except in the following cases. In Angul, the Oriyás and the Jhárúas have of late allowed inter-marriage on payment of a penalty to their respective communities. In Rajshahi, those who have inter-married are considered as a separate subcaste. In Hooghly inter-marriage is allowed between the Bara Samáj and the Chota Samáj. In Bhagalpur, the Maghayá and Awadhiyá subcastes can inter-marry and in Saran the Maghayá can do so with the Kanauijá on payment of a fine. In Sasaram, though inter-marriage is uncommon, if a member of one subcaste happens to take a wife from another he will be admitted to his own subcaste, or to that of his wife, after paying a fine and giving a feast to his fellows.

The different subcastes do not generally eat, drink, or smoke together. But in Rajshahi the Bengali, Belwar, Maghayá, and Kanauijá subcastes dine, smoke, and drink together. In Hooghly, commensality is allowed between the Bara Samáj and Chota Samáj. In the 24-Parganas, no member of one sub-caste will take cooked rice in the house of another, but he will partake of *pakki*, sweets, etc.; even a Chásá Dhoabá, considered the foremost of all the subcastes, will not refuse to take *Jalpá* in the house of an ordinary Dhoabá. The Dhobasin and the Nitisin will only drink and smoke together. In Bhagalpur, the Maghayá and the Awadhiyá may eat together. In Orissa the Oriyá and Jhárúa and in West Bengali the Barahay, Aterhay, Kandú, and Gadhpadya will smoke and drink together. In Sasaram the Belwar and the Kanauijá freely eat, smoke, and drink together.

No member of one subcaste can gain admission to another, except in Bhagalpur, where the Awadhiá and Maghayá can do so by inter-marriage, and in the Sasaram subdivision, where a member of one sub-caste, can under special circumstances, be admitted to another, on payment of a fine and giving a feast.

All the subcastes have separate panchayats, except in Saran, where there is only one panchayat for the whole caste. In Sasaram, though they have separate panchayats, influential members of all the subcastes are asked to assist on important occasions.



## DOM.

MAGAHIA (f)	... West Bengal, Chota-Nagpur and Bihar.	KORA (f)	... West Bengal.
BANSOPHOR (f)	... Ditto	KURMI (a)	... Ditto.
TIRHUTIA (f)	... Chota Nagpur and South Bihar.	KHARIA (f)	... Ditto.
DAKHINALLA (t)	Chota Nagpur.	GHARAMI (f)	... Ditto.
ANKURIA (f)	... West Bengal.	BANS	... Ditto.
BISDELI (f)	... Ditto.	BETRA (f)	... Ditto.
BAJANIA (f)	... Ditto.	HARI (a)	... North Bengal and Bihar.
TURI	... Ditto.	DHAPRA	... Bihar.
PANDIT (f)	... Ditto.	CHAPARIYA	... Do.
DAI DOM (f)	... Ditto.	DHARKAR (f)	... Do.
MARDAFARASH (f)	... Ditto.	BHAGALPURI (t)	North Bihar.
SANCHI (f)	... Ditto.	DOMCHI	... Ditto.
KALINDI (f)	... Ditto.	DOMBA	... South Bihar.
		DOMAHRA	... Ditto.
		HARKAR	... Ditto.

One Kalu Bir is said to be the progenitor of the Dom caste. He had four sons, and from them the Ankuriá, the Bisdeliá, the Bájaniá and the Magahiá subcastes claim to be descended. The other subcastes arose principally from the different callings pursued by the members. The Bánsphors work in bamboo, and the Dharkárs were executioners under the Hindu Kings. The Ankuriá and the Sanchi generally work in bamboo. The Bájaniá and the Kalindi are drummers. The Koras are earth-cutters. The Ankuriás serve as priests in Midnapore. The Gharámis construct thatched huts.

The Dai Dom practises midwifery. The Mardafarash is an undertaker. The Khariás weave their baskets with a sort of reed called *khari*. The Betra Dom manufacture cane chairs. The Kurmi Doms are said to be descended from Kurmis. Magahiá and Tirhutiá are geographical names.

In Midnapore, every subcaste claims to rank above the others, but the Báns Doms seem to be the highest, and are followed by the Betras, the Khariás, and last of all the Kurmis. The Bánsphors are generally considered to rank comparatively high, as they do not remove dead bodies or eat the leavings of others, but in Patna and Sasaram they are placed below the Magahiá from their eating food cooked by Dhobis and cutting the umbilical cord. The Dháprá ranks lowest in Monghyr, where he removes dead bodies. In Bhagalpur and Patna the Magahiá stands highest, and second in Gaya and Shahabad. In Shahabad the Domra is considered lowest in rank, as he eats the carcases of dogs and donkeys. The Dharkár stands first in Sasaram, because he disdains the leavings of a feast of which the other subcastes freely partake.

Inter-marriage is generally forbidden on pain of being outcasted, but in Hooghly this depends on the discretion of the panchayat. In Monghyr a Dháprá does not lose his position by marrying a Bánsphor. In Sasaram a member of any subcaste can take his wife from another and still retain his subcaste if he pays a fine to the panchayat and gives a feast to his caste-people. In Gaya inter-marriage is allowed between the Bánsphor and Magahiá.

In Howrah the Ankuriá and Sanchi smoke from the same *lukká* and the Kalindi, the Sanchi and the Kora eat food cooked by the Ankuriá, but not vice-versá. In Patna, the Bánsphor and Magahiá sometimes smoke together. Commensality is allowed in Purnea. With these exceptions, the subcastes may not eat, drink, or smoke together.

The members of one subcaste cannot gain admission to any other. A Dharkár, however, may be admitted to other subcastes, and so also can the Bánsphor in Monghyr.

Each subcaste has its own separate panchayat or administration.

## DOSADH.

MAGAHIA (t)	... Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	DHAR (a)	... Bihar
BHOJPURIA (t)	... Ditto.	KAMAR (f)	... North Bihar.
SIRANTI (t)	... Chota Nagpur.	KURMI (f)	... Ditto.
BAHALIA (f)	... Bihar.	KANAUJIA (t)	... South Bihar.
PAILWAR	... Do.	GADAR	... Ditto.
SIROTIA (t)	... Do.	BHEDAR	... Ditto.
KURI	... Do.	KOPBUDHWA	... Ditto.

The Dosádh claim to be descended from the soldiers of the Pándava Prince Bhim.

Magahiá, Kanaujiá, Bhojpuriá and Siranti are geographical names: Bahotiá is said to be derived from *Bahal*, an appointment.

The Magahiás stand first in rank in Chota Nagpur, Bhagalpur and Patna, the Sirantis, second in Patna, and the Kurmis first in Saran. Each subcaste claims higher rank than the others in Shahabad. All are equal in Monghyr and other places.

Inter-marriage is generally forbidden on pain of loss of caste. But in Sasaram if a Magahiá takes a wife from a Dharh or Gadar, he may retain his subcaste on payment of a fine and by giving a feast; in Saran the same rule applies. In Monghyr a member of any subcaste, marrying a girl of another subcaste is received into that of his wife.

The members of different subcastes do not generally eat together, except in Saran. In Purnea the male members of the Magahiá and the Pailwár subcastes will eat together. In Darbhanga all but the Pailwár eat, drink, and smoke together. No one can change his subcaste, and each group has its own administration or panchayat.

## GANDHABANIK.

DESÁ (a)	... West. Central and North Bengal.	ÁUT ÁSRAM (a)	... Central, North and East Bengal.
CHHATTRIS (a)	... Ditto.	TRIS	... West Bengal.
SANKHA (f)	... Bengal.		

The Desás claim their descent from the famous Chánd Sadágar who quarrelled with Mauná Devi, the goddess of serpents, and the Áutáram from Scimanta Sadágar, the popular hero of the 'Chandi Mangal' who made a voyage to Ceylon in search of his lost father Dhanapati Sadágar. According to another tradition Siva being in need of spices for his marriage, with Durga, created the first of the Desá Gandhabaniks from his forehead, the Sankha from his armpit, the Áut from his navel and the Chhatttris



from his foot. The Sankhabanika are a functional subcaste who sell bracelets made from conch shells. The Desá ranks above the others in the 24-Parganas and below them in Midnapore, while Chhatris, which is lowest in the 24-Parganas, is highest in Midnapore. The Sankha subcaste stands third everywhere except in Rajshahi, where it holds the lowest place. In Dacca again Aut stands first, while in the 24-Parganas it is second, and in Rajshahi it is inferior to Desá. In Nadia all are equal in rank.

In West Bengal, Noakhali and Mymensingh intermarriage among the subcastes is absolutely forbidden on the pain of loss of caste, but in Bankura it is allowed between Sankha and Chhatris. Elsewhere the rule is less stringent. In the 24-Parganas the Desá, Aut and Chhatris subcastes intermarry and the bride becomes a member of her husband's subcaste. Intermarriage between the higher subcastes is usual in Rajshahi, Murshidabad, Dacca and Jessore, and it is not absolutely forbidden in Dinajpur.

In Birbhum commensality is allowed, but in Midnapore and Rajshahi, the subcastes may not eat cooked rice together. In Howrah they use the same *Auká*, but eating together is forbidden. In the 24-Parganas the Desá, Chhatris and Aut subcastes eat together, but they will smoke only with the Sankha. In Nadia all subcastes may smoke and drink, but not eat, in company; while in Murshidabad, Dacca and Dinajpur commensality is freely allowed. In no case can a member of one subcaste gain admission to another, save only by intermarriage as noted above. Where this is allowed, the bride goes to the husband's subcaste.

In Midnapore each subcaste has its own governing body. In the 24-Parganas a single panchayat now presides over the Desá, Aut and Chhatris subcastes, but the Sankha has got a separate one. Everywhere else, each subcaste usually has its own panchayat.

This caste is divided into Kulins and Mauliks, but the two classes freely intermarry, a bride-price being paid by the Mauliks. The families bearing the titles Haldar, Dutt, Khan, Mallik, Nag and Laha are Kulins. A Maulik by acts of great liberality and feasting his caste people may become a Kulin.

### GARERI.

NIKHAR ... Shahabad.  
DHENGAR ... Ditto.

GANGAJALI ... Shahabad.

The three subcastes rank in the order in which they stand. Inter-marriage is prohibited on pain of excommunication. Commensality is also forbidden. No member of one subcaste can gain admission to another, and each has a separate panchayat.

### GOALA.

PALLAB (♂) ... Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.  
GAURA (♂) ... Ditto.  
GOP (a) and (b) ... North and East Bengal and Chota Nagpur.  
BÁGEE (♂) ... North Bengal.  
KOERPALAS (a) ... Ditto.  
NANDA OR  
NANDAGHOSH  
(a) ... Ditto.  
RÁRHI (♂) ... East, North and Central Bengal.  
BÁRENDRA (♂) ... Ditto.  
ÁHIR (a) ... Throughout Bengal.  
MAGAHÍÁ (♂) ... Bengal, Bihar and Orissas.  
MAJURHATI OR  
MAGAI ... West Bengal.  
BANLI ... Ditto.  
MIRALI ... Ditto.  
GODAGA ... Ditto.  
KISNAUT (♂) ... Ditto and Bihar.  
BHOGA OR DAGA  
GOALA (♂) ... North, Central and East Bengal.  
SADGOP ... East and North Bengal.  
DUSRA ... Chota Nagpur.

NURIA ... Chota Nagpur.  
KHANDAL ... Ditto.  
BANOHUA ... Ditto.  
MATHURÁBÁSI (♂) ... Ditto.  
KARAUJA ... Ditto.  
GORIÁ ... Bihar.  
MAJRAUT (♂) ... Do.  
KANAUJIA (♂) ... Do.  
CHANTHÁ ... Do.  
SEPÁRI ... Do.  
JAT ... Do.  
BARGAWAR ... North Bihar.  
GUJJAR ... Ditto.  
GHASI BIAHUT (c) ... Ditto.  
DHANOHAR ... Ditto.  
CHIRAUT ... Ditto.  
BARQUAMAR ... Ditto.  
GHOSIN ... North Bihar, West Bengal and Chota Nagpur.  
DUMALA ... Orissa.  
MATHURÁPURIÁ  
(c) ... Do.  
GOPAPURIÁ (♂) ... Do.  
BHUIYÁ (♂) ... Do.

A few of the subdivisions are territorial such as Ráchi, Bárendra, Bagee, Magahiá, Kananjiá Mathurápuríá and Gopapuríá. The Pallabs follow the degrading occupation of branding cattle. The name is derived from a red dye formerly used by their females for adorning the feet. The Koerpals claim to be Vaisyas of royal descent. It is said that Srikrishna forbade the Goálás to sell milk and its preparations, and those who obeyed his mandate were, styled Sadgops. The Nandaghosh claim to be descended from the foster father of Krishna. The Áhir traces its descent from one of the sons of Syamghosh. The Kisnauts were originally residents of Brindaban and say that Krishna spent his childhood in their family. The Biahuts are so called because they forbid widow marriage. The Gouras are *palik*-bearers.

The Bhuiyá Gours are really Bhuiyás who have adopted the occupation of Goálás. The Bhogas (also called Degas), brand cattle with a red-hot iron and castrate bullocks, and are looked down upon in consequence. In Monghyr, the Majraut subcaste has a degraded section known as Paríaha Majraut (Piri means yellow) who manufactured cakes (for painting) out of the urine of cows. In Orissa, the Mathurápuríás are also called Chelaghariá, as 40 families emigrated thither from Mathurá.

In Faridpur the local subcastes are of equal rank. Kisnauts consider themselves superior in rank, and in Gaya they do not eat food cooked even by Bráhmans. Their claim is generally admitted, except in Buxar and Bhagipur. The Majraut also rank high. The Nanda, Kisnaut and Mathurábási are generally admitted to rank first owing to their origin. The Bárendra subcaste considers itself superior to the Pallabs. The rank of the latter varies; it is high in Dinajpur, Midnapore and 24-Parganas, but inferior in Rajshahi and Khulna. In Dinajpur the Bárendras and the Bágrees are regarded as cleaner than the Ráchis. The Ráchis are regarded as inferior, owing to their branding bulls with red-hot iron. In Nadia all the subcastes, except the Áhir and the Bhoga, occupy the same position. The Goriás generally occupy a low place because, unlike the other subcastes, they do not scald the milk before making butter. The Ját and Separi subcastes are held in low estimation.



Intermarriage is, as a rule, absolutely forbidden on pain of social excommunication. In Murshidabad however, intermarriage, though not usual, is only penalized by temporary excommunication, which ceases after the offender has made atonement and given a feast. In Backergunge and Midnapore, if a Sadgop marries a woman of another subcaste, he has to find shelter in the lower subcaste. In Howrah a Mandavan male can marry a Pallab female, but not vice versa. Intermarriage is not altogether unknown between Majrauts and Kisanauts.

Commensality is absolutely prohibited, except in a few instances. In Paridpar, Nadia and Purnea the subcastes may smoke from the same *rukka* and drink, but not dine together. In West Bengal *pakki* may be eaten in company, but not *kachhi*. In Howrah dining together is gradually being introduced. In Monghyr all subcastes, except the Jāts, smoke and drink, and when away from home they may even eat together. In Darbhanga and Patna the Majrauts and the Kisanauts may eat together, but in Gaya only the males do so.

All the subcastes have separate panchayats, except in Palasore and Puri.

Traces of Kulinism are to be found, and families who are wealthy, or who have at one time or another received marks of royal favour, or held office, are regarded as Kulins.

## GONRHĪ.

BANPAR (a) ... Bihar.	KOLH ... North Bihar.
KURIN (a) ... Do.	CHHOTAH ... Do.
BAILANĀTH (f) ... Do.	KULAR ... Do.
DHĀRH (u) ... Do.	MUDIARI (f) ... South Bihar.
CHĀB ... North Bihar.	KEWAT (f) ... Do.

The Banpar and Kurin subcastes are alleged to be the descendants of Gonrhīs, who fled from the battle field of Kurukshetra and concealed themselves in woods and ditches. The Bailanāth is degraded for burying the nostrils of bullocks, Mudiaria are so called, because in fishing they seize the head of the fish. Kewats are boatmen. In most places all are about equal in rank.

Intermarriage is strictly forbidden on pain of social excommunication. Commensality is also prohibited, except in Darbhanga. In Purnea they take water from each other's hands, and the Kurins and Chhotas smoke together. No member of any subcaste can gain admission to another.

They all have separate panchayats.

## HAJJAM.

AWADHIĀ (t) ... North and South Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	SRIBĀSTAB (t) ... South Bihar.
KANAUJIĀ (t) ... Ditto.	SEONARNI ... Ditto.
MAGAHĪĀ (t) ... Ditto.	BENGALI (t) ... Ditto.
BIAHUT (c) ... Ditto.	RIKHUSAT ... North Bihar.
TIRHUTIĀ (t) ... North and South Bihar.	AITHĀNĀ ... Ditto.

Most of the subcastes are of the territorial type, e.g., Awadhiā Kanaujiā, Tirhutiā, Sribāstab (from Srinagar) and Magahiā. The Biahuts do not allow widow marriage. The Biahuts claim to be the offspring of the first, or Biāhi wife of the common ancestor of the caste.

The rank of the various subcastes varies from place to place according to their local strength.

Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden on pain of social ostracism.

Commensality is generally prohibited, but in Patna all the subcastes can smoke, drink and eat *pakki* together. In Purnea they smoke and drink together, and in Monghyr they accept water from each other's hands.

No member of any subcaste can gain admission to another, and each has its own separate panchayat except in Saran, where the Aithānās and the Awadhiās have a joint panchayat.

## HALUADĀS.

HALUĀ ... East Bengal.	GĀZIĀ ... East Bengal.
KESTIA ... East Bengal.	

The Haluas and the Gazias rank higher than the Kestias. Intermarriage and commensality are allowed between the first two, but not with the Kestias.

No member of any subcaste can gain admission to another, and each has its own panchayat.

## HALWAI.

MADHESIĀ (t) ... Bihar.	KANAUJIĀ (t) ... Bihar.
MAGAHĪĀ (t) ...	... Bihar.

The Madhesiās drink wine and rank below the Kanaujiās. Intermarriage is strictly forbidden on pain of being outcasted.

They do not eat, drink or smoke together. No member of one sub-caste can gain admission to another and each has its own administration.

## HARI.

KANTAI (f) ... North Bihar.	PHUL HARI ... West Bengal.
MACHHUA (f) ... Ditto.	METHAR HARI ... Ditto.
BENGALI (t) ... Ditto.	KENGHARIĀ ... Ditto.
KHARAKPURIĀ (t) ... Ditto.	RAUF ... Ditto.
	KATKI ... Ditto.

The word Kantai means an iron utensil for cooking. The Hāris were, formerly employed to clean the utensils in the houses of high class Hindus. The Machhuas are so called because they trade in fish, and the Bengalis, owing to their having come originally from East Bengal.



The Kantis claim to be highest in rank. The Kharskpurias stand highest in rank in Bhagalpur. Intermarriage is forbidden amongst all the subcastes and they do not take cooked food from each other. Each has a separate administration of its own.

### JUGI.

MAHATMA	... Central and East Bengal.	TANTI (f)	... West Bengal.
KHELENDÁ	... Ditto.	BÁOL (f)	... Ditto.
BÁRENDRA (t)	... North Bengal.	NÁTH (a)	... East Bengal.
RÁRHI (t)	... Central Bengal.	EKÁDASI (c)	... Ditto.
BAGRA (t)	... Ditto.	MÁSYA (c)	... Ditto.
MAGENTA	... Ditto.	HÁLWA (f)	... Ditto.
GIRIKULIA	... Ditto.	BANIACHANGI	... Ditto.
PANCHNOBA	... Ditto.	MAGHUA (d)	... Ditto.
JALESWAR (a)	... Ditto.	SYAMVEDI (c)	... Ditto.
ASIGHORIA (a)	... Ditto.	JAJUR VEDI (c)	... Ditto.
SIVAKUL (c)	... West Bengal.		

Some of the Jugis claim descent from the Yogis. They say that Yogibar, a great Pandit, was the Mahant of Jaleswar Mahadeo. On a certain Siva Chaturdashi night, after the Puja was over, there was a dispute between the Mahant Yogibar and Baladeva Bhatta, the priest of Rájá Ballala Sena, who wished the offerings to be distributed amongst all the Bráhmans, on which Yogibar turned him out of the Temple. This enraged the Rájá. Yogibar was degraded and his descendants formed a separate caste. They serve as their own priests in many instances, and some wear the sacred thread.

The Sivakuls claim their descent from a Jugi who was a votary of Siva. They were originally beggars and had no fixed habitation, but roamed from one cremation ground to another, where they practised their peculiar form of worship. In Midnapore they are no better than the other sub-castes, the only distinction being that they assume the sacred thread at the time of marriage and then retain it or cast it off again as they please. The Tanti-Jugis are weavers. The Báols are professional beggars and some earn their living by snake-charming. The Bárendra and Rárho subcastes are of course territorial. Maghs are said to have passed through the house of the Maghus and so caused their degradation. The Syamvedi and the Jajurvedi are so named on account of the Vedic rites which they observe. The Ekadasi and the Másyá mourn for 11 and 30 days, respectively. The Syamvedi subcaste is again divided into four territorial sub-sections—Chandradipi, Bangronsi, Barahazri and Songshábási; they do not intermarry.

The Bárendras and Rárhis are equal in rank. In Mymensingh the Ekadasi stands 1st, Másyá 2nd, Khelendrá 3rd, Hálwa 4th, and Baniachangi 5th in rank. The Maghus are looked on as the lowest. In Nadia the Jugis do not admit the existence of any subcastes.

Intermarriage between different subcastes is strictly prohibited on pain of loss of caste. In Faridpur a man taking his wife from an inferior sub-caste is degraded to her level, e.g. if a Náth marries a Maghusa girl, he himself becomes a Maghusa. In Khulna a Rárho may take his wife from any other subcaste except Khelenda and Magenta, who are regarded as very low. The Ekadasis, who alone follow the rites of Bráhmans, the others never marry beyond their own circle.

Commensality is generally forbidden, but not drinking or smoking in company. The Rárhis and Bárendras, however, eat together. In Dacca the Mahatmas will not touch food cooked by Náths, but will smoke with them. The Másyas have no objection to take food from the Ekadasis and water from the other sub-castes. In the 24-Parganas a Rárho will not eat or drink freely but will smoke with others. In Khulna, the Khelenda and Magenta are not allowed to drink or smoke with others.

No member of one subcaste can gain admission to another except in the following instances. In Dacca a Náth may become a Mahatma if he follows the occupation and mode of living of this subcaste. In Faridpur admission can be obtained to any lower sub-caste. The Másyas and Khelendas only can gain admission to the Ekadasi subcaste in Mymensingh, if allowed by the Pancháyat.

All subcastes have separate administrations.

### KADAR.

NAIYA	... Bhagalpur.	DURHAI	... Bhagalpur.
HAZARI	... Ditto.	BARAI	... Ditto.

These sub-castes are not yet fully established as such. All are equal in rank. Intermarriage and commensality are allowed. They can gain admission to any subcaste by intermarriage, but each group has a separate administration.

### KAHAR.

RAWANI	.. Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	PHUSIA	... Chota Nagpur.
TURÁHÁ	... Ditto.	KHARWÁR (a)	... Ditto.
MAGAHÍÁ (t)	... Ditto.	GAYARA	... Ditto.
GÁRHUK	... North Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	DHURIA	... Bihar.
JAISWÁR	... Ditto.	KOCH (a)	... North Bihar.
DHIMÁR (a)	... Ditto.	KHATWE	... Ditto.
		DHUSIA	... South Bihar.

The Rawanis of Monghyr are divided into two sections, Magahiá and Mongiriá. The former are degraded because they allow their females to render personal service to other castes; they also eat the leavings of other castes and carry dead bodies.

In Monghyr all the subcastes seem to be equal in rank, except the Turáhás who are not recognised as Kahars owing to their selling fish. The Magahiás are second in Patna and fourth in Shahabad, the Kharwárs are second in Buxar and third in Sasaram, and the Katwe is held lowest in Darbhanga.

Intermarriage is generally forbidden on penalty of being outcasted, but in Palaman it is allowed with the sanction of the Pancháyat: in Gaya and Sasaram an offender against the rule may be readmitted to his own subcaste on payment of a fine and on giving a feast.

Commensality is generally forbidden, but in Monghyr they can smoke and drink together, and in Purnea they can only take water from each other's hands. In Sasaram all the subcastes except the Turáhás eat, drink and smoke together.

A transfer from one subcaste to another is not possible, except in Palaman, where it is allowed with the permission of the Pancháyat.

Each subcaste has its own Pancháyat.



## KAIBARTTA.

ĀDI	... North Bengal.	ANTA OR JALIYĀ	} West, North and East Bengal.
MADHYA	OR	OR MĀCHHI (f)	
HĀLIĀ	OR	DĀS	
CHĀSI (f)	...	...	West Bengal.

The Madhyas were separated from the other subcastes owing to the favour of Ballāla Sena. They found his son for him and he rewarded them by ordering that water touched by them might be used by the high-class Hindus. They then gave up plying boats and took to cultivation, whence they are also known as Hāliā or Chāsi. They now claim to be called Māhiya.

Each of the three subcastes Ādi, Anta and Madhya is divided into two sections, Rārhi and Bārendra, between whom intermarriage is not allowed. Each claims higher rank than the other. They drink and smoke together and may eat *pakki* food in each other's company.

The Madhya is highest in rank, and next comes the Dās, while the Māchhis or Antas are regarded as the lowest. In North Bengal the Ādi ranks next to the Madhya.

Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden on pain of excommunication. Commensality is also forbidden, but in Howrah all the subcastes can smoke together. No member of one subcaste can gain admission to another, and each has a separate Panchayat.

Kulinism, among the Chāsi Kaibarttas is in vogue. Families who enjoyed respect on account of their opulence or ancestry, are regarded as Kulins. There are four kinds of Kulins among the Kaibarttas, 1st the Fulchatiya, 2nd the Eksudhia, 3rd the Sidhia and 4th the Makinda. Marriage may take place with the Mauliks for some pecuniary consideration, but a Kulin suffers in the estimation of the community if he gives his daughter in marriage to a Maulik.

## KALWAR.

BIĀHUT (c)	... Chota Nagpur, North Bengal, and Bihar.	TANK	... South Bihar.
JAIŚWĀR (a)	... Ditto.	SAGAHUT (c)	... Ditto.
KHARIDĀHĀ (f)	... Bihar and North Bengal.	DESWĀR	... Ditto.
BANAUDHĪA (f)	... South Bihar.	MAIDARA	... Ditto.
		JANAKPURI (f)	... North Bihar.

The Jaiswārs, it is alleged, have got their name from their mother Jaso. Some of the Jaiswārs who took to selling liquor, were outcasted and were called Kalwārs. Others say that they were so called for making copper. In a caste meeting the Jaiswārs of Karids did not attend and were therefore outcasted, and afterwards got the name of Kharidāhā. The first progenitor of this caste had two wives, one a virgin and the other a widow. Sons of the wedded wife are called Biāhuts, while from the *sagai* wife descended the other subcastes. The Biāhuts never allow widow-marriage, but the Sagahuts permit the practice. The Biāhuts are generally considered highest and the Sagahuts lowest in rank, the rest being all equal. Intermarriage is strictly forbidden under penalty of being outcasted. Commensality is also prohibited, but in some places they may smoke or drink together. No member of any subcaste can gain admission to any other, and each has a separate Panchayat.

## KANSABANIK.

SAPTAGRAMI (f)	... Central Bengal.	MAITI	... Central Bengal.
MAINDOBAZI (d)	... Ditto.	MAINAGORI (f)	... Ditto.

Saptagrami and Mainagori are names derived from their original places of residence. Some of the Saptagramis were degraded and formed a separate subcaste, called Maindobazi. The Saptagramis are highest in rank, and do not intermarry with any other subcaste; if the rule is broken, the offender is degraded to the subcaste into which he marries. Intermarriage among the other subcastes, though not strictly forbidden, is unusual.

They won't eat or drink with one another, but they may smoke together. The members of one subcaste cannot gain admission to another, except in the case of the Saptagrami, who may be degraded to any other subcaste by intermarriage. Each subcaste has a separate administration of its own.

There are Kulins and Mauliks, but the distinction involves no restriction on marriage.

## KANU.

KARAINCH	... Bhagalpur.	MAGAHIA (f)	... Bhagalpur.
MADHESIA (f)	... Ditto.		

They rank in the same order in which they stand. Intermarriage and commensality are absolutely forbidden. A member of one subcaste can not gain admission to another, and each has a separate administration.

## KEWAT.

DHIBAR (a)	... West Bengal.	SĀGHĀR	... North Bihar.
GONR (f)	... Ditto.	GARBAST	... Ditto.
KAIBAKTA	... Ditto.	RASI (f)	... Chota Nagpur Plateau.
GHIWA	... North Bihar.	SENLI (f)	... Ditto.

The Rasi and Senli appear to have come originally from the same stock. They are all of equal rank. Intermarriage is not allowed, and commensality is forbidden, except in West Bengal, where all the subcastes inter-dine.

## KHYAN.

KANTI	... Rangpur.	MARIKA	... Rangpur.
-------	--------------	--------	--------------

Intermarriage and commensality are not allowed between the subcastes.



## KOCH.

KÁNTÁI DULIA (f)	North Bengal.
DAKAI	... Ditto.
RÁJBANSI (a)	... Ditto.
PALIYÁ	... Ditto.
JÁLUÁ	... Ditto.

DOBHÁSIÁ	... North Bengal.
KOCH (a)	... Ditto.
DESI (a)	... Ditto.
BABU (a)	... Ditto.

Namo, son of Kashyapa Muni, is said to have married Hirá, Jirá, Udíyá and Turá. The offsprings of Hirá are Koches, those of Turá, Sádhu Paliyás or Rájbansis, those of Jirá, Babus, and those of Udyá, Desis. The Kántáis are called Dulíás, because they carry the páiki. The Desis are so called because their forefathers were the earliest settlers. The subcaste Rájbansi is further subdivided into (a) Rájbansi, (b) Bhagawan Rájbansi. The latter is higher in rank. So also Paliyá has three subdivisions (a) Sádhu, (b) Desi, (c) Balál. The Paliyás are highest in rank, while the Dekái, Jáluá, and Dobhásiá are regarded as of low rank.

Intermarriage, though not usual, is not forbidden; in Jalpaiguri, it is said to be punished by degradation to the lower sub caste, but the penalty is not, however, rigidly enforced.

The general practice is, that the subcastes drink and smoke together, but wont eat. The Dakai sub-caste is, however, looked on as degraded and therefore excluded. In Jalpaiguri they may take *pakái* together, but not cooked rice.

No member of any subcaste can gain admission to another except by marriage; in Dinajpur the subcastes have separate *panchayats*.

## KOIRI.

BARKI-DÁNGI (a)	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.
CHHOKKI-DÁNGI (a)	Ditto.
BANAPÁR	... Ditto.
JARUHÁR	... Ditto.
KANAUJÍÁ (t)	... Ditto.
MAGAHÍÁ (t)	... Ditto.
DAKINI (t)	... Chota Nagpur.

GURIA	... Chota Nagpur.
CHIRMAÍT	... North Bihar.
TIRHUTIÁ (t)	... Ditto.
JALAKUR	... Ditto.
GOITA	... Ditto.
HARDI (t)	... South Bihar.
DHÁRH	... Ditto.

It is said that once five Koiri brothers on being attacked ran away and hid themselves, one in a drain the second in a jungle, and the third under the roots of a tree; the fourth fled to Magadha and the fifth across the river. They were, therefore, termed Dhángi, Banapár, Jaruhár, Magahíá, and Chirmáit, respectively. The Dhángis also claim their origin from the *Yagna* of a Rájá named Dángi, from which their common ancestor was born. Hardis came from Hardi, in the district of Ballia.

The Barki-Dángis are highest in rank, because they never allow widow-marriage, and do not eat flesh, or drink wine. Next come Chhoki-Dángi and Banapár, while the Magahíás are regarded as the lowest. In Patna and Shahabad all the subcastes are equal in rank.

Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden under penalty of social excommunication. Commensality is also not usually allowed; but in Monghyr, the Magahíás and the Kanaujíás, and in Purnea, the Barkidángis, Magahíás and Tirhutíás, smoke and drink with one another.

No member of any subcaste can gain admission to another. Each has a separate Panchayat of its own, except in the South Parganas where disputes are settled at a general meeting of the caste people.

## KURMI.

JAISWÁR (t)	... Bihar and Chota Nagpur.
SAINTHWAR	... Ditto.
AWADHIYÁ (t)	... Bihar.
SAMASWAR	... Do.
CHANDEL	... North Bihar and Chota Nagpur.
KACHAISÁ	... South Bihar and Chota Nagpur.
GHAMELA	... Ditto.
MAGAHÍÁ (t)	... North Bihar.
DHAN KURMI	... Ditto.
DHELAPHOR (t)	... Ditto.
TERAIGHARIA (a)	... Ditto.
CHANAUR (t)	... South Bihar.
BIÁHUTI (t)	... Ditto.
PATANWAR (t)	... Ditto.
ANTHASIA	... Ditto.
PATHARIA	... Ditto.

BARAKURMI (a)	... Chota Nagpur.
CHOTA KURMI (t)	... Ditto.
CHAUR	... Ditto.
KHARCHWÁR	... Ditto.
JALBANWAR	... Ditto.
JALBHANDA	... Ditto.
CHILBANDA	... Ditto.
KESWAR	... Ditto.
DAMARIAR	... Ditto.
KOIRWAR	... Ditto.
KECHIKESSRI	... Ditto.
MUTAEWAR	... Ditto.
BAGESRI (t)	... Ditto.
MEGISRI	... Ditto.
NASATWAR	... Ditto.
KURUNI (t)	... Ditto.
KURMI PROPER	... Ditto.
ADHKURMI (t)	... Ditto.

The Jaiswárs are said to have emigrated from Jaipur in the United Provinces, and the Awadhiás and Patanwars from Oudh and Patna, respectively. The Biáhuts are so named from the fact that they never allow widow marriage. This protice is also forbidden by the Channurs and Awadhiás.

The Awadhiá sub-caste is generally regarded as the highest, and the Sainthwár subcaste as the lowest in rank. The Bara Kurmis are superior to the Chota Kurmis. The Jaiswár, though it usually ranks high, is looked down upon in Darbhanga for eating the leavings of a feast and cleansing the dishes of high caste Hindus. Intermarriage is strictly forbidden on pain of loss of caste, or, in some cases, degradation to the lower of the two subcastes, except in Hazaribagh where all subcastes freely intermarry.

Commensality is also prohibited, except in Hazaribagh where all sub-castes freely dine with one another. A Jaiswár may always take cooked rice from an Awadhiá.

No member of one subcaste can gain admission to another, except in certain cases of intermarriage. Each sub-caste has usually a separate panchayat, but in Hazaribagh there is a single panchayat for the whole caste.

## LAHIRI.

DESI (t)	... Bihar.
TIRHUTIÁ (t)	... Do.

MAGAHÍÁ (t)	... Bihar.
-------------	------------

These are all territorial names. The *Desi* ranks below the Tirhutíá. Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden on loss of caste. Commensality is also not permitted. No one can change his subcaste and each group has a separate administration.



## MADAK.

BĀRASAMĀJ ...	Mymensingh.	AJA (t) ...	Sonthal Parganas.
TERASAMĀJ ...	Ditto.	DHARMA SAT	
BARA ĀSRAMA ...	Sonthal Parganas.	ĀSRAMA ...	Ditto.
MURA ...	Ditto.		

In Mymensingh intermarriage is allowed, but in the Sonthal Parganas it is forbidden under penalty of fine or excommunication. Commensality is permitted and they freely eat, drink and smoke together. Members of one sub-caste can gain admission to another in Mymensingh. In the Sonthal Parganas caste questions are decided by the members of the caste or subcaste in meeting, and in Mymensingh each subcaste has a separate administration of its own.

## MADHUNAPIT.

BISWAS (a) ...	Central and West Bengal.	MADHU (a) ...	Central and West Bengal.
JATI (a) ...	Ditto.	RELATI (t) ...	Ditto.

The Madhu is alleged to be descended direct from a man who shaved Chaitanya. The Jāti appears to spring from intermarriages with the Mayra caste. Relāti, also known as Septagrami, is a local division. The Madhus are first and the Jātis second in social position; the other two stand lower. Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden, but in Midnapore the rule is not strictly enforced. Commensality is freely allowed in Midnapore, but in Nadia they only drink and smoke together. Members of a lower, cannot gain admission to a higher, subcaste. Usually each subcaste has a separate administration. Kulinism is in vogue. A Maulik has to pay money if he wishes to intermarry with a Kulin.

## MAL.

RAJBANSI ...	West Bengal.	DHALĀ	West Bengal.
MALEVA ...	Ditto.	GOBRA ...	Ditto.
KUSMETIĀ ...	Ditto.	KHERĀ ...	Ditto.
MALLIK ...	Ditto.	SĀNĀGĀNTHĀ ...	Ditto.

In Birbhum intermarriage is allowed between the Maleva, Kusmetiā and Mallik subcastes and in Bankura it is allowed between the Dhalā, Gobrá, Kherā and Sānāgānthā subcastes. The Rājbanis, however, do not intermarry with any other subcaste. In Birbhum there is no restriction on commensality, but in Bankura the different subcastes will eat only, *pakki* and not cooked rice. Each subcaste has its own administration.

## MALI.

PHUL (t) ...	Birbhum.	KHANDAL (c) ...	Angul.
DOKANIA ...	Ditto.	SANKHUA (c) ...	Do.
TELNOPĀ ...	Ditto.	BANSPHOE ...	Manbhum.
POCHĀ ...	Ditto.	PATAR ...	Ditto.
DEULIĀ (c) ...	Angul.	SULANKI ...	Ditto.
TUHIRI (c) ...	Do.	MALI OR MAHULI	Ditto.

In Angul all are said to come from the same stock, but were separated owing to their taking part in different ceremonies. The Deuliās are those who perform the worship of Siva in the temple; the Tuhiris collect flowers for the worship, the Khandals carry a sword, and the Sankhuas blow the conch shell at the time of worship.

Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden. Commensality is also prohibited, except in Birbhum. No member of one subcaste can gain admission to another. There is a separate administration for each subcaste in Manbhum.

## MECH.

AGNIĀ MECH ...	Jalpaiguri.	JATI MECH ...	Jalpaiguri.
----------------	-------------	---------------	-------------

The Agniā Mech is higher in rank than the Jāti Mech. Intermarriage is not usual. An Agniā Mech may marry the daughter of a Jāti Mech, but in that case she may no longer eat at her father's house. An Agniā Mech sometimes gives his daughter in marriage to a Jāti Mech, but in such a case the bride's people would not eat food cooked by her after the marriage, unless the bridegroom becomes an Agniā by giving a feast to the Panchayat.

The Agniā Mech do not eat food cooked by the Jāti Mech, nor do they smoke in their *hukkd*. But they will drink water from the hand of a Jāti Mech. A Jāti Mech may become an Agniā Mech by intermarriage as stated above, and an Agniā Mech may by degradation become a Jāti Mech. The two subcastes have different Panchayats.

## MUSAHAR.

MAGHAYĀ (t) ...	Bihar, and Chota Nagpur	RĀJBANSI ...	North Bihar.
DHARWĀR ...	Chota Nagpur.	DESWĀR ...	Ditto.
BHUNARĀR ...	Ditto.	CHĀURWĀR ...	South Bihar.
BHĀIBĀR ...	Ditto.	BAJWĀR ...	Ditto.
RIKHIĀSAN ...	Ditto.	KHARWĀR ...	Ditto.
MAHTWĀR ...	Ditto.	DHĀRH ...	Ditto.
BICHWĀR ...	Ditto.	KANAUJIA (t) ...	Ditto.
TIRBUTIĀ (t) ...	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	BHATWĀR ...	Ditto.
DAKHINĀHA (t) ...	Bihar.	PACHHAISĀ ...	Ditto.

There is no particular rank among them but the Bhatwārs and Kharwārs are generally considered superior to the rest, because they do not eat snakes.



In Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh, intermarriage and commensality prevail. In Shahabad there is no regular intermarriage, but when it occurs it is condoned on payment of a fine, and giving a feast.

Elsewhere the subcastes do not intermarry or dine with one another.

A person of one subcaste cannot gain admission to another, except in Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh, where he can do so freely. In these two districts there is a single panchayat for the whole caste, but elsewhere each subcaste has got a separate panchayat.

## NAPIT.

SATGHARIA (i)	... Bengal Proper.	DESI NAPIT	... West Bengal.
RARHI (i)	... Ditto.	HALDAR (f)	... North and Central Bengal.
BARENDRA (i)	... Ditto.	KHOTTA	... Ditto.
SAPTAGRAMI (i)	... Ditto.	BHULUA	... Central Bengal.
ANARPURIA (i)	... Ditto.	SANDIPA (i)	... Ditto.
BURDOWANI (i)	... West Bengal.	HANSDAHA	... Ditto.
MADHYASEENI (a)	... Ditto.	BAMAN BANE	... Ditto.
MANDARANI	... Ditto.	KOTA	... Ditto.
RAJHATI (i)	... Ditto.	MUSGANJ	... Ditto.
PHULNAPIT	... Ditto.	SHAHAR NAPIT (f)	... East Bengal.
DRIANAPIT	... Ditto.	BHUIA	... Ditto.
GAURIANAPIT	... Ditto.	BANGALI NAPIT (i)	... Sonthal Parganas.

Most of the subcastes are territorial.

The higher class Nápita, e.g. Rárhí, do not shave low castes. The Haldars who do so are degraded in consequence. Those subcastes who allow widow marriage are also looked down upon. In Midnapore the Phulnápít is first in rank, and is followed by the Madhyasreni, Oriyá and Gauriá.

Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden except in Mymensingh and Murshidabad. In Nadia and Rangpur there is no restriction of intermarriage among the Rárhís and Bárendras. In Midnapore it is not allowed, and if a man of a higher subcaste gives his daughter in marriage to a man of a lower one, he himself becomes a member of the latter.

Commensality is also forbidden, except in Nadia, Mymensingh, and Murshidabad. In Birbhum and Bankura, they smoke the same *lutká*, and partake of pakki together but not cooked rice. They smoke and drink together in Howrah and Dacca.

Each subcaste has a separate panchayat.

## PASI.

BEHADA (i)	... Bhagalpur.	MAGARIA (i)	... Bhagalpur.
------------	----------------	-------------	----------------

The Behada is higher in rank than the Magariá. Inter-marriage is forbidden and also commensality. No one can change his subcaste, and each has a separate administration.

## PATNI.

JÁT PATNI (a)	... North and East Bengal.	BAKLAI (f)	... East Bengal.
GHÁT PATNI (a)	... Ditto.	SHONESHABAZI	
DOM PATNI (f)	... Ditto.	(f)	... Ditto.
BÁNSPHOR (a)	... Ditto.	MURADIA (f)	... Ditto.
BHÁLO PATNI (c)	... East Bengal.	AGLI (f)	... Ditto.
MAGHUA (d)	... Ditto.	KAPORDAI (f)	... Ditto.

The Bhálo Patni came to be a separate subcaste owing to the degradation of the Maghuá, whose houses were entered by Maghs. The four subcastes, Ját, Ghát, Dom, and Bánsphor, are said to have descended from the four brothers, Jadab, Kalubir, Madhab, Narhari. Difference of occupation is the cause of separation of the subcastes, Baklai, Shoneshabazi, Muradiá, Agli and Kapordai.

In Mymensingh the Ját stands first, Ghát second, Dom third, and Bánsphor fourth in rank. The Ját Patnis have retained their original caste, while the others are degraded. The Dom Patnis keep pigs and the Bánsphors dispose of dead bodies. In Backergunge the Baklai stands first, Shoneshabazi second, Muradiá third, Agli fourth, and Kapordai fifth in rank. The Ját and Bhálo are also superior classes of Patnis.

Inter-marriage is absolutely forbidden, but in Faridpur this bar applies to the Bhálo Patnis only. Commensality is also forbidden, but in Dinajpur it is allowed between the Játs and Gháts.

No person of one sub-caste can gain admission to another, except in Nadia, where a Ghát may become a Ját, with the permission of the panchayat. Each subcaste has a separate administration of its own.

## POD.

CHÁSI (f)	... West Bengal.	BASUDEB PAUN.	
CHHANCHI (f)	... Ditto.	DRA (a)	... Central Bengal.
JASURI (f)	... Ditto.	SANTAPARH	... Ditto.

The Basudeb Paundras claim descent from the family of Pundra, the son of Basudeb, while the Santaparhs say that they are descended from Bali Raja, the son of Sutopa. The Basudeb Paundras are divided into two sections, the Uttar Rarhi and Dakshin Rarhi. The Santaparhs are also divided into two sections, the Utikal or Oriyá and the Bangaja.

Among the Chási and the Chhanchi subcastes, those who employ themselves as cart-drivers or fish-mongers are degraded to the Jasuri subcastes, and are regarded as lowest in rank.

No inter-marriage can take place among the different subcastes. The Uttar Rarhi and the Dakshin Rarhi sections of the Basudeb Paundras do not eat cooked rice in each others houses, but may take *pakki* food together. The Oriyá sections of the Santaparhs will take cooked rice in the house of the Uttar Rarhi or Dakshin Rarhi Pods, but not *vice versa*.

No member of any subcaste can gain admission to another, and each subcaste has its own Pradhán or headman, who deals with all social and ceremonial matters.



## RAJWAR.

MÁL	} Manbhum.
ANGWÁR	
SIKHARÍÁ	
RÁJBANSI	

The Rájbansi Rájwars are said to be the first in rank. Inter-marriage and commensality are absolutely forbidden. No member of one subcaste can gain admission to another, and each has a separate panchayat.

## SADGOP.

KUMAR (a)	... Burdwan and Birbhum.	PURBAKUL (t)	... Burdwan and Birbhum.
	PACHHIMKUL (t)		... Burdwan and Birbhum.

The Kumars profess to be the descendants of eight Rajas who had their seats in Gopbhum, Suer, Kanksa, Khatangarh, and Dignagar. Pachhimkul and Purbakul are territorial names, referring to the west and east banks of the river Hooghly. The former refused to accept Kulinism, whereas the latter accepted it. They are all equal in rank. Intermarriage is not allowed in Birbhum, but in Burdwan, the Purbakuls and Pachhimkuls now intermarry. In Birbhum the Kumars won't eat rice with the others, but in Burdwan they may dine together in the house of a Bráhmaṇ. Each subcaste has a separate administration.

## SANKHÁRI.

RAGHUNATHPURIA (t)	... West Bengal.	BALGUMA (t)	... West Bengal.
BISHNUPURIA (t)	... Ditto.	BARA (t)	... Ditto.

The subcastes are all territorial. Intermarriage and commensality are allowed and a member of any one subcaste can gain admission to another, by giving a feast. Each has its own administration.

## SARNAKAR.

UTTAR RÁRHI (t)	... West, Central and East Bengal.	BASANDALI OR	
DAKHINRÁRHI (t)	... Ditto.	BASANTARI	... West and Central Bengal.
BARENDRA (t)	... Central and East Bengal.	SONAR (f)	... West Bengal.
SAPTAGRAMI (t)	... West and Central Bengal.	KÁMAR (f)	... Ditto.
BURDWANI (t)	... Central Bengal.	BURSUTYA	... Ditto.

Most of the subcastes have territorial names. The Rárhis are generally regarded as highest in rank and next come the Bárendras, but a good deal depends upon their local strength. In Howrah the Saptagramis stand last, and in the 24 Parganas the Burdwani claim superiority over the others.

Intermarriage is strictly forbidden, except in Hooghly. In Howrah it is gradually coming into vogue. Commensality is prohibited, except in Birbhum. In Howrah there is no restriction in the matter of smoking, and the practice of eating together is gradually coming into vogue. The Rárhis and Bárendras will dine together in Nadia. In the 24 Parganas they will not eat cooked rice, in company, but there is no restriction to partaking of sweetmeats, and drinking and smoking from the same *hooka*.

No member of one subcaste can gain admission to another, and each has a separate panchayat of its own. Kulinism is in vogue. Kulins receive payment when marrying in a Maulik family.

## SONAR.

AJODHYABÁSI (t)	Bihar and Chota Nagpur.	BAIS	... Bihar.
KANAUJIA (t)	... Ditto.	CHARHA	... South Bihar.
BHOJPURIA (t)	... Ditto.	CHANSWAR (t)	... Ditto.
KAMAR KALLÁ (a)	Bihar.	BARHA (t)	... Ditto.
TETHIRI OR		MAIR	... North Bihar.
THATHERA (f)	... Ditto.		

The names of the subcastes are mostly territorial. The subcaste Kanaujia is further divided into two sections, the Biháhut and Sagahut, among whom intermarriage and commensality are forbidden. The Tethiris or Thatheras are so named from their preparing brass utensils.

All the subcastes are equal in rank in Patna, Monghyr, and Palamau. The Kanaujia ranks highest in Gaya and is followed by the Ajodhyasi. In Shahabad the Charha is first, Bhojpuria second, Barha third, and Chansawar fourth in rank. Intermarriage is absolutely forbidden among all the subcastes. Commensality is also prohibited; but in Monghyr they will drink water from each other, and in Purnea the Ajodhyas and Tethiris will smoke in the same *hooka*.

Each subcaste has a separate panchayat of its own.



## APPENDIX VIII.

No. 265C., dated Ranchi, the 1st October 1901.

From—H. O. STREATFIELD, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ranchi,  
To—The Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal.

WITH reference to your No. 184T., dated 25th May last, I have the honour to submit the following report on the precedence of castes in this district, and to express my extreme regret at the delay that has occurred. Having prepared a preliminary note and consulted Babu Krishna Kali Mukherji, Personal Assistant to the Commissioner, on it, I lost sight of the matter until reminded by you recently.

2. The list of tribes given in your letter under reply is as follows:—

(1) Agoria, (2) Asur, (3) Bandawat, (4) Banjara, (5) Baraik (chik), (6) Bedia, (7) Beyar, (8) Bhar, (9) Bhuinya, (10) Binjhia, (11) Birjia, (12) Birhor, (13) Chers, (14) Dhenuar, (15) Dherkor, (16) Ghasi, (17) Gond, (18) Gorait, (19) Gulgulia, (20) Ho, (21) Jhora, (22) Kondra, (23) Kaur, (24) Khaira, (25) Kharia, (26) Kherwar, (27) Kora, (28) Korwa, (29) Koshta, (30) Kurmi, (31) Lohar, (32) Mahli, (33) Mallar, (34) Mar, (35) Maulik, (36) Munda, (37) Nagesia, (38) Nizari, (39) Oraon, (40) Pan, (41) Parhaiya, (42) Rautia and (43) Sarak. Of these, the Bandawat, Banjara, Beyar, Bhar, Dhenuar, Dherkor, Gulgulia, Kandra, Mar, Maulik, Niyari, Parhaiya castes are either non-existent in this district or of such infrequent occurrence that I am unable to assign them a social position in relation to the other tribes. The classification of the remaining tribes and castes according to their accepted social position is by no means an easy task, the status of the several castes varying greatly in local estimation from place to place according to the numbers of the caste in a particular locality, and especially according to the standing of its leading numbers. Thus in the Bassia and Palkot Parganas the hereditary zamindars are Rautias, in Bhaur Pahar Pargana the zamindar is a Bhogta, in Biru Kesalpur the zamindar is a Jhora, in Parbaorga a Binjhia, and in these particular parganas and their neighbourhood the castes concerned undoubtedly take a far higher position than elsewhere in the district. Similarly the Mundas in the south-east of the district, where they form almost the entire population, occupy a distinctly higher social position than where they are scattered about in isolated families; and in that tract their leading families are being to claim Kshatriya rank and call themselves Manki Chattris. The Bhuiyás again in the south of the district are connected with ruling families in the Native States, and are often themselves land-holders; they call themselves Khandait Paiks, and deny any connection with the Bhuiyás of the north of the district and Palamau, who rank with the Musahars of Bihar. On the other hand, the Kherwars and Cheros in Palamau, where they have great traditions, rank much higher than they do in Ranchi.

3. I have, in attempting to arrange the tribes of this district according to their social position, divided them into the following classes:—

- (a) Castes served by regular Bráhmans, and from whom orthodox Hindus will take water;
- (b) Castes served by inferior Bráhmans or Gosains, from whom the local Hindu castes will usually take water;
- (c) Castes which claim to be Hindu, but are to all intents and purposes outside the Hindu pale;
- (d) Purely animistic tribes,

and endeavoured within these classes to place each tribe according to the estimation in which it is generally held. I cannot be absolutely sure of my facts, since I am at present practically devoid of subordinates who have made any study of the castes peculiar to this district, but they are as nearly correct as it is possible to make them without the detailed and minute enquiries which the subject really demands. Babu Krishna Kali Mukherji, Personal Assistant to Commissioner, has kindly assisted me in the preparation of this list.

4. An annotated list of the tribes arranged on the above principle is attached.

1. This caste I place in a class by itself since it is purely Aryan with no suspicion of aboriginal blood or aboriginal origin. The name is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit Śrávak (disciple), a name of the Jain laity, and the caste would seem to have been originally Jain. They worship Hindu gods, but touch no animal food, even fish, and have priests of their own caste, though also occasionally employing Bráhmans. They will not take water even from a Bráhmaṇ, nor will Hindus take water from them. They are well-to-do land-holders and money-lenders as a rule, and take the title "Mánjhi"; they say they came from Mymensingh.

## CLASS A.

2. To all appearances purely Hindu, though in many cases they appear to have inter-married with aboriginals. They claim to have come from the sources of the Vindhya, whence their name. In the south of the district they are well-to-do and talk Oriya, pointing to their having come in from the south, take the title "Mánjhi," and do not call themselves "Singh," or claim to be Rájpúts.



3. A well-to-do land-owning caste, divided into three exogamous sub-castes. All call themselves Singh, but do not, as far as I have heard, seriously claim to rank as Chhatri. In appearance they are non-Aryans. The better class conform to Hindu usages. The inferior families eat fowls and, I believe, pork, though this is denied, and would properly come under class B or C. The caste is said to have come into this district from the Rohtasgarh plateau, and the two main subdivisions of the caste represent two different migrations; but the difference in customs appears to me to be due more to the accident of social and pecuniary position of particular families, than to any racial distinction.

Rautia.

4. The Bhogtas of this district claim to be Hindu and to have been brought into this district by one of the Maharajas of Chota Nagpur from Brindaban. In appearance and customs they closely resemble the *Rautias* and frequently call themselves Singh. They claim to be quite distinct from, and superior to, the Kherwar Bhogtas of Palamau.

Bhogta.

5. In this district there is now only one family of any position which is of Kherwar origin. They call themselves Singh, and I have known a Kherwar cultivator to call himself a Rájput. They have by no means a good reputation here, and but for their standing in Palamau I shall place them much lower.

Kherwar.

A tribe talking a form of Mundári, but now Hinduized and calling themselves Sadán (non-aboriginal); are cultivators and workers in wood and bamboo.

Turi.

#### CLASS B.

6. There is only one family of this caste in the district, that of Bakhtour Singh Manjhi of Kulakera. He claims that he is quite apart from and above the ordinary Gonds, and I am informed that Hindus generally recognize the distinction.

Raj Gond.

Nagasia.

7. A tribe claiming to be Aryan, not aboriginal in appearance, but usually found in very jungly villages.

8. There are very few Cheros here, and Palamau is their real home: appear to be purely aboriginal, who have been, to a certain extent, Hinduized since they began to rule in Palamau.

Chero.

9. The history of this tribe is peculiar. Their caste profession is gold-washing. They are absolutely non-Aryan in appearance, and seem to be connected with the Gonds. The head of their family,

Jhora.

the jagirdar of parganas Biru, Kesulpur, has for several generations claimed to be a Rájput, and has gradually been accepted as such, and would now deny that he is a Jhora. The other members of the caste, not to be left behind by their chief, now claim to be purely Hindu, and call themselves Gangbansi Rájput.

10. This caste is, I believe, really not distinct from the Bhuinyás. They do not mind calling themselves Bhuinyás, but say that the Bhuinyás of Gangpur and Orissa are quite distinct from the degraded caste of that name found in Palamau, Hazaribagh and Gaya, which is frankly non-Hindu. They follow Hindu customs, and are recognized by the other tribes in this class as Hindus.

Khandait paik.  
(Bhuinyás.)

Koshta.

11. A weaving class calling themselves Das and abstaining from animal food.

12. This and the following four castes eat fowls and pork, except when brought in contact with orthodox Hindus, and are not really Hindu except in name and in their worship. I believe, however, that the other castes of this class take water from them. There are several sub-castes, of which some are more Hindu than others, but they all take the title Mahto, and I see no reason to doubt that they are identical with the Kurmis of Bihar, but have adopted many of the customs of the aborigines.

Kurmi.

13. Also call themselves Mahto. They are more or less Aryan in appearance, and have several subdivisions. Their history is probably the same as that of the Kurmis, whom they closely resemble in habits.

Ahir.

14. A cultivating class in the north of the district, who go in largely for trapping big game, more or less Aryan in appearance.

Badia.

15. A well known jungly tribe, who claim to be Hindus, but are to all intents and purposes aboriginals. They are not numerous in this district, and their proper position is not easy to ascertain.

Gond.

16. A weaving caste claiming to be Aryan and Hindu. They appear to be quite distinct from the Pans or rather Panrs, being fairer and more Aryan in appearance. Probably immigrants from Bengal.

Chik Baraik.

17. Usually said to be identical with the preceding, but neither caste admits this, and the Panrs are far more like the Mundas than the Chik Baraiks in appearance and habits.

Panr or Sawasi or Panr Sawasi.

18. A land-holding caste in the south-west of the district, call themselves Singh and Roy, but are generally believed to be Korwas in origin. They claim to be Hindu, but are not, I believe, generally recognized as such.

Kaura.



19. There are in the district a certain number of Lohars belonging to the Sad Lohar caste, and this caste the Lohars of the local origin are always striving to attain and with some success. In purely aboriginal villages, however, the Lohars are undoubtedly of purely aboriginal origin, and make no pretence to any other language or religion than that of the rest of the village. They were undoubtedly originally members of the aboriginal tribes, who have taken to blacksmith work from taste, and I am told that among the Mundas to this day a man can work as blacksmith and retain his caste until his vanity induces him to show his skill by making an iron needle; after that he becomes a *Lohra*. Being artizans and village servants they are generally reckoned as distinctly below the aboriginal tribe to which they are attached, but I have placed them at the bottom of the *quasi*-Hindu castes as the only possible place for their caste as a whole.

20. Village watchmen and runners, apparently closely resemble the Dosádhs of Bihar. I have my suspicions that they are in fact Dosádhs, who have assumed a new title from their employment, eat beef, pork and fowls.

Gorait.

Ghasi.

21. Fishermen, láthiáls and musicians. Have a very bad all-round reputation. Also do bamboo work.

22. Subdivided into Patar Mahlis, who press oil and Or and Bans Mahlis, who work in bamboo; the former consider themselves much superior to the two latter—the Ors claim in places to be distinct from

Mahli.

and above the Mahlis, but I think they are only a sub-caste. It is a question whether the Mahlis are not degraded offshoot of the Mundas. They often talk Mundári as their mother-tongue, but that proves nothing, as Baraiks and Panrs often do the same, but the Khangar Mundas, a sub-caste that is said to have been turned out of the Munda community for unclean eating, are also called Mahli Mundas, and Mahlis come into very old Munda traditions and even into their mythology. They have a thieves' slang of their own, and a bad all-round reputation.

23. A strange caste which I am unable to locate properly. I know of one or two families living among the Mundas, and practically indistinguishable from them, but the genuine Mallars do not acknowledge them. The caste profession is casting in brass from sand moulds, brass grain, measures, stirrups, walking-stick heads, powder-horns, ornamental rings on spears and axes, and similar things are cast in brass by them, the decorative patterns being often obtained by pressing string into the wet mould. The women also tattoo. They talk among themselves, a dialect made by deliberately perverting Hindi, but though this forms a regular thieves' slang, they are not, as far as I know, dishonest; they have no priests and settled homes, wandering from village to village as they find work, and where a Mallar dies, there he is buried and forgotten. Local tradition asserts that the original Mallar was elder brother of the original Oraon, and took to brass-casting by chance, but the Mallars, while admitting the prevalence of the tradition, deny its correctness and claim to be *Sádan* (i.e., non-Kol) by extraction.

Mallar.

#### CLASS D.

The genuine aboriginals are placed at the bottom of the list, because I do not know how else to place them, but no Munda or Oraon would admit that he was other than infinitely superior to Ghasis, Goraites, Mahlis and the weaving classes, and as a matter of fact they are so according to all the ordinary tests of respectability.

24. The Mundas have a universally admitted precedence over the other aboriginals in virtue of their older occupation of the country, their traditions of rule in it, and their establishment of the Nágbansi Maharajas. They appear to have had Rájas—rulers of *parganas*—and rulers of twelve villages and a regular tribal Government, which none of the other aborigines ever had or claim to have had. The Hos or fighting Kols are only found in Singbhum, and so I have not entered them in my list; they are undoubtedly only a subdivision of the Mundas, and claim superiority over the Konkát Mundas of the Ranchi plateau. The Khangar Mundas or Mahli Mundas are a sub-caste excommunicated in the days of tradition for eating something unclean; they have a bad reputation for dishonesty.

Mundas.

25. Though more numerous than the Mundas, and as far as moral standard of comfort goes, superior to them in my opinion; they admit a social inferiority due to later arrival in the district and to the fact that they have no traditions of national or tribal as opposed to village organization. I know one Oraon family with the title Manjui, and this is the only case in the district, to the best of my belief; of any Oraon holding a title denoting more than mere village status.

Oraon.

26. Much more closely resemble the Mundas than the Oraons, and their language is Kolarian. Have a bad reputation for conceit, obstinacy and personal uncleanness. Appear to have no traditions.

Kharias.

27, 28, & 29. These three tribes all talk a language practically the same as Mundári; they all smelt iron and live in the remotest jungly villages.

Asur. | Agoria. | Birjia.

They are the only tribes that will voluntarily call themselves Kol, and I am unable to distinguish them socially. A theory has been put forward that the Asurs were the original owners of the country, and that the Munda legend of the struggle between Singbonga and the Asur arose from the sanguinary war, in which the latter were ousted by the Mundas. It seems to me far more probable that they are of Munda origin, having separated from the Mundas merely on account of their profession. The legend of the war between the gods and the Titans is probably far older than the Munda occupation of



Chota Nagpur, and it is natural that the iron-smelting branch of the tribe should have assumed the name given to the iron-smelting Titans in the legend.

30. The Bhuiyá although they have no sort of tribal organization nor any language of their own, make no pretence of Hinduism, and must therefore be classed among the purely animistic tribes. I have placed them absolutely at the bottom of the list of settled tribes, as without having gained anything from contact with civilization, they have lost the free independent spirit which characterizes the aboriginals generally. They are the only aboriginal tribe which receives outsiders into their community. Cheros who have joined Bhuiyá (generally on account of a love affair with a Bhuiyá woman) are not uncommon in Palaman, and keep the surname Singh, and I have known a Kherwar boy who had a *Baisan* with a Bhuiyá to join the Bhuiyá community, the ceremony including the eating of pork from the woman's hands.

31. A jungly tribe with no fixed habitation, roaming from forest to forest, living on game and monkeys, and by the manufacture and sale of drums and wooden vessels. They talk almost pure Mundari, and the fact that their name Birhor means jungly man in Mundári includes the word Horo meaning man, which the Mundas apply exclusively to themselves, points to their being merely an off-shoot of the Mundas that has preferred the jungly to settled life.

32. I put the Korwa at the bottom of the list, as though they have traditions of rule in the land, and are in fact probably the nearest to true aborigines of any of the so-called aboriginal tribes, and though they are less wandering than the Birhors, and do a certain amount of cultivation in a spasmodic way, their physique and manners are distinctly inferior, and their occasional relapses into predatory savagery mark them out as the one tribe in Chota Nagpur to which the stereotyped newspaper description of the Chota Nagpur aboriginals as little removed from animals to a small extent applies. I have met very intelligent Korwas, however.

No. 762, dated Cuttack, the 11th September 1901.

From—**BAHU JAMINI MOHAN DAS**, Deputy Superintendent of Census, Cuttack,  
To—The Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal.

I HAVE the honor to submit the following report on the classification of tribes found in the Orissa Tributary States in the order of their social precedence.

2. The Tributary States contain a considerable population of Hindu and semi-Hinduised castes which do not socially intermix with the pure aboriginal tribes and cannot, therefore, be grouped together with them on the basis of social rank. I propose, therefore, to deal in this report, only with the pure aboriginal tribes found in large numbers in the Orissa Tributary States.

3. I enclose copy of a circular letter addressed by me to the officers noted in the margin, on this subject. Replies received from (2), (3), (4) and (5) are submitted herewith in original.

1. Babu Gopal Bullav Das, Deputy Magistrate, now Manager of Keonjhar State.

2. Babu Ras Behari Naik, Deputy Magistrate, now Manager of Dhenkanal.

3. Manager, Mourbhanj State.

4. Babu Ajoy Chandra Das, Sub-Deputy Collector, now Government Agent, Nayagarh State.

5. Babu Narain Chandra Naik, Deputy Magistrate, now Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Angul, and

6. Babu Sudam Chandra Naik, Assistant Superintendent of Tributary States, Orissa.

4. Two important facts should be borne in mind in dealing with this question; 1st, that the tribes are not uniformly distributed over the different States, and 2nd, that unlike Hindus who form a more or less compact society in every province with traditions of origin connected with their hereditary occupations, the independent aboriginal tribes form separate communities with hardly any intercourse which leads to social gradation. In short, although there is "caste precedence," I doubt very much whether there is any "tribal precedence." Where a tribe is influentially connected with land and strong in numbers, it holds its own against any other tribe, however influential it may be, in some other place. Thus the Kandh holds a very high rank in Kandhmal although, in other states into which he has immigrated, in small numbers, he holds a very low rank. The Kol, again, has been assigned a very low place by all the reporting officers but I am not disposed to take this as an index to his position in Singhbhum from which this tribe has spread into other places. In page 57 of Hunter's Statistical Account of Singhbhum, Mr. Risley (the compiler of this volume) observes—"They (Hos) are in my opinion physically and morally superior to the Mundas, Bhumij and Santals."

The Bhumij similarly has been assigned a very low place in Nayagarh, where the tribe is weak in number, but a much higher place in Mourbhanj, where he is more influential.

Broadly speaking all pure tribes to whom tradition assigns a local home, and an early connection with land, must be put in the same rank, irrespective of their position in any particular place, and all subsidiary tribes derived from them who have degraded themselves by occupation should be put in lower gradations according to the degree of degradation suffered by each.

5. On the principles indicated above I have prepared a statement placing in Group I all the tribes influentially connected with land or having traditions of past connection with land.

It will be seen from the Mourbhanj report that the Bathuris, Dhamas and Kharias were once very influentially connected with land in that State. The Bhuiyás, including the



Bhanja Purans, are also powerful in that State as well as in Keonjhar. The Bhumijas hold a rather low position in Mourbhanj but in Dhalbhum they are still very powerful. The Sabar and Sahars, probably of the same origin, were once the owners of Dhenkanal and the Sahars still hold very high rank in Mourbhanj and Puri.

The Kandhs in Kandhmal, the Mundas and Oraons in Chota Nagpur, the Sonthals in Santal Parganas, the Kols in Singhbhum and the Gonds in the Central Provinces, are still very influential.

It is very doubtful whether Kurmis and Lodhas are aboriginal tribes, and I have not, therefore, included them in the list.

The Taulas and Bauris who are of about the same rank should not, I think, be treated as aboriginal tribes. The Taulas are found only in Orissa and are evidently a sub-tribe. Both Taulas and Bauris are semi-Hinduized and as such should be grouped with Hindus.

6. I do not think the tests prescribed for determining the social position of Hindus apply to aborigines any more than they apply to other civilized or uncivilized races. The same tribe is differently treated by the Hindus in different places, according to their local position and habits. I think the degree to which the Hindus associate with a tribe shows the extent to which it has advanced towards conversion to the Hindu faith. Such semi-Hinduized aboriginal tribes may be classed with Hindus on considerations which apply to Hindus, but the pure aborigines who are, strictly speaking, yet Animists should be viewed from other standpoints. It would be well, I think, to leave them unclassified.

7. The occupational groups, below the first group of pure aboriginal tribes, have been classed rather by their occupations and habits than by the rank which they themselves accord to each other in society. I cannot attempt any further subdivisions on the basis of the information available.

In conclusion I beg to say that the subject is too complicated to be adequately dealt with amid the press of heavy routine duties and within the short time available for its consideration. The information collected is very meagre, but I doubt very much whether more useful information can be collected without local enquiry by an officer interested in the question.

*Statement showing the classification of aboriginal tribes in the Orissa Tributary States according to their social precedence.*

No. of group.	Name of caste.	Characteristic determining the position of the group.	Common characteristics of castes in each group.
I	Bathuri	Purity of occupation and influential connection with land of the main bodies of each tribe.	All these tribes are influentially connected with land in some place or other, and still hold high rank where they are strong in numbers. Within the group, they may be all taken as of equal rank.
	Bhuiyā		
	Bhumij		
	Dharuā		
	Gond		
	Kandh		
	Khariā		
	Kol		
	Munda		
	Oraon		
II	Savar	Position of artisans in Hindu society.	These are all artisans and as such may be taken as of equal rank.
	Sahar		
	Santal		
	Khairā		
	Nahurā		
	Lohār		
III	Ghantrā	Position of fisherman in Hindu society.	All these castes catch fish.
	Godrā		
	Malhār		
	Tamarā		
IV	Jhorā	Savage condition and want of influence.	Wandering tribes without any fixed habitation and living chiefly on jungle produce.
	Girgiriā		
	Bauri		
	Ghani		
IV	Ghāsi		
	Juāng		
	Patua		
V	Kelā		
V	Pān	Follows the most degrading occupation of skinning dead animals and takes beef.	



# GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

CALCUTTA, THE 4TH NOVEMBER 1902.

RESOLUTION—No. 3180Mis.

READ—

The Report by E. A. Gait, Esq., I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal, on the census of Bengal taken on the 1st March 1901.

The fourth complete census of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, which was taken on the night of the 1st March 1901, shows the population of the Provinces within the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, including the Feudatory States, to have been on that date 78,493,410 persons, of whom 39,278,186 were males and 39,215,224 were females.

The Superintendent of the Census Operations in Bengal, Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., has submitted his Report within twenty months from the date of the census or after an interval six months shorter than that occupied in compiling the figures and writing the Report of the Census of 1891.

2. The Report is contained in four volumes, of which the first three form Volumes VI to VIB of the Imperial Series.

The Report, tables and other information compiled.

The first volume comprises the Report Proper, the second contains the Imperial Tables in which the district is the unit, and the third the Provincial Tables, in which the unit is the Police circle; the fourth volume, which is the Administrative Report, gives a full account of the procedure adopted in taking the census and in compiling the results, matter which on the occasion of each previous census has been included in the Report Proper. In addition to the abovenamed volumes the Census Superintendent has supplied to each district manuscript volumes of village Census Tables, with an index, giving for each "village" and "mauza" the population by sex and religion. Volumes have also been prepared showing in alphabetical order the classification adopted under the heads (a) language, (b) caste, (c) occupations; these volumes, and another which contains specimens of all forms used throughout the operations, are likely to prove most useful at the next census. Mr. Gait also reports that he has caused to be paged, indexed and bound up, the various reports on the subjects of caste, sub-caste, marriage customs, language, Hindu religion, and Muhammadanism which contain much information that has not been utilised in the Census Report, but which may hereafter prove to be useful.

3. Mr. Gait has summarised in the Introduction to his Report the important facts connected (1) with the work of the

Work of Enumeration, Compilation, Check and Cost.

enumeration, and (2) with the compilation of the figures recorded in the schedules; and it will suffice to mention here under the first head that the arrangements made were very similar to those of 1891, but that the number of enumerators excluding Calcutta and the Feudatory States in 1901 was 384,000 against 315,000 in 1891, and of supervisors 28,000 as against 26,000. Under the head of compilation it must be mentioned that the "slip system" which has long been in use in census work in other countries was, for the first time, adopted under the orders of the Census Commissioner, Mr. Risley, in a Bengal Census in 1901; the innovation was a complete success both in expediting the work of compilation and also in reduction of cost.

A very detailed examination of the district tables was made by the Superintendent and by his head office. Mr. Gait himself classified all castes, languages and occupations, as he explains in his Administrative Report, and also made a detailed check of the figures of marriage by caste for all castes and all districts. The tabulation for all the earlier tables was checked throughout



item by item, and the testing of the caste and occupation tables, though not so complete, was still very thorough; lastly, all entries which disclosed marked differences in comparison with those of 1891, or which seemed to be open to doubt, were worked out *de novo*.

The total cost of the census just taken in Bengal has been about Rs. 3,90,000 as against about Rs. 7,00,000 expended over the census of 1891. The large reduction of cost is due mainly to the introduction of the slip system, but partly also to the employment of establishment on lower pay and to improved record room arrangements.

4. The Report is well arranged, and lucidly written and it indicates remarkable knowledge of the Province and its people. The general description of the Province

The Report Proper.

and the historical retrospect in Chapter I, the account of the religions of Bengal in Chapter IV, the learned disquisition on the languages and castes of the Province in Chapters X and XI especially deserve the attention of scholars and will attract very general interest. The Report is longer than usual, but it is not diffuse and its length is amply vindicated on page V of the Introduction where Mr. Gait points out the vastness of the population of Bengal which is a quarter of that of the whole of India and the greatly varying conditions of caste, language, religion and social customs which distinguish the different parts of the Province. The Report is not only a store-house of information, but it is suggestive and inspiring, and it will undoubtedly prove the starting point of much future research.

In the Imperial Tables the districts have been grouped according to Commissioners' Divisions, but in the Report Proper and in the subsidiary tables, the districts have been arranged in eight natural divisions which correspond nearly but not exactly with the divisions adopted by Mr. O'Donnell in his Census Report for 1891, save that Mr. Gait takes the Presidency Division excluding Khulna away from Western Bengal, and makes it into a division which he calls Central Bengal. This is a suitable arrangement; Mr. Gait's reasons for departing from Mr. O'Donnell's arrangement are given in paragraph 40 of his Report. The statistics for the eight natural divisions are ordinarily taken in the Report as the units for discussion, and the figures for individual districts are dealt with only in Chapter II which treats of the variations in the population, and also in special places where such separate treatment is required.

Another feature of the Report which is deserving of special notice consists of the small maps and diagrams printed with the letter-press. Those which illustrate the Chapter on castes have been prepared on the system recommended by Mr. Jacques Bertillon as explained in paragraph 622 of the Report. These diagrams illustrate the statistics very graphically, and the use of similar diagrams in future reports may be commended.

5. Turning to the results of the census, it has first to be noticed

Density and variations of the population.

that of the natural divisions Central Bengal has the greatest density of population, viz., 775 persons to the square mile. Of districts, Howrah with 1,668 persons to the square mile is the most thickly peopled and then follow Dacca with 952 persons, and Muzaffarpur and Saran with 917 and 907 persons to the square mile, respectively: the Chota Nagpur plateau is the area of least dense population, with only 152 to the square mile. The general increase of the population during the decade has been 5.1 per cent. against 7 per cent. in the previous decade. East Bengal with an increase of 10.4 per cent. is the most progressive part of the Province and the general result of this census and of the preceding census is to show that the centre of population of the Province is moving towards the east and south.

It appears from the Report that from 1872 to 1891 there was a steady improvement in the accuracy of the enumeration, and that part of the increases brought out by the Censuses of 1881 and 1891 was therefore unreal: on the other hand that disclosed by the present census is attributable solely to the growth of the population. Mr. Gait writes:—

“The standard of accuracy in 1891 had reached a stage which left but little room for further improvement and, as compared with that census, it is probable that the general gain on this account at the present enumeration does not at the outside exceed 100,000, while in



the districts where plague was prevalent, the census of 1901 was less complete than its predecessor. Taking the gain and loss together, it may be concluded that there has been no appreciable improvement in the matter of accuracy at the present census."

A close approximation between the growth of the total population as ascertained by the census and that indicated by the vital statistics of the Province is noticed in paragraph 90 of the report; and paragraphs 235 and 396 to 398 discuss a general fall in the birth-rate.

To the mass of the people the most important events of the decade were the scarcities of the years 1891-92, 1896-97 and 1899-1900, the outbreaks of plague which began in the Province in 1898 and the development of the mining and mill industries which led to a great increase in the industrial population therein employed. To Chittagong the cyclone and storm-wave of 1897, which caused directly or indirectly 50,000 deaths, was a grievous calamity. No connection appears to exist between famine and variations in the population in Bihar (paragraphs 176, 181, 186 and 229 of the report); but it would seem that in Chota Nagpur a certain amount of the mortality is possibly attributable to famine (paragraphs 199, 203 and 206).

Seven districts have decreased in population since 1891, viz., Jessore, Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Saran, Champaran and Purnea, the decrease ranging from 8.4 per cent. in Patna to 2.2 per cent. in Saran. There can be no doubt that the decrease in Patna is mainly due to mortality from plague, to the flight of the people from their homes on account of that disease, and to incomplete enumeration in certain places due to the disorganisation of the census arrangements by plague. In Saran the loss of population is also accounted for by the plague epidemic which was more virulent there than in any other district of this Province, except Patna. In Jessore, Champaran and Purnea, the decrease is due to the prevalence of fever and in Purnea also to a very severe outbreak of cholera which occurred in the year 1900. In South Bihar generally, Mr. Gait finds a diminished birth-rate (paragraph 396).

That Bengal like the rest of India is a land of villages and not towns has long been known, and it appears that at the present time out of every 100 persons in the Province, 95 live in villages and 5 in towns. In the statistics for towns the most striking features are the increase in the population of Calcutta and Howrah and their suburbs, and the decrease in the towns of Bihar, which was due to plague mortality and to temporary desertion caused by plague.

6. The great and growing immigration to Bengal Proper from Bihar and the United Provinces, the emigration from Chota Nagpur to the Assam tea gardens and from the Sonthal Parganas to the Barind tract of Northern Bengal are the most noticeable features of the "migration" statistics. The immigrants from Bihar and the United Provinces come to work in the mines of the coal area, and in the mills of the Metropolitan districts, while in the districts of Bengal proper generally they are employed as field labourers, on earthwork on railways, roads and tanks in the towns (and especially in Calcutta, where 40 per cent. of the inhabitants are Hindi-speaking), they are mostly day-labourers, servants and palki-bearers. Chota Nagpur, though the most sparsely populated tract of the Province, sends out not only the greatest number of emigrants but also the largest proportion as compared with its population; next to Chota Nagpur the districts of Bankura, Hooghly, and Saran send out the greatest proportion of emigrants. More than 10 per cent. of the persons born in these districts were enumerated away from their homes. It has generally been supposed that, except in Chota Nagpur, pressure on the soil was the chief factor in determining the extent of migration, but Mr. Gait strikes a new note and makes the following interesting remarks as to the capacity of rice-growing tracts to support large populations:—

"Speaking generally, it may be said that Eastern Bengal is capable of supporting a much greater population per square mile than Bihar and that in Bihar the tracts which can support most people are those where rice is grown. This explains why Muzaffarpur and Durbhanga with their extensive rice tracts are less dependent on earnings outside the district than Saran which is reported to be very fertile and is highly cultivated and well irrigated but which has a comparatively small area under rice cultivation. Purnea, whence the emigration is least, is almost wholly devoted to the growth of rice."



The theory is ingenious, but, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that it is the rice-growing tracts of Bihar which are most liable to famine, and that Saran, which is a "three harvest" district, is the district of North Bihar most immune from famine.

7. The number of Europeans in the Province has increased from 22,773 in 1891 to 27,489 in 1901 and the number of Europeans and Eurasians from 15,162 to 23,114. The Superintendent considers this return to be more accurate than that of the last census when the Eurasians amounted to only 39 per cent. of the combined population of the two races compared with 46 per cent. on the present occasion. About half of the Europeans and nearly two-thirds of the Eurasians were enumerated in Calcutta. Amongst the Europeans the males aged 15 and over are more than twice the number of the females.

8. Nearly two-thirds of the population are Hindus by religion and rather less than one-third are Muhammadans. Next in number at a long interval are those who are classed as Animists, of whom two and three quarters millions have been recorded, chiefly in the Chota Nagpur plateau; the Christians, who are over a quarter of a million, stand fourth, and are followed by the Buddhists, who are under a quarter of a million in number. The aggregate of persons of all other religions is less than fifteen thousand.

The Hindus are predominant in Bihar and Orissa, on the eastern edge of the Chota Nagpur plateau, and on the western fringe of Bengal proper; the Muhammadans, who have increased in number nearly twice as rapidly as the Hindus during the past decade, are almost as numerous as the Hindus in Central Bengal, are half as many again in North Bengal, and are more than twice as many in East Bengal. Christians have increased 45 per cent. in the last ten years, and are three times as numerous as they were at the census of 1872; the converts in the Ranchi district amount to nearly half the Christians in the Province.

It is not possible in this place to do more than mention the interesting discussions in Chapter IV of the Report on the origin of the Muhammadans of Bengal, the Muhammadan sects, the Hindu sects and godlings, and the traces of Buddhism in Bengal. Mr. Gait mentions in paragraph 380 the valuable researches made by Pandit Hara Prashad Shastri with regard to the last-mentioned subject.

9. The age returns, as in former censuses, are probably the least trustworthy of all the statistics collected. This inaccuracy is due to ignorance, to a preference for certain numbers, and in a lesser degree to wilful misstatements. In view of the admitted inaccuracy of the figures, which is especially noticeable among females, Mr. Gait has used the age statistics chiefly for purposes of comparison: a more elaborate treatment of these statistics will be forthcoming, it is understood, in the Imperial Census Report. It is suggested that the birth- and death-rates were over-estimated in 1891 (paragraph 392), and reasons are given which carry conviction for the contention that there has been a decline in the general birth-rate since 1891 (paragraphs 396 to 398).

10. With regard to the proportion of the sexes, Mr. Gait writes:—

Sex and marriage.

"At the census of Bengal taken in 1872 there was an equal number of each sex, but in 1881 the females exceeded the males by 8 per 1,000. Ten years later the excess fell to 5 per mille, and now the females are fewer than the males by 2 per mille. The actual deficiency in the number of the weaker sex at the present census is 62,962, but this result is due to migration. If only persons born in Bengal are taken into consideration, the females outnumber the males by 160,375, or about 3 per mille."

As was noticed in the census of 1891, the female sex is proportionately more numerous than the male in Bihar, in Chota Nagpur, and in Western Bengal, but males are in excess in the eastern half of the Province, and especially in the districts where the Mongoloid element in the population is strongest, viz., in Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Dinajpur, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and Hill Tippera.

It is a commonplace that every one in Bengal marries. The average age of marriage for girls all over the Province was stated in 1891 to be eleven



years. Doubtless because of the inaccuracy of the age statistics, Mr. Gait has not attempted to state the average age of marriage for the Province or for particular areas except Chota Nagpur, where, he says, that the usual age of marriage for a girl is between 17 and 18. But the general conclusions of the census of 1891 stand good for the later census. Hindu girls, except in Orissa, are married earlier than Muhammadan girls. The marriage of infants below ten years is most common in Bihar and specially in the Darbhanga district and parts of Muzaffarpur and Bhagalpur. The proportion of widows and of married girls under ten years of age is declining slightly.

The marriage customs of the different Hindu castes are examined in detail, and Mr. Gait arrives at the conclusion that the price paid for a bride or bridegroom depends ultimately on the laws of supply and demand (paragraph 424), and that the age at which a girl is married varies to a great extent with the sum which has to be paid for her (paragraph 433). A former theory that infant-marriage in India is based on the practice of hypergamy amongst the higher castes which leads a man to seek to marry his daughter to a suitable bridegroom at the earliest possible moment, and that the lower castes have copied the practice of the higher castes in this matter was contested by Mr. O'Donnell in his report for 1891. Mr. Gait supports Mr. O'Donnell's conclusions and finds that as a rule the lower castes marry their daughters earliest. The differences are, however, in the main local rather than personal (paragraphs 439 and 440).

It is usually thought that infant marriage and the prohibition of widow remarriage go together; but this is not the case. Where infant marriage is most common, widows freely remarry and (in some cases) fetch a higher price than virgin brides, owing to their greater skill in the caste occupation (paragraphs 441 and 424).

11. The infirmities recorded at the census as on former occasions were insanity, deafmutism, blindness and leprosy. The number of persons afflicted with these infirmities shows a progressive decline due, as is believed, in the main to more accurate enumeration and more careful exclusion of persons whose infirmities, whatever they might be, did not fall within the scope of the sanctioned definition.

The maps given in paragraphs 457, 463, 470 and 476 of the Report show in very striking manner the local prevalence of infirmities. Insanity is most prevalent in North Bengal and in Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and Mr. Gait finds that the prevalence is a matter of race and that the Koch is specially liable to this infirmity. Deafmutism is generally associated with cretinism and goitre: it is most common in the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan districts, and it is especially prevalent along the course of certain moribund rivers near the foot of the Himalayas. Deaf mutes are very short-lived (paragraph 466). Blindness is most common in the hot and dry districts of South Behar and Chota Nagpur. In connection with the decrease in the number of blind persons recorded, Mr. Gait notices that 15,987 successful operations for cataract were performed in the public hospitals and dispensaries in the last decade as against 2,434 during the previous ten years. The great centre of leprosy in these Provinces lies in the three western districts of the Burdwan Division, viz., Bankura, Birbhum and Burdwan and in the adjoining district of Manbhum. In the Province generally the census shows a decrease in the number of lepers, who number 48 for every 100,000 as compared with 60 in the last census; but there appears to have been a spread of the disease in Manbhum and the Sonthal Parganas. The decrease is probably due to more careful enumeration resulting in the exclusion of those who are affected merely with leucoderma.

12. At the census of 1891 the population was divided into three categories, viz., literate, learning and illiterate, but at the census of 1901 the population was broadly divided into two great classes only, the literate and the illiterate, i.e., of those who are or are not able both to read and write. This change of system, though it has simplified the work, has obscured the results and made a detailed comparison difficult. Comparing the figures, however, for persons over 15 years of age, the number of literate males in the whole Province is 146 per 1,000 as against 137 in 1891, and the number of literate females 7 per 1,000 against



4 only in 1891. It will be noticed that the figures given in the 484th paragraph of the report show the absolute and not the proportional increase of literacy since 1891.

Wide as is the field for the improvement of primary education among the male population, still more remains to be done among the female population, and the progress during the last decade has been proportionately greater among females than among males, though not absolutely so great. Mr. Gait urges in his 485th paragraph that female education has made great strides during the decade; but looking to the very small number of educated females in the whole Province, this seems too confident a statement, and it can hardly be accepted for any area except Calcutta.

The continued and increasing superiority of the Hindus over the Muham-madans in literacy, the large amount of literacy among converts to Christianity, and the marked superiority of the metropolitan area over the rest of the Province are the most striking features of the chapter dealing with the statistics of education. The most backward part of the Province in education, in spite of the efforts of the Christian Missionaries, is Chota Nagpur, and next lowest is North Bihar.

The statistics of knowledge of English may with advantage be more fully examined than has been done in paragraph 486 of the Report. Table VIII shows that in the whole Province 351,704 males and 22,966 females are "literate in English," i.e., are able to read and write English. Deducting from these numbers 24,156 males and 15,089 females who returned English only as their "language ordinarily used," i.e., the European and Eurasian population, it appears that there are 327,548 males and 7,877 females among the native population who can read and write English. So far as these figures can be compared with the statistics of the last census, it would appear that, as might be expected, there has been a considerable increase in the number of English-knowing persons among the native population of the Province since 1891.

#### Language.

13. Mr. Gait's chapter on the languages of the Province is of the highest interest.

Omitting Europeans and Eurasians but including all other immigrants, the people of the Province speak 74 languages, viz., 15 grouped under the Aryan Family, 16 under the Munda Family, 9 under the Dravidian Family, and 34 under the Tibeto-Burman Family. That there has been no unnecessary sub-division of languages in this category will be understood when it is mentioned that Hindi includes Urdu and Bihari the latter of which Dr. Grierson once divided into seven dialects. Out of every 1,000 persons in the Province 528 speak Bengali, 341 Hindi (including Bihari), 79 Uriya and 1 speaks Khas (or Nepali-Hindi) leaving 51 persons per 1,000 for all the other 70 languages put together. It is in the Chota Nagpur plateau with its Munda and Dravidian dialects, in Darjeeling and Sikkim with their Tibeto-Himalayan dialects, and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts where the Kuki, Chin and Bodo dialects are spoken that the great congeries of non-Aryan languages are found. Mr. Gait has avoided a detailed examination of Aryan dialects partly in order to curtail his report, and also because Dr. Grierson is dealing with these dialects; but he has discussed the Himalayan, Sikkim and Nepal groups of languages more fully than the others, because they have not yet formed the subject of any reports in the linguistic survey.

The conclusion at which Mr. Gait arrives in his 545th paragraph as to the absence of any necessary connection between race and language is noticeable.

#### Castes.

14. The chapter on castes is the longest in the volume, and takes up nearly one-fourth of the Report. Much labour was given to this part of the enumeration. A caste index largely based on Mr. Risley's "Caste and Tribes" was circulated to Census Officers of higher grades, and greatly facilitated the work, but even with this help, the classification of doubtful entries gave immense trouble. The discussions on the origin of caste (paragraphs 550 to 574), and on the social precedence of castes (paragraphs 575 to 621) have been inserted in accordance with directions given by the Census Commissioner.



With insufficient time at his disposal for working up the results of his enquiries, or for following up the numerous and difficult side issues which arose in the examination of the caste figures, Mr. Gait has nevertheless made a most important contribution in this chapter to the ethnography of the Province, and has presented several obscure questions in a clearer light than has before been shed on them.

The origin of existing castes is discussed in paragraphs 566—574 of the report and the origin of the restrictions which characterise the institution of caste is distinguished from the question as to how the existing castes were recruited. The views held by M. Senart that the sub-caste is the true caste, and that caste was a natural development of the family and tribal organization of the Aryans are cited in paragraph 562; but Mr. Gait holds that caste is more likely to be due to the influence of the panchayats of the functional groups. He quotes the definitions of "caste" given by his predecessors in this field of enquiry—Messrs. Nesfield, Baines and Risley, and propounds the following careful definition of his own:—

"A caste is an endogamous group or a collection of such groups bearing a common name who, by reason of similarity of traditional occupation and reputed origin, are generally regarded, by those of their countrymen who are competent to give an opinion, as forming a single homogenous community, the constituent parts of which are more nearly related to each other than they are to any other section of the society."

Mr. Gait adds that the decision as to caste must rest with enlightened public opinion, and not with public opinion generally, as it often happens that a Hindu knows little about any caste other than his own.

The orders issued with regard to arrangement of castes according to their social status gave rise to many acrimonious disputes, *e. g.*, specially with reference to the relative precedence of the Baidyas and the Kayasths and the position of the Chasi-Kaibarttas. In order to avoid as far as possible giving offence to rival castes, Mr. Gait has made his different groups fairly wide, and as a rule has avoided mention of the relative position of castes in the same group.

Of the castes other than Muhammadan there are fifteen having more than a million members, viz., (in order of numbers) the Ahirs (or Goalas), Brahmans, Kaibarttas, Rajbansis (or Koebes), Namasudras (Chandals), Santals, Chamars (Muchis), Rajputs, Kurmis, Telis, Kayasths, Koiris, Dosadhs, Babhans and Bagdis. The Ahirs who are nearly four millions are a long way the most numerous; next follow the Brahmans with nearly three millions, the Kaibarttas who are nearly two and-a-half millions, the Rajbansis with over two millions, the Namasudras and the Santals each with over eighteen hundred thousand; the Chamars with sixteen hundred and twenty-six thousand; while the other eight castes named are each between a million and a million-and-a-half strong. The distribution of the main castes is illustrated by a series of maps which show in a very striking way how strictly local are many of the main groups. The Babhans, Dhanuks and Koiris for instance are confined to Bihar, the Bagdis and Sadgops to West Bengal, the Chasas and Khandaits to Orissa, the Chandals to East Bengal, the Pods to Central Bengal and the Rajbansis to North Bengal.

Among the notes on particular castes and tribes possessing special interest are to be mentioned those regarding the Saraks (paragraphs 778—780) an interesting archaic community, probably of Jain or Buddhist origin, found in Western Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, the notes on the disputed question of the origin of the Rajbansis (paragraph 617), on the Sectarian castes (paragraphs 782—787), on Muhammadan castes and tribes (paragraphs 812—817), and on the Nepali tribe of Newars (paragraphs 886—894).

15. The scheme of occupations prescribed for the census was very elaborate, comprising, as it did, eight classes, twenty-four orders, seventy-nine sub-orders and five hundred and twenty groups, and the preparation of the returns under this head was therefore very laborious. The Superintendent states (paragraph 905) that from one-third to a quarter of the entire expenditure on the census operations was incurred in compiling the occupation tables. The arguments used by Mr. Gait in paragraph 905 in favour of having a simpler classification in

Occupations.



future are well worthy of attention, and seem to be conclusive against the attempt to collect statistics of occupation in such elaborate detail as has hitherto been done. This seems to be a case where elaboration defeats itself and where the truth is to be obtained only by a broad and general classification of occupations.

Changes of system which are noticed in paragraph 906 and following paragraphs of the Report have confused comparison with the corresponding return for 1891, and make detailed examination useless. Speaking generally, however, it appears that nearly 57 millions or 72·5 per cent. of the population are classed under the main head as employed on "Pasture and Agriculture;" nor is this an exhaustive statement of persons occupied with agriculture as it is probable that a considerable number of the five-and-a-half million general labourers returned as non-agricultural are at some seasons of the year employed in agriculture, and it will be safe to say that over three-fourths of the population are dependent on the land. Artisans and others classed under the head "Preparation and supply of material substances" make up over 9½ millions or 12 per cent., and unskilled labourers, not, agricultural, are over 6 millions or 7½ per cent. of the population. The statistics which have been collected showing the small share of high appointments in Government service which are held by Muhammadans, and the practical monopoly of all such appointments held by Hindus by members of the Kayasth, Brahman and Baidya castes may be mentioned as a feature of this chapter.

16. In conclusion, the Lieutenant-Governor desires to record his high appreciation of the labours of the Superintendent and the District Officers, as well as of a large number of officials and non-officials, which have resulted in a most successful census of the people, and he has in addition to thank Mr. Gait for a Report of singular merit and ability. Mr. Gait's commendation of the work of his Assistants, Mr. Howard, Mr. Moberly, Babu Jamini Mohan Das, Babu Mon Mohan Ray, and Mr. Manmatha Nath Ghosh, will be recorded in the Appointment Department.

By order of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal,

W. C. MACPHERSON,

*Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.*











Central Archaeological Library,  
NEW DELHI-30990

Call No. 312.0954/C.I. (01)

Author— E. A. Gait.

Title— Census of India 1901  
Vol. VI

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY  
GOVT. OF INDIA  
Department of Archaeology  
NEW DELHI

Please help us to keep the book  
clean and moving.

---